

BIBLIOTHECA INDICA

A

COLLECTION OF ORIENTAL WORKS,

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THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

TRANSLATION

OF

THE TABAKĀT-I-NĀSIRI

OF

THE MAULĀNĀ, MINHĀJ I-SARĀJ,

ʿABD ʿUMAR-I UṢMĀN

PREFACE

IN 1865 I was led to read the printed text of the *Ṭabaḳāt i Nāṣirī* published at Calcutta in 1864, in search of materials towards a history of the Afghāns and their country, which is very much mixed up with that of India.

Having gone through a great portion of it, and finding it defective in many places, and full of errors, I thought it advisable to examine the India Office Library *MS.*, No 1952 from which the printed text was said to have been taken went through the whole of that work and found that it also was defective, and contained numerous errors. I found nothing, however respecting the Afghāns, except in one place, and there they were briefly mentioned in a few lines, but very characteristically

I had already discovered when in search of other materials, what lamentable errors the available Histories of India, so called, in the English language contained, and I now found how they had arisen. With a view of correcting them, I made a translation of those portions of the *Ṭabaḳāt i Nāṣirī* which related to India, and the History of the *Ghaznawī* and *Ghūrī* dynasties and, when I offered a translation to the Bengal Asiatic Society some twelve years ago my intention was, as stated in my letter on the subject, merely to have made a fair copy of the translation of those identical portions

Soon after I obtained a very old copy of the work, and on comparing it with the I O L. *MS* No 1952 I found such considerable and important differences to exist, that I determined to begin anew and translate the whole work

The Society having accepted my offer and the defective

state of the printed text being well known, Mr Arthur Grote, to whom I am very greatly indebted for assistance in many ways, advised that, in making this translation, I should avail myself of any other copies of the text that might be procurable in Europe. On instituting inquiry the following were found, and have been already referred to in my report to the Society, published in the "Proceedings" for February, 1873, and have been used by me in my task. I must here give a brief description of them, and notice and number them according to their apparent age and value, which arrangement, however, will be somewhat different from that in the notes to pages 68 and 77 of the translated text.

1 A *MS.* belonging to the St. Petersburg Imperial Public Library.

This, probably, is the most ancient of the copies collated. It is not written in an elegant hand, by any means, although plainly and correctly, but in the style in which Mullās usually write. The *dāls* are marked with diacritical points, and other letters are written in a peculiar manner, denoting considerable antiquity. It is, however, imperfect, and does not comprise much more than half the work.

2 The British Museum *MS* No Add 26, 189

This copy is considered by Doctor Rieu, whose experience is sufficiently great, and authority undoubted, to be a *MS* of the fourteenth century. It is clearly written and correct, and has been of the utmost use to me. It wants a few pages at the end, hence the date on which it was completed, and by whom written, which generally are inserted at the end, cannot be discovered.

3 The old *MS* in my possession

To judge from the writing and paper, I should suppose it to be about the same age as No 2. It is clearly written, but wants several pages at the end, consequently, the date of its completion likewise cannot be discovered. One pretty good proof of its age, however, is that the whole, from beginning to end, has been cut close to the illuminated borders of each leaf, and inlaid on other paper, which also appears to be of considerable age. Whoever did this turned a number of leaves the wrong way, and misplaced

several pages, which took me some time to put in their places again

I imagine that there is very little difference, in point of antiquity between these three copies.

4. A *MS* belonging to the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg

This is a well and correctly written *MS*, which has also been of the greatest use to me in my work. It wants about two leaves at the end and consequently, the date on which it was copied does not appear. I should say, comparing it with the others above described that it is a *MS* of the sixteenth century, possibly, still earlier. It has an unreadable name on the last leaf with 1218 H. [1803 A.D.] upon it.

5. The India Office Library *MS*, No. 1952

This is also a plainly written copy and apparently of considerable age, nearly as old, possibly, as the three copies first named, but it is incorrect in scores of places—one place in particular where three complete pages of the history of Sultān Mas'ūd of Ghaznī occur in the middle of the account of the Saljūqs. This is important although an error because it shows us how many other copies have been taken from it, or that it and the other copies hereafter to be named were all copied from another, still earlier, *MS* imperfect in that identical place.

This *MS* is, in all probability that referred to by Stewart, as belonging to Tipū's library and said to have been 'copied by the author himself.' The reason why this, too, has been erroneously considered "*an autograph of the author's*" is simply this—whoever copied it, as in the case of other copies, neither recorded his own name, nor the place where, or date when it was completed, and so it terminates in the author's own words hence some people have run away with the idea—and it only shows upon what a shadow they often found their theories—that the author himself *must have written it*. It ends thus—"The book of Al Minhāj bin Sarāj the 5th of Rabi' ul Awwal—the third month—in the year fifty and six hundred." The eight, which should have preceded the fifty has been left out. On the first leaf the following is written 'The Ṭabaqāt i Nāṣirī in the city of Haidar ābād in the month of Rabi'

ul-Awwal, 1157 H [1744 A.D.], was bought of the booksellers in that place."

6 and 7 Two *MSS* in the Paris National Library

These may be classed, at least the best of the two, with the preceding *MS*, No 5, in point of date, and want of correctness, and I believe that they are either copies of No 5, or, like it and two others—the Bodleian *MS*, and the Ro Asiatic Soc *MS*—copies of the same identical *MS*. They all agree as to errors,¹ and they all end in the same way, without the name of the scribe, the date, or place where copied, with the single exception of the Bodleian copy, which has the word "eight" *written over* the words "fifty and six hundred". For the reasons above-mentioned, both Paris *MSS*—not one only, I find—were fondly considered "*autographs of the author's*," but M H Zotenberg, whose opinion I asked, very justly says, "this is impossible, because the two *MS* are not in the same handwriting". He, however, adds, "but to judge from the paper and the writing, I should suppose that they are both *MSS* of the fifteenth century. They were both brought from India". They came from the Dakhan, in all probability.

8 and 9 The other copy of the text in the British Museum, No Add 25,785, which Doctor Rieu considers may be of the sixteenth century, and another belonging to the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St Petersburg. These are, comparatively, modern copies, of the first half of the seventeenth century in all likelihood. They are plainly written, but are neither of them very correct. The former is defective to the extent of seven or eight 8vo pages at the end, and the other also wants a few leaves. They are neither of them of much value.

10 A *MS* formerly in the Library of Haileybury College

This is the most complete *MS* of the text that I have met with, although it is of comparatively recent date. It is written in a plain, but not elegant hand. It is generally correct, and closely agrees with Nos 2, 3, and 4, and I have found it exceedingly useful. Indeed without it, and

¹ See Notes ⁹, page 308, ⁸, page 376, ², page 400, ⁵, page 426, ², page 573, ⁷, page 577, and particularly page 665, note ⁸, page 684, note ⁸, note page 692; and ⁹, page 703, in which some of these are pointed out.

Nos. 3, and 4 I never could have completed my task satisfactorily. In a few places it supplied what was defective in two of the others. The date of copying is not given but, from its appearance I should say it was a MS of the last half of the seventeenth century. After the authors concluding words the following is written — "The owner of this MS., in the port [Bandar] of Sūrat [is] the Hajī Muhammad Sharif son of Mullā Muhammad Sharif son of Mullā Muhammad Tāhir" after which follow some words not quite intelligible "on the 8th of Sha'ban—the eighth month—1113 H [1701-1702 AD] was recorded." The two last words appear to refer rather to the date the owner wrote his name than to the date the MS was completed. It subsequently belonged to some Grandee of the Mughal empire, from the titles given under the above record namely "The Mumtāz ud Daulah usafshkhar ul Mulk Husām Jang." Who he was I am unable to say.

11 The copy of the text formerly belonging to the late Colonel G. W. Hamilton, C.B. in the collection of the late Earl of Crawford and Balcarres. This is upon the whole the worst copy I have collated and contains very numerous errors, although in point of age it may be older than Nos. 9 and 10. It terminates abruptly at page 46. of the Printed Text and is thus defective to the extent of about twenty six pages but it has the closing page and when and where written. Before I saw it I was informed that it was a very valuable copy and that it had belonged to "the Emperor Shah Jahan, because his seal was stamped on the margin of one of the pages." On examination I found that the MS was completed "on Thursday the 6th of Kajab—the seventh month—of the year 1059 H [July 1649] in the reign of the Second Shāhib-i Kirān Abd l Muẓaffar Shāhib ud Dīn Muḥammad Shāh i Jahān Bādshāh i Ghāzi in the city of Burhānpūr [in Kāndes] at the time when hostilities broke out between that monarch and Shah Abbās the Second [the Ṣafawī ruler of Irān] respecting Kandarhar [the Kizil bashis were then actually investing that stronghold]" and that the copyist was the Khānah zad l Dargāh [the born slave of the Court or Household] Mu'īn ud Dīn Khwājah i Jahān the Jahān-giri" [of the Household of Jahāngīr Bādshāh] Shāh i Jahān Bādshāh's father

Beneath this again is the name of a Maulawī, the son of some "Khān," partly obliterated, with the date 1255 H. [1839 A.D.] A seal underneath bears the date 1233 H. [1818 A.D.] The largest seal, supposed to be that of Shāh-i-Jahān Bādshāh, bears the following inscription — "Mu'in-ud-Dīn, Muhammad [the same person as referred to above], ghulām-i-Shāh-i-Jahān," with the figures 24, referring to the year of that monarch's reign, and the year 1061 H [it began Dec. 14th, 1650, A.D.] A smaller seal, with an inscription—"Yā Mu'in"—"O Helper!"—bears date 1058 H. [1648 A.D.]. I could discover nothing to show that the *MS* had ever belonged to Shāh-i-Jahān Bādshāh.

12 The *MS* belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society. This, as previously mentioned, is a modern copy, of the latter part of the seventeenth century possibly, and is either a copy of No 5, or copied from the same *MS*. that that was copied from. It is pretty plainly but carelessly written, in, by no means, a good hand, but, like the others referred to, is very defective, and the proper names of persons and places are often without any points

I have already noticed how incorrect the Printed Text is. In the Preface to it, Colonel W N Lees, LL D, says. "When I commenced the work, we had three copies, one belonging to the Ro Asiatic Soc., one in the India House Library, and one belonging to the High Priest of the Pārsīs at Bombay. A little while afterwards, Colonel Hamilton, in reply to a circular of the Society, forwarded a copy from Dehli. These *MSS* are all apparently good old copies, and are written in very different hands. It was supposed, then, that we had four distinct copies to collate, but, before long, it became apparent that the four had been copied from two *MSS*,² so, in reality, we had only two. The Society had issued hundreds of circulars to all parts of India, and had failed to draw out more than two copies; and the fact, that the four old copies I had had been copied

² In this case, if the Ro As Soc's *MS* is a copy of the India Office *MS*, the Hamilton *MS*, and the High Priest's, must be copies one of the other, or copies from another *MS*

Sir Henry Elliot mentions that he found one in the Royal Library at Lakhnāo, but most of the *MSS*. in that collection were, I believe, destroyed during the rebellion of 1857.

from two *MSS.*, seemed to indicate so clearly the great scarcity of *MSS.* of this work that I decided to go on."

From these remarks its defectiveness is not to be wondered at, but, at the same time, as I have shown in my notes, there are numerous errors in it which are not to be found in these *MSS.*, and a little historical and geographical discrimination on the part of the editors might have corrected many of them.

The time and labour required for simply translating a book, especially if but one or two copies be used for collation, is not very great, and this translation could have been accomplished in a tithe of the time I have devoted to it! But, as this History is one of the four most important works with respect to the early rulers of India, and that part of Central Asia upon which all eyes have been lately turned, and are likely to be turned in the future, I thought it advisable not to spare any pains on it, although it has occupied some years longer than I anticipated. I have collated nine copies of the text word for word and all doubtful passages have been collated for me from the other three. Although this has occupied a great deal of time and entailed much labour, a still greater amount of both has been expended on the notes, which I deemed necessary to illustrate our author's often brief sometimes erroneous but generally valuable statements, to point out the errors which he has sometimes fallen into and to point out some of the legion of lamentable mistakes, and misleading statements contained in compilations purporting to be "Histories of India," "Histories of Afghánistán from the Earliest Times, and similar Histories of other Eastern states and peoples and to show the exact value of the compilations, turned out by the yard by raw hands, for the Public of the newspapers and reviews, and the general reader.

These errors in Indian History are solely attributable to the miscalled translations of the comparatively modern chronicle, known as the *Tārīkh-i Firishtah* by Dow and Briggs, the first of whom could not possibly have understood the words of the writer in scores of places, and in such cases appears to have recorded his own ideas instead of the author's statements. *Firishtah's* work, too is not difficult, and the style is simple, and it is one of a few books

well adapted for the Lower Standard of Examination in the Persian language Firīshṭah's materials were chiefly taken from the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī, also known as the Tabakāt-i-Akbar Shāhī, of the Khawājah, Nizām-ud-Dīn, Ahmad, who obtained his materials, up to the reign of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban, from the work of our author, and not a single event is recorded in Firīshṭah that is not recorded in the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī. This will be quite clear to any one who will take the trouble to compare them. Firīshṭah, indeed, follows it so closely that, not only are the poetical quotations appropriated, but the errors also, as I have pointed out in my notes, have been faithfully copied by the Dakhanī author where the one errs the other is sure to follow³

The English version of Briggs, "*the admirable version*," as a writer, who did not know the contents of Firīshṭah, calls it, is clearly based upon Dow's, with very slight alterations, and they are chiefly of a verbal kind. I should be sorry to be unjust to any author, but I submit that, where great, misleading, and glaring, historical errors, are as clear as the light of day, it is a duty towards the public, and in the interests of science, that they should be pointed out, even at the risk of "hurting the susceptibilities" of the authors of them or their friends, especially when such pernicious compilations as I have referred to, under the name of history, continue to be used in our colleges and schools, without the nature of them being known in its true light. The writers of them have much to answer for, but those who have adopted them in our public institutions a vast deal more. See, for example, note⁴, page 312, and note, page 323.

One of the most glaring of the misstatements I refer to is that wherein the Turk sovereigns of Ghaznīn, as well as the Tājzīk rulers of Ghūr, are turned into "Pathāns" or "Afghāns," which words are synonymous, and "Pathāns" or "Afghāns" into Turks and Tājzīk Ghūrīs. Dow, in the first place, is to blame for this, but Briggs blindly followed him⁵. I say this advisedly. The proof is

³ A few examples of which may be seen in Note², page 441, and⁵, page 653, 1st para of Note³, page 665, ⁶, page 697, and⁴, page 711.

⁴ Examples of this will be found in Notes², page 204, ⁶, page 312, ⁴,

easy from any *MS* of Firūhtah's work, but with *MSS* alone we need not rest content. We have only to compare Briggs's version with that lithographed edition printed at Bombay to which Briggs put his name as editor and reviser, to prove my words.

Let us for example, take any passage in Briggs' account of the *Ghūrīs*, or the history of the Turkish slave Sultāns of Dihlī—those, say, referred to at page 508 of this work—and in the Persian text which, according to the title page, had the benefit of his editing and revision *not one word will be found respecting their being Afghāns as contained in his 'admirable translation'* all comes from Dow.

If this TRANSLATION OF THE *ṬABAKĀT I NĀSIRI* the original of which was published just six hundred and twenty one years ago, and the notes accompanying it, disperse to the winds this error bubble alone, I shall deem my time not lost, and the labour of years not thrown away because even since the publication of Sir H. Elliot's extracts from various Histories, which also showed how incorrect this "Pathān" theory was, Turks, *Tājīk Ghūrīs*, Turkish Slaves, Jats, Sayyids and others, continue to figure under the ridiculous name of "Pathān dynasties," up to this present day.*

I have already remarked that our author has mentioned the Afghāns but once in his History and that very briefly but, at the same time, most graphically [page 852] a body of them being in the pay of the *Ulugh Khān i Aḥmad*. The Afghāns were by no means unfamiliar to our author and he certainly knew the *Ghūrīs* better than any other author known to us, and he shows on that very page that they were a totally different race. In his account of the *Shansabānīs* of Ghūr and their dynasties, he simply stands unrivalled and also in his accounts of the first Mughal invasions of the territories between Hirāt and Multān. The Afghāns appear at this time to have begun to take service under the Muhammadan feudatories of the western border provinces of the Dihlī kingdom. They may have been in the

page 320; note 7 para. 4, page 321; note 9 page 404; 7 page 431; note 9 page 441; note 4 page 514 and 1 para. 5, page 794.

* See the "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society" Part I., No. II., pr. 1880, page 18.

habit of taking such service previously, but to no great extent I imagine, but, about this period, there was a particular reason for it—the confusion and convulsions caused throughout the vast tracts of country which formed the kingdom of the Ghaznawīs and their subverters the Ghūrīs, styled Afghānistān by Europeans chiefly, through the irruptions, devastations, massacres, and final subversion of the Musalmān rule by the hordes of infidel Mughals, by whom the country of the Afghāns was completely surrounded on the north, south, and west, while the only territory still held by a Musalmān sovereign lay on the east—the Panj-āb—the western part of which also subsequently fell under the Mughal yoke. The limits of the true Afghānistān were prescribed by the mountains bounding the Kurma'h valley and the territory of Kābul on the north, the Koh-i-Surkh on the south, the territories of Ghaznīn and Kandahār on the west, and the Sulimānī mountains or Koh-i-Siyah on the east

It will be observed that I have really commenced the Translation from Section VII, and from that point it embraces the whole work. The first six, with the exception of the History of the early kings of Ī-rān, are not of much importance by reason of their brevity. The account of the Ī-rānī dynasties, which would require a volume to illustrate them, I have treated as a separate work, which, ere long, may see the light. To make the Translation in effect complete, however, I have given an abstract of the first six Sections.

The adulations addressed to, and constant prayers offered up for, the Sultān to whom the author dedicated, and after whom he named, his History, have been omitted or greatly reduced, and some of the introductions to the Sections also, which are of a similar style, have been cut short, but, in all other cases, I have not “compressed” the Translation in the least degree, and I may say that I have weighed every word and sentence, and have omitted nothing, not even the poetical quotations, having only rejected some of the longer portions when they have been of no interest, not necessary to the text, or of no particular merit. I have endeavoured to render the translation as nearly as possible in the author’s own words, without being slavishly literal. It is however sufficiently

literal to assist a student, and yet readable by the English reader though keeping much of a foreign complexion for various reasons. It is possible that in so long a work, published at intervals as completed, and not in a complete form at once, slight inconsistencies in punctuation and English (though not Persian, save through printers errors) orthography may be here and there observable. Most English punctuation is haphazard, and left to the compositors who apparently sometimes use it to denote breathing pauses, sometimes to help out the grammar. One may point sentences very much or very little but whatever is done should be upon one system. Accordingly here, for the most part, the minute plan of what may seem to some over much stopping is adopted, though not always, but no such absurdity is allowed to appear as a divorce of the verb from its subject by a single comma, and other errors of that sort, which come of printers attending entirely to pause and forgetting grammar.

Scholars will understand that there may be much to be said for more ways than one of spelling the same word in such a language as English.

This book the text and notes together will be found to be a very thesaurus of the most varied and often recondite historical material for the periods of which it treats, and many time honoured historical errors have been pointed out and rectified. It wants but one thing to make it still more acceptable to the Student, and that is an Index. The Reviewers are tolerably sure to point this out for fear nobody else should see it. So the Translator begs to say, once for all that he is too weary and his time too valuable to take up any such work. Meanwhile, The Index Society will have here a capital tough subject for their charitable exertions.

Besides the standard Histories mentioned in note¹ page 869 the following among which are many rare, celebrated, and excellent, works have been also used and some of them have been extensively drawn upon. The majority but not all, have been mentioned in the notes taken from them. From "the labours of" these authors "my predecessors I have derived the utmost "assistance" and acknowledge it accordingly.

Tārīkh-i-Tabarī,	Tabakāt-i-Akbarī,
Kitāb-i-Yamīnī,	Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh of
Kitāb-i-Masālik-wa-Mamālik,	the Budā'ūnī,
Tārīkh-i-Abū-l-Faẓl-i-Baihaqī,	Akbar Nāmah of Faizī the
Zain-ul-Akhhbār,	Sarhindī,
Nizām-ut-Tawārīkh of the	Tazkirāt-ul-Abrār of the
Kāzī, Abū-Sa'id-i-'Abdullah of Baizā,	Akhūnd, Darwezah,
Tāj-ul-Ma'āshir,	Makhzan-i-Afghānī,
Kāmil-ut-Tawārīkh of the	Tārīkh-i-Khān-i-Jahān, the
Shaiikh, Abū-l-Hasan-i-'Alī, surnamed Ibn-ul-Ashir,	Lūdī,
Khulāṣat - ut - Tawārīkh of	Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh,
Sujān Rāe,	Rauzat-ut-Tāhirīn,
Khulāṣat-ul-Akhhbār,	Sair-ul-Bilād — a Persian
Mir'āt-ul-'Ālam,	Translation of the Aṣār-
Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā,	ul-Bilād,
Tārīkh-i-Firūz-Shāhī of Ziyā-ud-Dīn, Baranī,	Bahr-ul-Asrār,
Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī,	Tuhfat-ul-Kirām,
Tārīkh-i-Firūz-Shāhī of	Chachh Nāmah,
Shams-i-Sirāj,	Tārīkh-us-Sind of Mīr Ma-
Zaffar-Nāmah,	'sūm, the Bakharī,
Tuzūk-i-Bābarī,	Tārīkh-i-Haft-Iklīm,
Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī of the Mīrzā, Muhammad Haidar,	Ikbāl Nāmah-i-Jahān-gīrī,
the Doghlātī Mughal,	Ma'adan-i-Akhhbār-i-Ah-
Memoirs of Humāyūn Bādshāh by Bāyazīd the Byāt,	madī,
Ā'in-i-Akbarī,	Tazkirat-ul-Mulūk of Yahyā
	Khān,
	Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh of Fakīr
	Muhammad,
	Tārīkh-i-Rājahāhe Jammū,
	History of Gaur or Lakhan-
	awātī of Shīām Parshād,
	and a few others.

The following Puṣhto or Afghān Chronicles have also been used.—The History of the Khaṣhī sept of the Afghān nation, and their conquests beyond the river of Kābul, by Khwājū, the Matīzī, the Tārīkh-i-Nisbat-i-Afāghinah, by the Shaiikh, 'Abd-ur-Razzāk, Matīzī, and the Tārīkh-i-Muraṣṣa' by Muhammad Afzal Khān, Khatak.

I cannot close these remarks without tendering my sincere thanks to Doctor C Rieu, Keeper of the Oriental

Manuscripts of the British Museum for his kind and efficient assistance at all times also to Professor Alois Sprenger of Wabern near Bern, and to Monsieur H Zoten berg of the French National Library who very kindly collated numerous passages for me.

The system of transliteration adopted in the following pages, is that known as the system of Sir William Jones, which after some thirty years experience, the Translator conceives to be the easiest, as well as the most natural, and as easy of pronunciation [except perhaps, the purely Arabic gutturals] as the original letters of the Arabic alphabet.

The vowels are three *short* — a, i, u equivalent to — — and — — , and three *long* — ā, ī ū equivalent to — — — — ,

All consonants, except the following are pronounced precisely the same as in English — **ث** as *th* in thing or hisped *s* **ع** — **ج** as *ch* in church **ح** — **ه**, strongly aspirated, which occurs only in purely Arabic words **خ** — **ك**, as *ch* in loch, and as German *ch* **د** — **ذ** pronounced by applying the tip of the tongue inverted to the palate **ز** — **ژ** as *th* in thine, by Arabs *dth* **ر** — **ر** as *r* uttered by striking the point of the tongue on the palate **ي** — **ج** as *s* in pleasure or soft French *s* **س** — **ش**, as *sh* in shell **ص** — **س**, as *ss* in dissolve **ض** — **ز**, as *dwd* **ب** — **ف**, as *f* with a slight aspiration **پ** — **ف** as English *s* with a slight aspiration, **ع** — a deep guttural without any audible aspiration, and, when initial to a word the **ا** is placed before its vowel as in *Ali* and when not initial after its preceding vowel, as in *Ja far* and *Rāfi* , **ع** **ج**, a guttural sound like that produced in gargling or Northumbrian *r* and something similar to *gh* in ghost **ق** — **ك**, another peculiar Arabic sound, produced by pressing back the root of the tongue to the throat, and partaking of the sound of *k* and *q* **ا** — **ه**, slightly aspirated at the end of a word it is often un aspirated. When *ه* occurs at the end of a word preceded by *ا*, the former is almost quiescent. The only diphthongs are *ai* and *au*

From the above system the scholar can at once tell the original letters in the names of persons and places. Unless the peculiar letters are marked there is no knowing what they are meant for For example, if the equivalent of **ع**

is not marked, we cannot tell whether the original was خ or the two letters ك and ه , and if the roman equivalents of ث, س, and ص are all rendered by simple "s," how are we to know which is the letter meant?

As the work is rather more bulky than was anticipated at the outset, and may be perhaps more convenient in two volumes than in one, I have provided for binding it up into two volumes by giving two separate title-pages, as it can be conveniently divided at the commencement of Section XXII, page 719

Rock House,

Milverton, Somerset,

12th January, 1881 A D 12th Şafar, 1298 H

MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR

FEW materials exist for a notice of our author, and these are chiefly furnished by himself

The first mention he makes of his family is to the effect that ¶ the Imām Abd ul Khālīk the Jūrjānī, having in his early manhood, dreamt a dream on three successive occasions urging him to proceed to Ghaznīn and seek a wife set out thither and subsequently obtained in marriage one of the forty daughters of Sultān Ibrāhīm of Ghaznīn who was in the habit of bestowing his daughters in marriage upon reverend and pious Sayyids and Ulamā, like other Musalmān rulers have continued to do down to recent times.

By this wife, Abd ul Khālīk had a son whom he named Ibrāhīm after his maternal grandfather the Sultā. and he was our author's great grandfather. He was the father of the Maulānā, Minhāj ud Dīn Uḡmān who was the father of the Maulānā, Sarāj ud Dīn Muḥammad—who is called Ibrāhīm by some—who was known by the title of Ujūbat uz Zamān—The Wonder of the Age. He was the father of the Maulānā Minhāj ud Dīn¹ Abū Umar i Uḡmān the author of the following History who thence often brings in his father's and grandfather's name, styling himself Minhāj i Sarāj i Minhāj the two *isāfats* being used to signify *son of* in place of the Arabic *bin*.

Our author's ancestors, on both sides, for several generations appear to have been ecclesiastics of repute, and men

¹ The title, Sarāj-ud Dīn, means "The Lamp, or the Luminary of the Faith, and Minhāj-ud Dīn, "The High road, or the Way of the Faith." See note ² page 1295.

distinguished for learning. He states that he possessed, among the *misāl* or diplomas granted to his maternal ancestors by the Khalīfahs, one from the Khalīfah, Mustazī B'illah, conferring the Ḳāzī-ship of the fortress, or rather, fortified town, of Tūlak, described in the following pages, together with that over the Ḳuhistān, and the Jibāl—Highlands—of Hirāt, upon his maternal grandfather, in conformity with the diploma previously held by the latter's father before him. His paternal grandfather also received an honorary dress from the same Pontiff, and our author says that he himself possessed the diploma which was sent along with it.

In the oldest copies of the text, and in several of the more recent, our author almost invariably styles himself 'the Jūrjānī'—حورجانی—as I have from the outset rendered it, but those *MSS* previously referred to, which appear to have been copied from the same source as that from which the *I O L MS* was taken, or from that copy itself, generally have حورجانی—Jūzānī—and sometimes Jūrjānī as above. If the point of ر—z—be left out, as very liable to be the case, like the points of other letters, by copyists, it is but simple ر—r. Words containing long ū—و—are often written with the short vowel *zammah* or *pesh*—و—instead of و—and hence, in some few copies, it is حورجانی—Jūrjānī, while sometimes it is written both ways in the same *MS*.

See the writing note⁷, at page 321, giving an account of the Amīr, Mas'ūd's inroad into the northern parts of Ghūr, when on his way from Ghaznīn to Hirāt, I have considered that the word given by our author referred to the tract of country described in that note as the Gūzgānān, or the Gūzgāns, by Tājzīks, but which 'Arabs, and people of 'Arab descent, who use ج—ch—for the Tājzīk گ—g—turn into Jūzjānān, and that the word he uses in connexion with his own name refers to one of the Gūzgāns, and that he should be styled 'the Gūzgānī' or 'Jūzjānī'. As the most trustworthy copies of the text, the best and most correctly written, had Jūrjānī, I considered it necessary to follow them as I had begun, and to mention the matter more in detail here in the Memoir of the Author's life.

Gūzgān, as the native inhabitants styled it, or Jūzjān, is not the name of a single town, village, or fortress,

but one of the small districts or tracts of country among the mountains, on the north west frontier of the country of Ghūr and north of Hirāt beyond the Murgh Ab—the Jibāl of Hirāt, as he himself styles it—but its exact position and the localities of most of the great fortresses mentioned by our author in the last Section of his work, are at present unknown to us. The Gūzganān, or Gūzgāns were the appanage of the Amīr Muḥammad brother of Masūd, and it was from thence that he was brought when he assumed the throne of Ghaznīn after the death of his father. Notwithstanding the details which our author gives respecting the great fortresses of Ghūr Gharijistan and other parts including the fortress of Tūlak which appears to have been his own place of residence at the time, and also the home of his maternal relatives (see page 1066 and note¹), which he helped to defend against the Mughal invaders and which must have been situated in one of the Gūzgāns he never once throughout his whole work refers to Gūzgan or Jūzjān except in connexion with his own name. See also notes to pages 186 and 232.

After the Ghūrls obtained possession of Lāhor in 582 H and they had seized the Sulṭān Khusrāu Malik, the last of the Sulṭāns of Ghaznīn our author's father was made Kāzī of the Ghūrlan army stationed at Lāhor under the Sipah Salār Allī Kar mākh, and twelve camels were assigned him for the conveyance of the establishment of his office his tribunal etc., on the life of march.

Our author was born after this in the year 589 H, the very year in which Dihlī of which and of which Musalmān Hinddom he was subsequently to become the chief Kāzī and Šadr was made the seat of the Musalmān government in Hindūstān by the Turk Mamlūk Kuṭb-ud Dīn Ibaḥ, who was, in after years, to become its first Muḥammadan Sulṭān. That our author was born at Lāhor as the Dāghistānī referred to farther on, asserts, cannot be correct for from what he himself states respecting his arrival at Uchchrah in 624 H [see pages 541 and 722] that was the first time he set foot in Hind. Had he been born at Lāhor, he would doubtless, have mentioned it and he would probably have been styled and known as the Lāhorī in consequence.

The next mention he makes of his father is that when

Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, ruler of Bāmīān and Tukhārīstān, succeeded his father on the throne, he desired that our author's father, the Maulānā, Sarāj-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, should take up his residence in his kingdom, and enter his service. With the sanction of his own sovereign and patron, and Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām's suzerain, namely, the Sultān of Ghūr, Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, the Maulānā proceeded to the Court of Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, and was made Kāzī of the kingdom of Bāmīān and Tukhārīstān, with the judicial administration over its forces, was made censor, with full powers as regards ecclesiastical law, and intrusted with the charge of two colleges, and their funds. This happened in 591 H, when our author was in his third year. He states that the diploma conferring these offices upon his father, in the handwriting of the Wazīr of the Bāmīān state, was still contained in the *kharītah* [a bag of embroidered silk for holding documents] containing his own diplomas, his banner, and turban of honour.

{The mother of our author was the foster-sister and school-mate of the Princess, Māh Malīk, the daughter of Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām,} mention of which lady will be found in several places in the following pages, and his mother appears to have continued in her service after her marriage. {Our author distinctly states that his early years were passed in the *Haram* of the Princess, until the period of his entering upon adolescence, when, according to Musalmān usages, he had to be sent elsewhere.} He speaks in terms of much gratitude of the fostering kindness and protection he received while dwelling in that Princess's household. Under these circumstances, Lāhor can scarcely have been the place of his birth.

When Sultān Takīsh, Khwārazm Shāh, withdrew his allegiance from the Khalīfah, Un-Nāṣir-ud-Dīn-Ullah, and the latter's troops had been defeated by him, Ibn-ur-Rabbī', and Ibn-ul-Khaṭīb, on two different occasions, came as envoys to the Courts of the Sultāns of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, to demand aid from these monarchs against Sultān Takīsh. In consequence, the Imām, Shams-ud-Dīn, the Turk, and the Maulānā, Sarāj-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, the Tājzīk, our

author's father were directed to proceed to Baghdād, to the Khālifah's Court, along with the envoys * They set out for Baghdād by way of Mukrān, and, in some affray into which they fell on the road they were attacked by a band of robbers, and our author's father was killed. Intimation of his death was received in a communication from the Khālifah to the Sultān, Ghiyās-ud Dīn Muḥammad i Sām in these words "Furthermore, Sarj i Minhāj perished in an affray on the road. The Almighty recompense him!"

Another of our author's relatives, his mother's brother's son was Ziyā ud Dīn Muḥammad, son of Abd us-Sallām Kāẓi of Tūlak, who was left in command of the fortress of Tabarhindah with a force of 1200 Tūlaks by the Sultān Muizz ud Dīn, Muḥammad i Sām when that Sultān was about to retire from Hind before the hot season of 587 H., intending to return after it was over and relieve him. The Kāẓi of Tūlak was to hold the place for seven months but, as the Sultān just after this arrangement was made was defeated by Rāc Pithorā, and severely wounded in the battle and an expedition into Khurāsān soon after intervened he was totally unable to come to the Kāẓi's relief as agreed upon in the following season and consequently after having held out over thirteen months, the Kāẓi Ziyā ud Dīn Muḥammad, had to capitulate.

At the time Sultān Ghiyās ud Dīn Maḥmūd son of Ghiyās-ud Dīn Muḥammad i Sām was assassinated by the Khwarazmī refugees in Ṣafar 607 H., our author was dwelling at Fīrūz koh, and was then in his eighteenth year.

In 611 H., the year preceding the surrender of his capital, Fīrūz koh by the last of the Sultāns of the Ghūrī dynasty

* He was despatched on this mission by Ghiyās ud Dīn, Muḥammad-i Sām, Sultān of Ghūr, the elder brother and suzerain of Muizz ud Dīn, Muḥammad, Sultān of Ghamīn, who, in a paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Part I. No. I for 1880, page 28, by Mr C. R. Stupnagel, is styled *Mu'as ud-dīn*. The writer is at a loss to know why the elder brother's name appears on his younger brother's coins, and informs us that of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-dīn *scarcely anything is known*. "I beg to recommend him to study the twenty three pages respecting him in the following translation, and to refer to note * page 472, and * page 489. Here again *Mu'as*" is turned into "the first *Pishān* king of Dehli!" See also Part I. No. II., page 84, of the '*Journal*'

our author proceeded thither. Two years after we find him in Sijistān, at Zaranj, the capital, where he remained some time. At this period the whole of the territories which had formed the empire of the Ghūrīs, including the dominions of Ghaznīn; and extending east of the Indus into the upper part of the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah of the Panj-āb as far as the Jhīlam, had fallen under the sway of the Khwārazmīs. These events must, in some way, have been the cause of his sojourn in Sijistān for seven months, but he is quite silent on the causes which led him there. See page 195

In 617 H, during the first inroad of the Mughals into Ghūr and Khurāsān, before the Chingiz Khān himself crossed the Oxus with his main army, our author was living at Tūlak, and, shortly after, in the same year, took part in the defence of that fortified town against the invaders, who kept prowling about it for about eight months. During a period of four years, from the above mentioned year up to the close of 620 H, during which the Mughals made several attempts upon it, he helped to defend it.

In 618 H, the year in which he says the Chingiz Khān crossed the Jihūn into Khurāsān, and he was in his thirtieth year, he married the daughter of a kinsman of his own, and, in 620 H, he determined, as soon as circumstances permitted, to leave his native country, and proceed into Hindūstān, not liking, apparently, to dwell in a country overrun by the Mughal infidels. In 621 H he was despatched from Tūlak, where he was then living, and in the defence of which against the Mughals he had just taken part, by Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan-i-Khar-post, to Isfizār, after Khurāsān had become clear of Mughals, and from thence into the Khūhistān—the Chingiz Khān had, at that time, returned homewards—to endeavour to arrange for the re-opening of the *kārwān* routes, which, during the Mughal invasion, had been closed, and the traffic suspended.

On a second occasion, in 622 H, he again proceeded from Tūlak into the Khūhistān for the same purpose, at the request of Malīk Rukn-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of 'Uṣmān, the Maraghānī, of Khāesār of Ghūr, the father of

Malik Shams-ud Dīn Muḥammad the first of the Kurat dynasty as the Tājīk—not Afghān, I beg leave to say—rulers of the fiefs of Hirāt and Ghūr and their dependencies, who were the vassals of the Mughals, were styled. The following year he again set out on a journey into the Kuhistān, on the part of Malik Rukn ud Dīn, Muḥammad that the *karadān* route might be re-opened. From Khācsār he first went to Farāh and from thence proceeded by way of Sijistān into the territory referred to, and returned to Khācsār again.

In 623 H. our author who appears to have left Tūlak and was residing at Khācsār with the permission of Malik Rukn ud Dīn, Muḥammad, went to Farāh in order to purchase a little silk required by him for his journey into Hindūstān. Having arrived in the neighbourhood of Farāh Malik Tāj ud Dīn Bināl Tigīn the Khwārazmī who then ruled over Sijistān and was engaged in war with the Mulāhidah of the Kuhistān induced him to undertake a journey into the latter territory, to endeavour to bring about an accommodation between himself and the Mulāhidah governor of that part, the Muhtashim Shams-ud Dīn. Our author was accompanied by the son of Malik Rukn ud Dīn Muḥammad whose name is not mentioned but, in all probability, it was the identical Shams-ud Dīn Muḥammad the founder of the Kurat dynasty. Our author succeeded in effecting an accommodation but it does not appear to have been on terms acceptable to Malik Tāj ud Dīn Bināl Tigīn for he wished him to return to the Muhtashim's presence and declare war again. This he declined to do, as he had several times put off his journey into Hind and was now desirous of departing without further delay and before the Mughals should again appear. Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Bināl Tigīn was wroth at this refusal and shut him up within the walls of the fortress of Şafhed of Sijistān. There he was detained for a period of forty three days, but, Malik Rukn ud Dīn Muḥammad having interfered in his behalf he was set at liberty.

He did not allow the grass to grow under his feet after this, and in the fifth month of the following year—Jamādī ul Awwal, 624 H., [in another place he says it was Rajab the seventh month, while in another place—page 612—he

says it was in 625 H], by way of Ghaznīn and Banīān, he reached Ūchchah by boat , and, in the following Zī-Hijjah, Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, ruler of Ūchchah and Multān, placed him in charge of the Fīrūzī College at Ūchchah, and made him Kāzī of the forces of his son, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh

Our author could distinguish the winning side, and preferred it, for, no sooner had Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, ruler of Dihlī, Ḳabā-jah's rival, appeared before Ūchchah, than he deserted Kabā-jah and the Fīrūzī College, and went over to his rival. In the first place, our author presented himself before Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān, who was in command of the van of I-yal-timish's forces , and, a few days after, I-yal-timish himself having arrived, he waited on him. He was favourably received, and was appointed to officiate, in his priestly capacity, within that Sultān's camp. After the fall of Ūchchah, he accompanied I-yal-timish to Dihlī, and reached it in Ramazān, 625 H

He subsequently accompanied the Sultān, in his priestly capacity, to Gwāliyūr in 629 H , and, in the following year, after that stronghold was taken possession of, was made Ḳāzī, Khatīb, and Imām of Gwāliyūr and its dependencies, under the governor, Rashīd-ud-Dīn, 'Alī. In the early part of Sultān Raziyyat's reign he returned to Dihlī, but he was not removed from office, neither was he a "forgiven rebel,"³ and, during his absence from Gwāliyūr, his Deputies acted for him. On reaching the capital, in 635 H , that sovereign added to his offices that of Superintendent of the Nāsirīah College at Dihlī.

In the year 639 H , in the reign of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, our author was made Chief Ḳāzī of the Dihlī kingdom, and of the capital as well. In the disturbances which arose between that Sultān and his Amīrs, our author, and other ecclesiastics, endeavoured to bring about a peaceful accommodation, but without effect. In Zī-Ḳa'dah of the same year, the Khawājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, the Wazīr, bribed a number of villains to murder him , and, after the conclusion of the Friday's prayers, on

³ See page 1285, and Thomas's "*Pathan Kings of Dehli*," page 105

the 7th of that month, they actually attacked him in the Jāmi Masjid but he escaped without hurt.

Soon after on the accession of Sultān Alā ud Dīn, Masūd Shāh on the Khwājah, Muḥazzab-ud Dīn, being reappointed Wazīr our author in 640 H., resigned the Chief Kāẓī ship and in Rajab of that year left Dihlī in order to proceed into the territory of Lakhanawatl There he remained about two years, and there he acquired his information respecting it and its rulers While residing in that country he accompanied Malik Tughril 1 Tughān Khān in his expedition against the Rāe of Jāj Nagar and was present at the attack on the frontier post of Katāsin, in Shawwāl, 641 H. On the removal of that Malik from the government of Lakhanawatl in 643 H. our author accompanied him on his return to Dihlī, and, in Ṣafar of that year presented himself at Court. Muḥazzab-ud Dīn had in the meantime been put to death by the Amīrs, and through the interest and efforts of his subsequent munificent patron Malik Ghuyās-ud Dīn Balban (afterwards Ulugh Khān 1 Aḡam and subsequently Sultān of Dihlī) who held the office of Amīr 1 Hājib three days after his return, he was put in charge of the Nāṣiriāh College once more, and entrusted with the administration of its endowments the lecture-ship of the Jāmi Masjid and the Kāẓī ship of Gwāliyūr according to the previous grant. Subsequently in the same year he accompanied the army which advanced to the banks of the river Bīāh for the relief of Ūchchah when invested by the Mughals.

In 644 H., at Jalhandar [in the Panj āb] on the return of the army on the occasion of performing the services prescribed for the Id 1 Aẓhā in the hall of the College there the new Sultān, Nāṣir ud Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, to whom this History is dedicated, presented our author with a cloak, a turban and a richly caparisoned horse. In 645 H., he wrote a description in verse of the expedition against Talsandah, entitled the "Nāṣiri Nāmah. The Sultān rewarded him for this with a yearly stipend, and Malik Ghuyās-ud Dīn Balban the hero of the poem and commander of the expedition, gave him the revenues of a village in the Hānsī province, which was that Malik's fief at that period. In

649 H, for the second time, the Chief Kāzī-ship of the Dihlī kingdom, with jurisdiction over the capital as well, was conferred upon him, but, when, two years after, in 651 H, the eunuch, 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān, succeeded in his conspiracy for the removal from office of our author's patron, who had been raised to the title of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam in 647 H, and he was banished the Court, our author, like others of the Ulugh Khān's clients and supporters, was removed from the office of Chief Kāzī, and it was conferred upon one of the Rayhānī's creatures, notwithstanding our author stood so high in the estimation of the weak and puppet Sultān. In 652 H, matters improved a little a new Wazīr succeeded, and, while in the Kol district, whither our author appears to have accompanied the Sultān's Court, the title of Ṣadr-i-Jahān⁴ was conferred upon him

At the close of the following year the Rayhānī was ousted from office, the Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam again assumed the direction of affairs, and our author, who, for months past, had been unable, for fear of his life, to leave his dwelling, even to attend the Friday's service in the Jāmī' Masjid, was, in Rabi'-ul-Awwal, 653 H, for the third time, made Chief Kāzī of the Dihlī kingdom, with jurisdiction over the capital as before

With the exception of his remark at page 715, in winding up the events of the year 658 H, that if his life should be spared—he was then in his seventieth year—and aptitude should remain, whatever events might subsequently occur would be recorded, our author henceforward disappears from the scene, and we hear no more of him. At the end of his account of the Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam farther on, he does not renew that promise, nor does he do so when finally closing his History. The munificent rewards he received on presenting copies of his work to the Sultān and to the latter's father-in-law, the Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, are mentioned at page 1294. He refers to his family casually, now and then, in the following pages, but, with a single exception, enters into no particulars whatever. At page 820 he says, with reference to the Malik-ul-Hujjāb [Head of the Chamberlains], 'Alā-ud-Dīn, the Zinjānī, that he is "his son, and the light of his eyes," but he could not have been

⁴ See page 698, and note ⁸

his son from the fact of his being styled "the Zinjāni" that is to say, a native of Zinjan in Khurasān. He may have been his son in law or an adopted son.

When the emissaries from Khurasān were received by the Sultan Nāṣir ud Dīn Mahmūd Shāh, as related at page 847 our author composed a poem befitting the occasion and this, he says, was read before the throne by one of his sons. He also in one place refers to a brother.

Between the time when our author closes this History in 658 H. and the Ulugh Khān i Aḡam succeeded to the throne of Dīhli under the title of Sultan Ghiyāṣ ud Dīn in 664 H.—the date generally accepted although Fāḥī says it was in 662 H.—is a period of about six years—and as no other writer that we know of has recorded the events of that period it is a complete blank in Indian History, which, I fear cannot be filled up. Zivā ud Dīn, Baranī in his Tarīkh i Fīrū Shāhī which is not much to be depended on says he takes up the relation of events from the time our author left off but this I do not correct for he begins with the reign of Sultan Ghiyāṣ ud Dīn Balban.

Our author died in his reign but when cannot be discovered neither can the place of his burial. Possibly some inscription may hereafter turn up which may tell us, but there is no record available in any of the works I have raved through in search of the information. Whether his health failed him—whether he grew out of favour with his old patron, the new Sultan—or whether circumstances arose which as regards the Ulugh Khān a conduct towards the weak minded but amiable, Sultan Nāṣir ud Dīn Mahmūd Shāh would not bear the light of day—for there are vague statements of foul play on the part of the Ulugh Khān but no proofs—who shall say? Some writers state that the Sultan died a natural death which is most probable and some further add that he having neither offspring nor heir nominated his father in law the Ulugh Khān i Aḡam his successor which was but natural, seeing that for nearly twenty years he had virtually ruled the state. That the Ulugh Khān i Aḡam poisoned him appears unworthy of credence since had he desired to supplant him or get rid of him he might have effected either object years before. See note¹, page 716

The only mention I can find, after much search, respecting these years, between the closing of our author's History and the accession of the new Sultān, is the following from Fasīḥ-ī. "Sultān Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, died in this year, 662 H, and great anarchy and disorder arose throughout the territory of Hindūstān. At last, since among the great Amīrs of Hind, for prudence, counsel, wisdom, munificence, dignity, magnificence, and power, the Amīr, Ghiyāsh-ud-Dīn [the Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam] was pre-eminently distinguished, and as he had obtained his freedom previously—a matter never alluded to by our author—he, with the unanimous accord of the great nobles and grandees of the kingdom, ascended the throne of Dihlī in the beginning of this year, 662 H"

The Dāghistānī, previously referred to, in his Tazkirah, under the letter سی — s — has the following — "Sarāj-ud-Dīn-i-Minhāj is the author of the Tabakāt-i-Nāṣirī, which he completed in the name of the Malīk of Hind, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn. His birthplace was Lāhor, and his origin was from Samr-kand"

This last sentence of the Dāghistānī's is sufficient to show that he is not entirely to be depended upon, in this instance at least. Our author's family was not from Samr-kand. The Dāghistānī also gives the following as a quatrain of our author's —

"That heart which, through separation, thou madest sad,
From every joy that was, which thou madest bare of,
From thy disposition I am aware that, surely and unexpectedly
The rumour may arise that thou hast broken it"

In the "Al-Faḥr-ul-Akhyār" — a Biographical Collection of Notices of Saints — of 'Abd-ul-Ḥakk [he died 1052 H = 1642 A D], the following will be found respecting our author — "The Shāikh, Kāzī Minhāj, the Jurjānī, the author of the Tabakāt-i-Nāṣirī, was a saint, and one of the most learned and excellent of his time, and one of those who would become filled with religious ecstasies on hearing the singing at Zikrs or Tazkīrs. When he became Kāzī of Hindūstān that office assumed integrity and rectitude. The Shāikh, Nizām-ud-Dīn,⁵ states — "I used, every Monday,

⁵ This, probably, is no other than the celebrated saint of Dihlī

to go to his Tazkirs until one day when I was present at one of them he delivered this quatrain —

The lip, in the ruby lips of heart ravishers delighting,
And to ruffle the dishevelled tresses essaying,
To-day is delightful, but to-morrow it is not—
To make one's self like as straw fuel for the fire.

When I heard this verse, says the Shaiikh Nizām ud Dīn I became as one beside myself and it was some time before I came to my senses again

Our author appears to have been deeply imbued with the tenets of Şūfī ism for a brief essay on which see the Introduction to my "Poetry of the Afghāns." Professor Sprenger tells me that he was a notorious Şūfī. A good account of these Zikrs, or Tazkirs, will be found in the notes to the Third Chapter of Lane's 'Thousand and One Nights.'

Before closing this brief memoir of our author it will be necessary to mention the reasons which led him to write this History. These he gives in the Preface dedicating the work to the Sultān Nāṣir ud Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh and this divested of much of its fulsome adulation and redundant expressions, may well appear as the Preface to this translation of his History

THE AUTHOR'S PREFACE ¹ AND DEDICATION.

IN the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate¹

Thus sayeth Abū-'Umar-i-'Uṣmān, son of Muhammad-al-Minhāj-al-Jurjānī, that, when, through the blessing of Almighty God, the diadem and throne of the dominion of Hindūstān became graced by [encircling] the blessed head, and adorned by [being pressed by] the august foot of that Lord of the World, Nāsir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Muzaffar-i-Mahmūd Shāh, son of the Sultān, I-yal-tīmīsh—May his reign long continue!—and the khutbah and coin became embellished with his titles and his name, and, during the reign of which august sovereign, the justice-seat of the Kāzī-ship of the empire of Hindūstān was consigned to this loyal servant, on a certain occasion, in the tribunal of law and justice, a book came under his observation which the learned and worthy of former times had compiled² for the edification of the select and distinguished of posterity. This had been taken from the annals of the Prophets and Kalīfahs—On whom be peace!—together with their genealogies, and the histories of the reigns of great Malīks [kings] of bygone times—The splendour of the Almighty illumine their tombs!—and had been written down in tabulated forms, and abbreviated after the manner

¹ This Preface varies in some copies, particularly at the commencement, to the extent of a page or more

² I do not find any trace in the Preface to either of the copies collated, of the "tabular chronicle compiled by the Imām Mohammad Alī Abu l-Kāsim Imādī, in the time of Nāsir ol-dīn Soboktūkin," mentioned by Col Lees, LL D, in the English Preface to the Calcutta Printed Text, nor is it to be found in its Persian Preface. The words are جمع که افاض سلف
بود. The Imām's "Tārīkh-i-Majdūl" is mentioned in Section XI

of an epitome, in the time of the Sultāns of the dynasty of Nāṣir ud Dīn Sabuk Tigin—The Almighty guard their last resting place!—from every flower-garden a flower from every sea a drop they had brought together [in this book] After mentioning the Prophets and giving their genealogies and that of the Khalīfahs of the Banī Um miyah and Banī Abbās, the Maliks of Ajam and the Akāsrah, they rested content with an account of the family of the august Sultān Maḥmūd i Sabuk Tigin i Ghāzī—On whom be peace!—and abstained from any mention of other great Maliks, or the dynasties or annals of the Sultāns of the past.

This frail one desired therefore, that this meagre History should be filled up from first to last, from beginning to end with an account of the whole of the Maliks and Sultāns of Islām both of Arab and of Ajam and that a candle out of every dynasty should be enkindled in this assembly and that to the head of every race, a cap might be stitched by the relation of events and occurrences and illustrious actions. Therefore, an account is recorded here, of the Tubbā yawa of Yaman and the Himyar Maliks and after mention of the Khalīfahs, an account of the Tāhiris Suffāris Sāmānis the dynasty of Buwāh, the Saljuks Rumis, Shansabānis, and the Sultāns of that family who were sovereigns of Ghūr Ghaznīn and Hind the Khwārazm Shāhis the Kurd Maliks who are Sultāns of Shām and the Muizziah Maliks and Sultāns who became Bādshāhs on the thrones of Ghaznīn and of Hind up to the present time which is the reign of the heir to the diadem and throne of the dominions of the Iyal timīshī dynasty and house,

Sultān ul Muazzam Sultān us Salāṭīn I'l l Ālamīn
NĀṢIR UD DUNYĀ WA UD DĪN
ABŪ L MUZAFFAR I MAHMŪD SHĀH
Yamīn i Khalīfah U'llah Kasīm i Amīr ul Mūminīn
—Khuld U'llah Salṭanatuhu !*

* Signifying, The Supreme Sultān, The Sultān of the Sultāns of the World, The Defender of the World and of the Faith, The Victorious (or Accustomed to Conquer), MAHMŪD SHĀH The Right Hand of God's Khalīfah The Co-Sharer with the Lord of the Faithful—The Almighty perpetuate his Reign!

and this History is reduced to writing, and adorned with his august titles and name,⁴ and is entitled the

TABAKĀT-I-NĀSIRĪ

It is his implicit hope, through the perfect grace of the Creator, the Most High and Holy, that, when this book shall be honoured by the blessed sight of this Bādshāh, the Asylum of the World, it may meet with the felicity of his approbation, and that from the zenith of the firmament of benefaction, and the summit of the sphere of favour, a ray of the royal grace may shine upon this frail one, and, after his removal from this temporary dwelling, from its readers may a kind invocation endure, and, should they become cognizant of any error or omission, may they veil it with the skirt of the robe of forgiveness, since whatever was to be found in trustworthy chronicles is herein recorded

⁴ In FIROZ, vol II, page 261, the editor, Mr Dowson, tells us that, "The eulogistic way in which he [our author] always speaks of the successor of Nasiruddin would induce the belief that the work appeared in the reign of that Sultan, and the fact is proved by his more than once offering up an ejaculatory prayer for the continuance of his reign." Again, at page 362 of the same work, in a foot-note, we are informed that "The text says 'the Sultan (may God prolong his reign),' plainly showing that this part of the work [the notice of Ulugh Khān—the text at page 807 of this Translation is referred to] was written in the reign of Balban."

What our author says above, as well as his other statements noticed in the body of the work, and up to its very conclusion, are, perhaps, *undoubted proofs* that this work was neither written, nor appeared, in Balban's reign

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XV Malik Tāj-ud Dīn, Sanjar i Kuret Khān	756
XVI Malik Saif ud Dīn, Bat Khān I bak i Khīṭā f	757
XVII Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Sanjar-i-Tar Khān	759
XVIII. Malik Ikhtiyār ud Dīn, Yūz-bak i Tughril Khān	761

ADDITIONAL NOTES AND EMENDATIONS

THERE is some disadvantage in publishing an extensive History of this kind in parts after each portion is completed, because any extra information obtained during the progress of the work cannot be inserted in its proper place. To remedy this, as much as possible I have embodied here such further information in the form of Additional Notes and Emendations.

Page 34.—Further research shows that Arg or Ark— اُرك —is an error of the copyists for Ük— اُك —the y having been mi taken for y , as suggested in note *. The word is correctly given in the last Section. See pages 1120, 1124, and note, page 112, para. 5. It was a celebrated fortress of Sijistān and was still an important place when Amīr Tīmūr took it.

Page 36—"Sanjar's," in note * taken from Faṣīḥ f. i. an error for Sijistān or Sigizis, that is to say Sijistāns or Sigizāns. See note * page 34. This error is frequently made by oriental authors as well as scribes.

Page 52, note *—All the copies of the text are wrong with respect to this word, and have د for ج . Öz känd of Turkistān is meant, not Örgān the capital of Khwārazm. See note * page 1097.

Page 68, line 5—There is no doubt whatever as to the meaning of the text here respecting Sabuk Tigin's nickname; and that one man could possibly be nicknamed *Black troop* or *Black spear* is very improbable. See note * page 852, and Elliot's India, vol. viii. page xii. where, if not *ghanzā* there is, at least, *ghabdr-angrā*. I have not followed the printed text in this Translation, because it is very incorrect as well defective.

The Turk Amīr-ul-Umarā of Baghdād, who was accidentally killed by some Kurds in 329 H. bore the name of Duj-kum [دجكم], as written with the vowel points, which is the same word as I supposed that applied to Sabuk Tigin to be from the way it was written in one copy of the text which Turkish word means, in the Tājīk language, *ghajz ghāo* [چواو]. See the last para. of note * and the Bodleian copy of the Kitāb-ul-kāmil of Izz-ud-Dīn Ibn al-Aṣīr under the year 329 H. It is therefore quite clear that Jūk [not Hūk (حوک)] which is the same word less the vowel point of ح left out by the copyists; a similar name occurs at page 47, entitled Sabuk Tigin, was, by his Turkish comrades, nicknamed "the Karī Duj-kum" the Tājīk translation of which is the Sīyah *Ghajz Ghāo*, which is the kutāb of Mīrāz Hakīr the Dughlāt Mughal who gives a description of that immense and formidable animal. The English translation thereof is "The Black Wild Yak" *syak* here signifying furious as well as black, and the Turkish *kārī* will bear the same construction. See note at page 922, and at 948, para. 2.

Page 77 note * para. 1—There is no doubt whatever as to the point of junction of the rivers of Nūr and Kīrāt at Darīnshāh, now a well known place. The words in the original are الور و دراب but the printer has carelessly let

the l drop out after the type was set up, and the proof passed for press I have described the Darah of Nūr, as well as Darūnthah, in my "NOTES ON AFGHĀNISTĀN," page 108, and there they will be found Mr Dowson appears to have forgotten what is contained in his second vol., page 465 See also vol. 1. page 394, which is certainly amusing

Page 95 —The fortress of Gīrī here mentioned, I believe, refers to the fortress of Gībar Kot in Bājawṛ See "Notes on Afghānistān," page 117

The word "Tahkī" in para. 5 should be "Tighrī"

Page 101 —The singular of the word *murghān* [مرغان], which I have rendered "carrier pigeons," "signifies a *bird absolutely*" [مطلق پرند], and not a *fove* only, as Mr Dowson imagined, and as *foves* do not carry news, and carrier pigeons are referred to by the same word as is here used in note 5, page 1280, para. 4, I had no hesitation in adopting the rendering I have Another proof that carrier pigeons were meant is the fact that *one day* was not sufficient to convey the news from Ghaznīn to the fortress of Baz-Ghūnd, afterwards known as Kūshk-i-Sultān, for that was at Fīrūz-Koh, a distance of about 240 miles as the crow flies, and a very difficult tract of country to traverse

Pages 104, 105 —There is an error here respecting our author's ancestors, caused by some confusion in most copies of the text, which have "great-great-grandfather," whereas, from his statements elsewhere, his third ancestor, or great grandfather, is meant It should stand "great grandfather" at page 104, and "That princess bore him a son, whom he named Ibrāhīm, and he was the father of the Maulānī, Minhāj ud-Dīn, 'Uṣmān-i-Ibrāhīm, upon whom be the mercy of the Almighty' The Maulānā, Minhāj ud-Dīn, was the father of the Maulānī, Sarāj ud Dīn," etc., etc.

Page 106 —The text is not چد بارو و قصه — "*chād bārāh wa kasbah*" — as Mr Dowson imagined, and even if it were, although *bārāh* means "walls," it does not mean "a fortification," much less "fortifications," but the text has بارو — *barā* — not "bārāh," and no و — and the signification, of the sentence, in the idiom of the East, is as rendered in the Translation The very same word occurs at page 821 — *barā* — of the printed text — but that Mr Dowson leaves untranslated See also printed text, page 100 and page 1294 of this Translation

Page 122, note ¹ —The proper title and names of this Chief are Amīr Imād-ud-Daulah, Dī ūd-i Jaghar Beg, or Jagharī Beg," son of Mīkā'il [Faṣīḥ i says, son of Tagharī Beg], son of Abū Sulmān, son of Saljūq. The word Mīkā'il has been left out accidentally after Jaghar Beg.

Page 154 line 6 after poetry —The word *Kabālik*, written in the text كابل is an error for *Kaṣālī*, كاسالى—the *l* was made *l* by the copyists. For the details respecting it see page 900, and note ². Karā Khitā i in the same paragraph should be Karā Khitāle, the latter word, or Karā Khitā, being the proper name, the substantive, applied to the country and the former the adjective, applied to the people, as correctly given a few lines under and farther on.

Pages 159, 160.—Kizil is the more correct mode of writing this Turkish word, signifying "red," and so it should be read in all cases.

Page 162, note ² —The Nū-īn or Nū yān, Tājū, is the same leader as is mentioned at page 1237 and is the Tānjū of the Pro-Mughal writers. See note at page 1191 line 10.

Page 163 note line 9.—Abghā Khān cannot be correct, for the period indicated was the interregnum which occurred between the death of Kyūk Khān, and the accession of Mangū Kā'n in 648 *il*. Ab-ghā, Ab-kā, Abighā, or Abākā Khān, Ilulūk's son, appears to be referred to here and he only succeeded his father in 661 *il*. See note at page 1287 para. 2.

Page 164, line 15.—The Nū īn, Aljaktā, here mentioned, is the Aljaktāle or more correctly Iljktāle, Ilchiktāle, or Ilchiktāle, as it is variously written, the desolator of Hīrāt. Much about the latter Sultāns of Rūm will be found in note ⁷ page 1261.

Page 183.—The campaign against Khitā mentioned here refers to the war with the Gūr Khān of Karā Khitāle mentioned at pages 261 and 934.

Page 201 —Arg of Sīstān. This refers, as previously mentioned, to Ūk. According to the Pro-Mughal writers, the investment took place in 627 *il* but it actually commenced in 625 *il* and terminated in 627 *il*. the place having held out nineteen months. See page 1120.

Page 224 and note ² —The chroniclers of the Crusades say that it was proposed that Joan of Sicily sister of Richard Cœur de Lion, should be given in marriage to Saphaddin, as they write the title, Salf-ud-Dīn, and that Jerusalem should be yielded to the parties in this strange alliance. The Princess, however refused to give her consent, and so the affair came to nothing.

Page 233, line 6 —After Muḥammad there should be an *adfat*, namely Muḥammad i- Ugmān, because Ugmān was his father. See page 1198.

Page 233 line 12, and note —Şubārī is the same place as is referred to at page 227 and again at page 237 where it is said to be in Turkistān.

Page 235, line 12.—This well known place is called Gumrān, and Jumarān by Arabs, and people of Arab descent. Its correct name, according to the pronunciation of the people inhabiting it, was Guljarwān, as mentioned in the note below. See note ² pages 257 and 258, and pages 376 and 475.

Page 239, note ¹ —There is an error here: it should be sixteen, not eight" years, for from 551 *il*, as mentioned in the preceding note ⁶ to 567 *il*, is a period of sixteen years.

Page 254, line 18.—At page 240 the Khān of Kīschik is styled Akrān or Ikṛān. This was his Turkish name, and Kadr which is Arabic—Kadr Khān—his Musalmān title only. Our author to avoid confusion, ought to have given both.

distance from the Parwān Pass. His main army was encamped at and around the Puṣhtāh-i-Nuṁān, near by. It is a common error for writers to mistake Tāl-kān which is in Khurāsān, for Tāe-kān, which is in Tukhārīstān and these errors are contained in the Tārīkh-i-Jahān Kūshāe, and other works consulted by me which led me to suppose that our author's statement at page 290 might possibly be wrong, but he was perfectly correct and the others wrong. At page 1016, likewise, our author mentions Wālightān as the identical place invested by the Mughals which Sulṭān Jalāl ud Dīn marched to relieve, and there the details will be found.

Page 290, note 4.—Tāl-kān had fallen after a long siege, and *before* the Chingiz Khān set out in pursuit of the Sulṭān. The writers, who mistake that place for Tāe-kān, make the Chingiz Khān move towards Gharnān by way of Andar-āb, Bāmīān, and Kābul, thus making the geography suit their statements. He reached Gharnān by a much more direct route; and such a place as Bāmīān is not once referred to. See page 1016, and note 4.

Page 318, line 1.—Aytkīn-ābād." From the way in which the first part of this word is written elsewhere, and what is stated at pages 350 and 448, and in note 6 this *might* be more correctly written Al Tigīn-ābād, and might refer to Tigīn-ābād, about which so much is said but the site of which, unless old Kandahār stood on it—which I am sometimes inclined to think, because the latter name begins to be mentioned when the other disappears—has been altogether lost.

Page 319, line 1.—Tajir Koh." This I believe to be the Nakhjir of Balhāḡ, or in some way connected with it.

Page 319, line 11.—It was not my MSS. which "*enabled*" me *to correct*" the words *the fifth mountain is Fay Hasanid*" in Elliot (see vol. vii., p. xviii.), but the knowledge that *fay* is a common term for a defile or pass, in the same way that I was aware what rā ḡlāt meant, and that "*the mountains of Rāḡid*" was, and is, an impossible translation, whether worthy of consideration" or not. I was also aware that "*Sarka sanç*" was not a proper name, as supposed, and rendered in Elliot, which Mr. Dowson wisely passes over in his scrupulous examination," but two very simple, every day words.

Page 341 note 7.—See note at page 348, last para. Bahrām Shāh is said to have died in 543 H. the year previous to Bahā ud Dīn, Sām, the Ghūrī, but our author distinctly states at page 111 that Bahrām Shāh was succeeded by his son nine years later namely in 552 H. The former date may refer to the Rīḡlat.

Page 370, line 4 from the bottom.—The meaning usually assigned to Sar i Jān-dār as here given, is not correct, but, at page 603, I have mentioned its correct signification. See also pages 410 and 447.

Page 378, line 8.—Kīlāf, or Kīlīf, is probably the town on the Oxus of that name, only in our maps, it is placed on the farther (north) bank.

Page 379, note 6.—See page 469, and Appendix A. page ii.

Page 391 note 3.—As subsequently shown, Ighrīk was the name of a Turk mān tribe, and the territory held by those people was sometimes called after them. See pages 1015 and 1043.

Page 392, last line.—The Ūrgān here mentioned may possibly refer to Ūrgūn of Ghaznīn. See my "Notes on Afghānistān," page 85.

Page 427 last para. of note — Rāḡīf. The name of this place is also written Arḡuf—ارغوف—in several histories, the first letter being placed second.

Page 429, line 4, and note 4.—Rīx is the name of a place near Sabzwār

events which happened subsequently before others which happened previously Malik Kuṣb-ud Dīn had gone to join the late Sulṭān in the expedition against the Khokhars, as related at page 604, under the reign of Iyāl timīgh and had not left the Panjāb. Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, was assassinated on the 3rd of Sha'bān, the eighth month of 602 H. and Malik Kuṣb-ud Dīn, according to our author assumed sovereignty at Lāhor in Zī Kā dah, which is the eleventh month. But there is, I think, no doubt that the correct date of his assuming sovereignty was 605 H., as stated at page 398, for it was only in that year that he received his manumission from Sulṭān Maḥmūd; and it is very certain that an unmanumitted slave could not assume sovereignty. It is very possible, however that Sulṭān Alī-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, who had been made Sulṭān of Ghūr on the death of Sulṭān Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, may have sent Kuṣb-ud Dīn the investiture of Hindustān when Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud Dīn was assassinated, and before he was himself ousted by his rival Maḥmūd, to whom Kuṣb-ud Dīn, as stated at page 398, sent soliciting his manumission. See also note to page 535, para. 2.

Page 529, note — It is barely possible that the words Kuṣb-ud Dīn's brother's son — برادر پسر — may have been intended by Abū-l Faḡl and others, and that in some copies the word *sh* may have been left out by the scribes, but, whether Abū-l Faḡl says so or not, it is clearly stated that Kuṣb-ud Dīn had *no son*; still, on the other hand we are not told that he had a brother. An adopted son is by far the most probable.

Page 531 last line. — This word, like *Al Tigīn*, may be, more correctly *Al Tīmūr* as no diacritical points are given in the text.

Page 539. — The *Khalj*, not *Khilj* are by no means hypothetical, but a well-known tribe, as may be seen from these pages. See Elliot, vol. viii. p. xviii. There was no army of *Khilj* but a contingent from the *Khalj* tribe served in the army of the Sulṭān of Khwārazm. A Turk tribe, or part of a tribe, all the males being armed, was a *laṭṭar* in itself; and who and what the *Khalj* were who sought refuge in Sind is explained in the note. That these few formed *all the forces of Khwārazm* is a blunder pure and simple. What the forces of Khwārazm were composed of is mentioned in many places in this work.

Page 551 text, para. 2. — Two or three copies of the Persian text have these additional words at the beginning of the para: *For one or two years in this manner he used,* etc.

Page 553, note ¹ line 7 — 559 H. is a printer's error for 590 H. as the context plainly shows.

Page 562¹ note, last para. line 4, where *Dīnā pūr* occurs, is also a mere press error unobserved by the printer's reader for *Dīnāj pūr*. It is correctly given in the preceding note ¹ pages 558—559, and *Dīnāj pūr* should be read in all places.

Page 567 line 11 — *Nūnīs* is incorrect: it is an error in the text of *1* for *3*. The *Tūnīs* are described farther on, page 1157. The *Kar battan* of our author may be *Shigatze* of the latest maps, or where *Shigatze* now stands; and the great river in which the Muslimān troops perished is, doubtless, the *Sānpa*. They must have penetrated to within a few marches of *Lhāsā*. Names of places become changed in the course of six or seven centuries, especially when old dynasties, one after the other have been overturned, and others have arisen.

Page 581 — See Elliot's *India*, vol. viii. p. xx. The Editor Mr Downon, does not see the least necessity for my criticism of the incorrect

translation of this sentence in vol 11 of that work, and says that the words are (in the text) "Nān-i khurish-i safriyāna," and that "*bread* for travelling food" is its literal translation, explained in dictionaries as "travelling provisions," and adds that minē is "a paraphrase, not a translation"

Safar certainly means "journey," "travelling," etc., but "*safar*" does not. The printed text, which Mr Dowson says he so implicitly followed, has the words قمری before the "travelling food." What has become of them in the "literal translation"? The words for the food are not "nān-i-khurish-i safriyāna,"—there should be no *izāfat* after *nān*—but *nān-khurish i-safariānah*, *nān-khurish* being a well-known compound word, signifying some dainty or savoury morsel to eat along with bread, such as meat, fish, cheese, pickles, or the like, and is equivalent to the Arabic word *ادم* which word, as well as *nān-khurish*, he will probably find in his dictionary if he refers to it

Page 582 —There is no necessity to "*venture* upon any explanation of the position" of Basan-koṭ, as suggested by Mr Dowson, because it is sufficiently well known, but, in Elliot, the proper name has been left out entirely

Page 583, note 9 —"To better his means" The next page shows how he bettered them. He came, as others still come from the very same parts, to better his means, and the word in the Translation is correct as rendered. He was an eminent ecclesiastic and good preacher, and was, therefore, invited to deliver "*a discourse*" before the pious and orthodox Sultān and his Court, as I have translated the sentence, and as any one else would do who knew what he was translating

Mr Dowson, however (vol viii, p xxi), "*cannot admit Major Riberly's improved rendering of the words,*" although he is himself "*not satisfied with the Munshi's rendering in Elliot 'his name was mentioned at Court,'*" and considers "*Having recited a commemorative (speech or ode), he came to Court,*" would be much better, or, he thinks, "the author's meaning would have been more clearly rendered [mark the words] by, *He came to Court and delivered an eulogistic speech*"

In other places he can admit "preach," "sermon," and even "discourses," which is the same in signification as "discourse" used by me.

At page 615 of this Translation, our author—himself a good preacher and ecclesiastic of repute—says he was called upon, on first entering Hind, to deliver *discourses* within the audience tent of Sultān I-yāl-tamish when that Sultān was investing Üchchah. The corresponding place in Elliot is page 326 of vol 11, but the whole passage has been left out, and so we have no "commemorative speech or ode," nor an "eulogistic speech"

At page 619, our author relates, that, during the time the same Sultān was investing Gwāliyūr, he "was commanded to deliver *discourses* at the private pavilion of the Sultān," that "three times in each week *discourses* were fixed," that "in Ramazān—the fast month—a *discourse* used to be delivered daily," and that "ninety-five times *congregations were convened* at the entrance of the Sultān's pavilion." The words of our author here, as elsewhere, I have rendered literally, and the printed Persian text agrees with the MSS I used. See also page 745

The corresponding place in Elliot is page 375, and there it is stated that the author "was ordered to *preach in turns* [sic, but not in the original] at the door of the royal tent," that "*Discourses* were appointed to be delivered three times every week," and winds up with "Ninety-five times *religious assemblies were convened* at the royal tent"

At page 651, our author says "a *discourse* was delivered" by him in the

Kasr named Safed [White Castle], and the same word is again used two lines under

The corresponding place in Elliot is page 338, and it is rendered, "there was a *sermon* in the Palace of the White roof" and two lines under *sermon* is again used.

At page 656, our author again says, on the news of the Lāhor disaster that—and the rendering is literal—to the writer of these lines the Sultān gave command to deliver a *discourse*, and the people pledged their fealty [anew] to the Sultān." In a note I say "Compare Elliot, vol. II, p. 340, for at that page, the corresponding passage of the text is thus rendered, 'The Sultān assembled the people of the city at the White Palace [there is no White-roof here], and the writer of this book received orders to *frack* and induce the people to support the Sultān.' " This too is literal possibly

Again, at page 845, our author says—and the translation is literal—that he, on the occasion of the invasion of Sind by the Mughal infidels, by command, delivered an *exhortation* with the object of stimulating to holy warfare, and the merit of fighting against infidels," etc.

The corresponding place in Elliot is page 379, which is there rendered "the author received orders in the royal tent to *compose an ode* to stir up the feelings of the Muhammadans and to excite them to warlike *ferour* for the defence of their religion and the throne. This is certainly very far from literal, even without the *ode*."

Which is the most probable, the delivery of an exhortation, lecture sermon or discourse, by an eminent preacher and one of the highest ecclesiastics in the kingdom, on such an occasion or the composition of an *ode*? and would *odes* be delivered three times a week and religious assemblies convened "ninety-five times to compose or listen to odes" or eulogistic speeches"? The very idea of such a thing is absurd.

Now I must mention that *in every instance* here referred to in which I have used "discourse" or "exhortation," *the very same word* is used in every copy of the Persian text, the printed text included, and that word is سخن and it was ignorance of the correct signification of this simple word, the idiom of the language, and the usages of the Muslims, which has given rise to all these blunders, and yet they must not be noticed!

There are several other instances in our author's work of the delivery of discourses, lectures, or exhortations. At page 190 it is stated that his grand father an eminent ecclesiastic and preacher was called upon to deliver a *discourse*—سخن—before the ruler of Sijistān; and the subject he chose for his discourse or lecture was on defiling emissions. Mr. Dowson cannot admit "my improved rendering of the word discourse for سخن Does he think *the author's meaning*" in this instance, *would have been more clearly rendered*" by "He came to Court and delivered a *eulogistic speech* on defiling emissions, or that he *composed an ode*" on the subject?"

Because in the course of my work, I have had to point out such like errors as these—but this last is a gem of its kind—Mr Dowson, in the Preface to vol. VIII. of Elliot's India must call it "hostile criticism;" and has been so foolish as to dig up "the late Lord Strangford," who, to suit certain purposes, had the assurance to write a criticism on my Pūgho works, without knowing a single word of the language, except what he *read up* for the purposes, in the course of a few days, as I was informed on undoubted authority I could say much more on this subject, but I will only remark here that the writer's object was not attained, and that I hope he possessed a more practical

knowledge on the other subjects upon which he is said to have written. Better Mr Dowson had admitted the errors, and eschewed "*ghaughá*" It seems that a writer must shut his eyes upon, and conceal the most palpable errors in Oriental history and geography for fear of "hurting the susceptibilities of those who made them," and must refrain from correcting them lest he be declared "hostile" and "offensive" But I undertook this "Translation," and have devoted years to it, to correct errors

Page 587, note 4.—Mr Dowson is not altogether disingenuous in his "Examination" of my criticisms, and in this one, xxxiii of his replies, he would make it appear that I objected to his rendering of the words "territories of Lakhnautí," at page 319 of the volume referred to, but what I say is, that there is nothing, even in the printed text, to warrant such a statement as "*that Jáy-nagar ever formed part of the Lakhanawatí territory*" They were totally different one was a Muhammadan state, the other Hindū

Page 600, note 4.—Mr Dowson appears to have assumed that, because herds or droves of horses are mentioned in the same page with merchants, the latter may be turned into "*a dealer*" There is nothing in the original to show that the merchants were horse-dealers, but the contrary, and the herds of horses—not "*a drove*," for the plural form is used—evidently belonged to the Ilbarí tribe because the pastures are also mentioned I contend that the *bāzargānān*—here too the plural form is used—were not necessarily horse-dealers any more than ass-dealers, cow dealers, or any other dealers The word *bāzargān* signifies a merchant, but, in the translation in Elliot, the words, "*into the pastures*" have been left out

Mr Dowson considers this last criticism "*a gem of its kind*," and, at the beginning of his "Examination" of my criticisms, says he has noticed and examined them *seriatim* He is mistaken a great many "gems" are passed over unnoticed by him, and not with reference to the *Tabakāt-i-Nāsiri* only, for example, at pages 311, 557, 579, 580, 664, 686, 687, 853, 1023, and several other places

Page 623, and note 8.—For the identification of Banīān see my "Notes on Afghānistān," page 281

Page 633, note 7.—Further research has shown that this Turkish title should be read *Tāi-shī* See reference to page 732 farther on

Page 644, note 4, para. 2.—Balkā *Khān* is referred to at length at page 1283 The name of this monarch is generally written with "r"—Barkā—as our author writes it, but in Turkish words "l" and "r" are often interchangeable See page 617 and note 5

Page 645.—The Turkish name of Malik *Ikh̄tiyār ud-Dīn* is sometimes written *Karā-Kash*, and sometimes *Karā-Kush*, and *Karā-Kūsh*, which last two forms are the most correct ones, and signify, literally, "*a large black bird*," *kūsh* or *kuṣh* signifying a bird in general, but the term *Karā-Kūsh* is the name by which the Golden Eagle is known in Turkistān Such names often occur, as for example *Karā-Sunkar*, a species of black or dark falcon *Karā-Kūsh* was also the name of the celebrated engineer from Egypt, who built the citadel of Al-Ḥalrah, and had fortified Acre, and took part in its defence when besieged by the Christians in 1189 A.D., which was considered "*one of the mightiest events of the middle ages*"

Page 677, note 6.—I have previously referred to the identification of Banīān Instead of "*hilly tract west of*" read "*hilly tract west of the Jhilam*," etc The year 644 refers to the Rihlat, which is equivalent to 654 H The details will be found at page 1201

Page 716.—As the Ulugh Khān's son, whose Turkish title was Baghrā Khān, and his Muzalmān title Nāṣir ud Dīn, Maḥmūd—and evidently so named after his father's sovereign and son-in-law—married a daughter of Sulṭān Nāṣir-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, it is very evident that the idle tales about the latter having only one wife must be incorrect. He must have had more than one, or a concubine at least, since the Baghrā Khān could not possibly have married a daughter of his own sister even though she is the only wife mentioned. As this daughter of the Sulṭān had children by the Baghrā Khān, and a son of hers, Kai Kūbid, succeeded her father Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ ud Dīn, Balban, Sulṭān Nāṣir ud Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, can scarcely be said to have left no offspring or heir unless she died shortly before her father but even then an heir survived.

Page 717 note 1 para 3 The Malik of Kābol is an error on the part of the writer from whom this extract was taken, or the scribe who copied it possibly for the Malik i Kāmil, an account of whom is given at page 174.

Page 732, and note 2.—The title of Malik Nuṣrat-ud Dīn is, correctly Tāḡhī, not Tā yasaī. It is a Turkish title. The scribes appear to have read the three diacritical points of - as s. See Additional Note, page 866 para. 7.

Page 901 note, para. 4.—Gardez is not really *in* Karmān, but, at the period in question, it was included in the province of Karmān. See Notes on Afghanistan, page 75.

Page 932, note, para. 4.—The word I ligh in the original ٲلڭ is possibly an error for Talligh which would be written ٲلڭ the two points above instead of below making all the difference. I ligh and Imligh are both plainly written, however in several works. Tallā, also written Talligh, is the name of a city of Turkistān. There is also a little district so called immediately north of Lower Suwāt.

Page 987 note, para. 1 line 6.—Darab of the Sārigh-kol" (دراب) —the latter a Tājīk word—is, literally Valley of the Yellow Lake, a mistake constantly made. The correct name is "The Lake in, or of the Sārigh kol" (دراب) —the last a Turkish word—or Yellow Valley.

Page 1043, note 1.—The most correct mode of writing this word is Gīharf or Gīharf and not Gabarf. The fort referred to near the Indus is known to the Afghāns, and other inhabitants of the locality as Garf Kapūrāh. See "Notes on Afghanistan," page 247.

Page 1201 note, para. 5, line 2 from end.—Can the Chingiz Khān here mentioned be the person referred to whose coin is given by Thomas, in his Pathān Kings of Dehli, page 91? See also pages 711 784, 792, and 884.

Page 1216, note, para. 3.—Jāng, in Turkī, signifies "cold," and, if the word be read Chāng, it means "dust" in the same language. We have a tract called Karā Kum, or Black Sand, and another called Karā Kūram, or Black Shale, etc., and therefore, a Karā Jāng, or Black Cold, or a Karā Chāng, or Black Dust, is not improbable after all.

Page 1220, note, last line.—The great river Kī'ān Līng here referred to is evidently the "Yan-līn" of the Chinese, mentioned six paragraphs farther on.

Page 1229, note 2.—The "Ibn" prefixed to the word would rather indicate that the Alqamī is the father's name.

ERRATA

Page 9, note ¹ for *Zā-l-Yamanain* read *Zā l Yamanain* in all places.

10, line 6, A'yan A yun, also at page 30, line 11

20, Ahwās Ahwās in all cases.

19, „ 'Irāk 'Irāk.

11 3, Tālḥah Tālḥah.

12, „ 12, should be Māwarā un Nahr in all places where otherwise, not Māwar the last syllable of the word having escaped notice for some time. It is correctly written subsequently

14, line 17 for *Al Mutajim* read *Al Mu taḥim*.

15 3, „ Zā l Hujjah Zā l Hujjah always.

16, Muḥammad i Tāhīr read Muḥammad-i Tāhīr

19, 3, There should be a comma after Sarāj

21 7 from bottom. After Laḡ should be a semicolon.

20, for *Lāis* read *Laḡ*,

22, note Shāpūr and Ya'qub read Shāpūr and Ya'qub in all cases.

23, ¹ Badghais read Bādghais.

24, ² Jāmī'at Tawārikh read Jāmī'at Tawārikh.

³ Naḡīb Naḡīb.

25, line 7 Muḥammad Baḡhīr Muḥammad i Baḡhīr that is, son of Baḡhīr, which he was.

„ note ² „ Ibrāhīmī Ibrāhīmī

27 line 15, Khaddāt Khaddāt.

29, 5, Kāshghar is written in other places Kāshghar.

„ 7 Irin read I rin always.

32, note ⁶ Hāk Hāk.

33 line 18, Zakarīā read Zakarīā, also at page 37 note ⁷

34, note Haft Aqlim read Haft Iqlim.

35, ⁴ Dawāḡī and *dawāḡī* read Dawāḡī and dawāḡī.

Ibrāhīmī Ibrāhīmī.

36, line 9, and page 38, line 16, for *Nāyab* read *Nā'ib*, and in other places.

38, note ⁸ for *AḡSS*. AḡSS.

39, line 4, also page 63, for *Jibāl* read the *Jibāl*, and where otherwise.

40, last line, and note ⁴ Alb-Taḡīn read Alb-Tiḡīn, as in other places.

44, line 2 from bottom „ Ḥisām Ḥusām in all cases.

45, 25, for *I lak* I lak.

46, 15 — Abī Aīf is often written Abū Aīf, and both are of the same meaning, and sometimes Bū is written for Abū.

note ⁴ third line from bottom, should be from Kāshghar to Ghīn, not, the Jibūn.”

52, lines 3 and 10, and note ² for *Zī Ka dah* read *Zī Ka dah*.

note ² for *Ibrāhīm* Ibrāhīm.

„ ³ line 13 from bottom, for *Abū Ismā'īl* read *Abū Ibrāhīm*.

53, last line of text, Ilyas Ilyās.

- Page 271, note, para 1, line 2 from bottom, for "Tatār" read "Mughal"
- 272, fourth line from bottom of text, and next page, line 8, and in first line of note 2, add Khān after Chingiz, for alone, without the Khān, the word Chingiz, which only means "the great," etc., is meaningless
- 273, note 5, line 5, the number should be 5000, as at page 970, not 50,000.
- Karājah and Qarāchah are often written the one for the other
- 276, ,, , line 20, for "Qalāt" read "Kal'āt"
- 277, line 12, for "Tamīshah," read "Timmīshah."
- 282, note 5, line 10, for "Tatār" read "Mughal," also in note 9, line 3 from bottom, page 283
- 283, ,, 9, line 11 from bottom, for "Jīrat" read "Jīraft," as in other places "the letters have been misplaced
- 285, line 2 from bottom, for "Kaṭmān" read "Kaṣmān"
- 286, ,, 2, an *izāfat* is required between Muhammad and 'Alī—
mād-i-'Alī—for 'Alī was Muḥammad's father's name been left out elsewhere
- ,, 3, for "Changiz" read "Chingiz" *ul-Millat*"
- 287, note 1, last line, for "Amīn-ul-Mamlūks," and next line, after "Yamīn-ul-Mulk" *See* required sometimes called *Yāz* read "Ayāz," also at page 102, note 4.
- 288, ,, 3, see *unḍāw* should be "Maudūd" in all cases
- 297, ,, 13, for "Sūlimān" read "Sulimān."
- 101, ,, 23, the date should be 443 H, as in note 9, page 102, not 344 H
- ,, 3, and note 7, for Bar-Ghūnd and Buz-Ghūnd read Baz-Ghūnd
- 102, ,, 10, for Razzī-ud-Dīn read Raḡī-ud-Dīn
- 107, note 6, line 5, for Baihakī ,, Baihakī
- 109, line 15, there should be a comma after "the Martyr"
- ,, note 9, last line, for "Taimūr" read "Tīmūr"
- 110, ,, 1, first line—The year 548 H is an error for 514 H, as the context shows, and as given immediately under
- 112, ,, 1, line 6, for "western" read "eastern," the present Panj āb is referred to
- 113, ,, , line 13, ,, "Badāūnī" ,, "Budā'ūnī"
- ,, ,, , para. 4, line 11, for "Seyr" read "Siyar," and after "others" there should be a comma
- ,, ,, , first line, for "Sanḡarān" read "Sanḡurān," also on page 115, note 8, as at pages 450 and 498
- 117, ,, , para. 3, line 2, for "Tughril" read "Tagharī"
- 123, ,, , line 6 from bottom, for "Sālḡūks" read Salḡūks" as before
- 128, ,, , 2, after "p 142" there should be a full stop
- 134, ,, 8, ,, 3, for "Gūr Khān" read "the Gūr Khān"
- ,, 9, ,, last, for "early" read "yearly," the letter "y" has been allowed to fall out
- 140, ,, 5, line 3 from bottom, for "Khaṭā-i" read "Khaṭāe"
- 145, ,, 4, ,, 4 ,, "Almūt" ,, "Alamūt," as at page 363 and other places
- 151, ,, 6, line 11 from bottom, for "Ibn-i-Khalkān" read "Ibn Khali-kān," as in note, page 1278
- ,, 6, last line, for "Mughis" read "Mughis"
- 152, line 4 of the poetry—There should be a colon after the word "field," instead of a comma

- Page 426, note ⁴ line 16 for *Tāl kīn* read *Tīle-kīn*, and see note ¹ 1008.
- 435, ⁴ line last, for See his reign, read See his brother's reign," etc. and see pages 495, 496.
- 464, ⁷ next to last line, for pears" read spears," and in the following line for *war* read *amir*—"the s" in the first line and the a in the latter were carelessly allowed to fall out, and were not detected by the printer's reader
- 470, para. 1 last line, for *Changiz* read the *Chingiz*," and for *Üng* read the *Äwang*," as in note at page 940.
- 484, para. 4, possession is the printer's devil's mode of spelling possession, and passed by the printer's reader
- 489, last line of text and under for *Lakhanawati* read always *Lak hanawati* if n" and t are not marked correctly
- 491 line 3 from bottom, for *Janābād* read *Junābād*. It is also called *Gunābād* by *Tājiks*, and is in the *Kūhistān*.
¹ line 8, for *firs* read first; line 12 for *mounts* read *ing* *mountain* line 16 for *wi* read with;" in the next for 190, line 10 from
 199, note ⁷ last line.—"and in the next note, line 1 for *tha* read line from bottom, for *othe* read other " *Kurat*." See note
 200, line 6, for *Mangabarni* read *only* allowed six letters to fall out from
 202, note ⁶ *Sufed* " *Saru* *Türk*."
⁶ walls of his fortress," read *wān*— "some mystery printer after revision, let the t" drop out.
- 204, line 4, for *Lakhnauti* read *Lakhapawati* also in note ¹ of preceding page.
- 205 note ⁴ for *Ibn-i-Khalkān*, read *Ibn Khallikān*," as in note page 1278.
- 206, ¹—After *Zangī* there should be a comma.
- 211 line 3.—There should be a comma after *Rūm*, and another after *other* in line 10.
- 217 note, line 5 from bottom.—There should be a comma after *Vertot*."
- 220, ³—After "force in line 2, after *Jerusalem*" and *Nov*" in the next line, and after *knights* in the next, there should be commas.
- 221 ¹ line 5, for different to" read different from."
- 222 line 11 *Aziz* " *Afzal*."
- 225 note ⁴ next to last line of para. 1 also at page 226 note ⁶ for *Mīā širīn* read *Mīyā širīn*," as at page 1268 and note ⁶
- 229 ³ last para., line 7 for *Manšūrah* read *Manšūriyah*; and "Kalf or Kayif" appears to be meant for *Katīf*."
- 235.—There should be no comma between *Abī*" and *Muḥammad*" in lines 16 and 19; and for *Kutlagh* in the latter read *Kutluḡh*, and in all cases.
- 242, note ⁶ para. 1 for *Dajlah* read *Dijlah*, as in other places.
- 246 ⁷ three lines from the bottom, instead of that man," the sense requires that that man," etc. the other that has been left out.
- 247 para. 2 line 10 from bottom after his brother" a comma is required.
- 250, ⁶ line 4, for *Sulṭān Shāh* read *Malik Shāh* as above.
- 252 " ³ 3 after brother" should be a comma.
- 253, para. 4, line 7 for *Garmasr* read the *Garmasr* "

- Page 271, note, para 1, line 2 from bottom, for "Tatār" read "Mughal"
- 272, fourth line from bottom of text, and next page, line 8, and in first line of note 2, add Khān after Chingiz, for alone, without the Khān, the word Chingiz, which only means "the great," etc., is meaningless
- 273, note 5, line 5, the number should be 5000, as at page 970, not 50,000
- Qarājah and Karāchah are often written the one for the other
- 276, ,, , line 20, for "Kalāt" read "Kal'āt"
- 277, line 12, for "Tamīshah," read "Timmīshah."
- 282, note 5, line 10, for "Tatār" read "Mughal," also in note 9, line 3 from bottom, page 283
- 283, ,, , line 11 from bottom, for "Jīrat" read "Jīraft," as in other places "the letters have been misplaced"
- 285, line 2 from bottom, for "Karīmān" read "Karīmān"
- 286, ,, 2, an *isāfat* is required between Muḥammad and 'Alī—Muḥammad-i-'Alī—for 'Alī was Muḥammad's father's name, as mentioned elsewhere
- ,, , 3, for "Changiz" read "Chingiz," as before
- 287 note 1, last line, for "Amīn-ul-Mulk," the more correct name is "Yamīn-ul-Mulk" See note 2, para 3, page 1014 He is sometimes called Yamīn Malik.
- 288, ,, 3, see under Emendations
- 290, ,, 1, para 2, line 4 from bottom, there should be a bracket after "Ghūrī," thus "Ghūrī]"
- 292, ,, , line 5, for "Khurdabih" read "Khurdādbih," as in other places
- 295, ,, , para. 1, line 3, para 2, line 5, for "Hūkāl" read "Haukāl," as correctly rendered in other places
- 298, ,, , para. 2, line 2, read "'Alā-ud-Dīn, Kai-Kubād," not "son of Kāi-Kubād."
- 301, ,, 2, last line, not "Sayid" but "Sayyid," as before
- 305, line 4 from bottom, for "Dimawand" read "Damawand"
- 319, ,, 11, for "Khāesār" read "Khāesār"
- 322, note, para. 5, line 7 from bottom, there should be a bracket before "This seems," etc.
- 332, line 2, for "Raẓzī" read "Raẓī," as correctly rendered in other places
- 341, note 6, line 8, and note 7, last line, for "'Utba" read "'Uṭba"
- 342, line 7 from bottom, for "Kazıl" read "Kızıl"
- 346, note 9, for "Pathorā," read "Pithorā," as correctly rendered at page 458 The reference, "page 125," is incorrect it should be 391
- 383, line 7, for "Sarāj-ud-Dīn, son of Minhāj-i-Sarāj," read "Sarāj-ud-Dīn, son of Minhāj-ud-Dīn"
- 405, note 4, line next to last, for "different place to" read "different place from"
- 408, line 17, for "Irān" read "Ī-rān," and for "Malīk" in the following line read "Malik"
- 413, ,, 13, for "*cholic*" read "colic"
- 415, note 6, the reference should be "page 489," not "205"
- 420, line 12, for "'Arīfān" read "'Arīfīn."
- 423, note 8, para. 3, for "Nuṣherwān" read "Nūshīrwān," or, as it is also written, "Noshīrwān"

- Page 426, note ⁴ line 16 *for* Tāl-kān "read" Tāo-kān," and see note ⁴ 1008.
- 435, ⁴ line last, *for* See his reign," read "See his brother's reign," etc. and see pages 495-496.
- 464, ⁷ next to last line, *for* pears "read" spears," and in the following line *for* war "read" over " the "s" in the first line and the "s" in the latter were carelessly allowed to fall out, and were not detected by the printer's reader.
- 470, para. 1 last line, *for* Changiz "read" the Chingiz," and *for* Ūng read the Āwang, as in note at page 940.
- 484, para. 4, possession is the printer's devil's mode of spelling possession, and passed by the printer's reader.
- 489, last line of text and under *for* Lakhanawati "read" always Lakhanawati if "p" and "t" are not marked correctly.
- 491 line 3 from bottom, *for* Janābād "read" Junābād." It is also called Gunābād by Tāgika, and is in the Kūhistan.
- 496, note ⁴ line 8, *for* fir "read" first;" line 12, *for* mounta "read" mountain " line 16, *for* wi "read" with;" in the next *for* o "read" or;" and in the next note, line 1 *for* tha read that " and in next line from bottom, *for* othe "read" other " The printer has very carelessly allowed six letters to fall out from the ends of as many lines.
- 499, para. 2 line 7 *for* Turis "read" Turiz."
- 504, ⁴ last line, *for* etrms read terms. Through some mystery connected with the printer's art, proofs after being read over and corrected time after time, get changed again, and the printer's reader passes them as read for press."
- 521 para. 3 line 10, after Tāj ul Ma'ālir there should be a bracket and a comma, not a full stop for the sentence is unfinished. It should stand thus Tāj ul Ma'ālir], etc.
- 530, last line of text, *for* Mālik "read" Malik."
- note, line 2, the Arabic Y= is a mistake liable to occur but the signification is evident from the interpretation.
- 532, ⁴ *for* Inda khūd "read" Indda khūd."
- 535, para. 5 line 2, and page 540, note, para. 3, line next to last, *for* Changiz read Chingiz."
- 543, sixth line from the bottom. Here again, through carelessness in printing, three letters have been let drop out, and have been unnoticed— n o " *for* on the."
- 548, line 4, *for* wāt and wāt read wāj and wāt with j, as in the word immediately above.
- 550, ⁴ line 4, *for* Karmah nomah read Karam Nāmah, or Karam-Nāmah.
- 551 ⁴ next to last line, *for* Hizbar "read" Hizab " as at page 549 line 11 of text.
- 556, line 9, after kingdom " there should be a comma.
- 559, note ² line 3, *for* Nudā "read" Nādā."
- ² para. 2, line 6, the comma after Lakhanawati " is redundant.
- 564, ² line 7 from bottom, should be Chingiz " not Changiz."
- 585, ⁷ 1 and line 5 *for* Barinda "read" Barindah.
- 586, ⁴ 4, *for* Dhākh "read" Dhākah."
- 594, ⁴ the reference page 219, should be 319.

- Page 271, note, para. 1, line 2 from bottomⁿ, 'Iwaz," read "Nāṣir-ud-Dīn 1-
 272, fourth line from bottom of text, aⁿ, son of 'Iwaz, for Ghiyās-ud-Dīn,
 line of note 2, add Khān aftⁿ to " read " very different from "
Khān, the word Chingiz, whiclⁿ " Naṣir "
 meaningless " Ahsson " read " D'Ohsson "
- 273, note 5, line 5, the number shoulⁿ line, for " page 389 " read " page
 Karājah and Karāchah are
- 276, ,, , line 20, for " Kalāt " " read " manārah " as before
- 277, line 12, for " Tamīshah," reⁿ of last para, for " Afaghinah " read
- 282, note 5, line 10, for " Tatār " from bottom, page 283
- 283, ,, 9, line 11 from bottomⁿ e should be a comma
 Kūjah " read " Gūjah " and " Kūjah," as
 places " the letters hav
- 285, line 2 from bottom, fⁿ there should be a comma
- 286, ,, 2, an *isāfat* is reⁿ See " Additions," reference to page 318
 mad-1-'Alī—for 'Aⁿ and to the office " read " and refers to the
 elsewhere
- ,, 3, for " Changizⁿ for " different statement to " read " different
- 287, note 1, last line, foⁿ " Yamīn-ul-ⁿ
 " 'Abbāsīs " read " 'Abbāsīs "
 sometrⁿ for " 'Abbāsīs "
- 288, ,, 3, line 3, for " Kinnanj " read " Kinnauj "
- 69, ,, of note 8, for " page 694 " read " page 695 "
- ,, note 1, end of para. 1, the printer has again carelessly let the letter ع
 fall out.
- 694, ,, 1, para. 2, line 3, for " Nāyab " read " Nā'ib "
- 705, ,, 7, ,, 5, ,, 3, ,, " māwās " ,, " māwās "
- 706, line 3 under the Twelfth Year, for " Ban " read " Bat. Bat Khān is
 No xvi among the Maliks of Hind
- 712, text, last line, for " Balarām " read " Balārām," and also in note 9,
 three lines from the bottom
- 716, note 5, para. 2, line 12, for " Ziyā " read " Ziyā "
- 720, text, line 11, for " fī ul-'Ālamīn " read " fī'l-'Ālamīn "
- 726, note 4, the printer has put " See the reign under " instead of " See
 under the reign," and the printer's reader has passed it over
- 749, line 15, for " Awwāl " read " Awwal "
- 759, note 8, for " Sharf-badār " read " Sharf-bardār "
- 751, ,, 6 from bottom, after " which " there should be a comma
- 752, ,, 8, for " ee " read " See " Here also a letter has fallen out
- 761, line 11, for " Shāhnagī " read " Shāhnagī "
- 764, ,, 16, for " Lakhanawati " read " Lakhanawati," as in tenth line
 above.
- 775, note, para. 4, line next to last, for " stated above " read " as stated
 above "
- 778, ,, , para. 5, line first, for " as far it goes " read " as far as it
 goes "
- 780, ,, 7, for " page 650 " read " 660 "
- 784, line 12, " Kurt." See page 1198
- 809, note 2, line 5, for " Tukhāristān " read " Khurāsān "
- 810, ,, 4, ,, 2, " 664 H " is an error for " 646 H "
- 820, line 6 from the botttom, " -1-," after Kashlī Khān is a printer's
 blunder it should be " Kashlī Khān, Ī-bak-us-Sultānī "

- Page 822, line 10, for *Zi ha-dān* read *Tū-kān*, and see note¹ 1008.
 824, 16, and next page, *li* is reign," read *See his brother's reign* "yasa", the correct title¹ 496.
 838, 15 after *hasmandah*, *pears* read *spears*, and in the fol
 867 note, line 13 from bottom, *read* *ever* "the s" in the first line
 872, para. 1 line 8, for *next to* were carelessly allowed to fall out, and
 8, next to *enter's reader*
 from."
 875, 8, *Changiz* read *the Chingiz*, and
 the comma is redundant. *g*, as in note at page 940.
 877 para. 3, third line from the printer's devil's mode of spelling
 also written *Kīschāk* and the printer's reader
 914: with "i" in the first syllable not marked correctly
 890, line 2, *Indigh* is also written *Junkād*. It is also called
 at page 950, para. 3.
 para. 1 line 5 from bottom, for *line 12, for* *mounta* read
kol or Lake, the Bile Kol etc. *ad with* in the next for
 892, para. 6, line 5, for *ocean* note, line 1 for *the* read
 899, 2, 4, *Tājlūt* *g, for* *othe* read *other*
 900, 2, 4, *Mughals* letters to fall out from
 908, 2 7 *Itis*
 913, 3, 5 *Tāyā-qūū* *Tāyā*
 920 last line in page *Mūmān* *Mur-ān*, the r
 936, para. 2, line 3, *Timur-chī* *Tamur-chī*, the r
 956 2, 5, *Jabbah* *Jabah*.
 957 3, next to last, for *Ja fir* read *Ja'far*
 968, text, line 2, after *sovereignty* there should be a comma.
 969, note¹ for *shārb* read *shārb*
 973, line 27 for *Jūl* read *Jūl*.
 979, line 3, for *jachl* read *jachl*.
 980, note¹ para. 2, line 2, for *Ghū Nalgh* read *Ghū Nalgh*.
 981 4, 3, *Gūfdaḥ* *Gūfdaḥ*.
 983, 5 2, *Gūr Khūn* *Gūr Khūn*.
 985, 2, 11 *shaj* *shaj*
 " 5 2, *hankull* *hankull*.
 986 1 6 from bottom, after the bracket and before
gave him there should be a comma.
 last, line 3, for *Mughāl* read *Mughal*.
 988, " para. last, line next to last for *Jihūn* read *Jihūn*.
 " line 13, for *Balsūt* read *Balsūt* as at page 1094.
 989, " 2, " 14, *Tūqājār* *Tūqaghār* as in the
 preceding page.
 " para. 4, line 3, *Fushang* *Fūshan*
 991 " line 3, for *to-vedal* read *to-yadal*, part of the "y" has
 been broken in printing
 1002, " line 2, for *was styled* read *was also styled*.
 1010, para. 2, line 1 for *Ibn-Khalkān* read *Ibn Khalkān*,
 as at page 1278.
 1011 para. 2, line 7 from bottom, for *Tal-kān* read *Tāl kān*,
 and the comma after the word is redundant.
 1014, " para. 4, line 7 for *Umri* read *Umarī*.
 1015, 3, 12, *Aghrīk* *Ighrīk*, as in other places.

Page 1020, note, para. 4, line 9, the full stop after 30,000 men is a printer's error, and is redundant

1025, ,, , para. 4, line 1, *for* "Mamālīk" *read* "Mamālīk"

1027, ,, ⁸, para 2, next to last line, *for* "Ṭaghachār" *read* "Ṭaghāchār," also in para 3, line 3

1029, note, para 4, line 2, *for* "Bahā-ud-Mulk" *read* "Bahā ul-Mulk"

1032, ,, , 2, ,, 5, after "Jahān" the comma is redundant

1046, ,, ³, line 6, *for* "AL-BIRŪNĪ" *read* "AL-BīRŪNī"

1048, text, last line, ,, "Hīrāt" ,, "Hīrāt" as in other places

1073, note ⁴, para. 4, line 7, *for* "Turān" *read* "Tūrān"

1074, ,, , five lines from bottom of page, *for* "Shīwstān" *read* "Shīwistān"

1095, ,, , line 3, *for* "Mughāl" *read* "Mughal" as in line 2 above

1099, ,, , para 2, line 17, *for* "the two" *read* "the other two"

1116, ,, , 3, ,, 4, ,, "Itmās" ,, "Ītmās"

1119, text, line 7 from bottom, "Tā-īr" may also be written "Tā'ir" as in note ², para 3, next page

1126, note ⁶, para 2, lines 2 and 3, *for* "Mukānū" and "Mukātū" *read* "Mūkānū" and "Mūkātū," and also in next two paragraphs.

1132, ,, , para 2, line 2, before "Humāyūn" there is an empty space for the word "to," which, through carelessness, the printer has allowed to fall out after revise, and a letter in the next to get out of its place

1135, ,, ³, para 2, next to last line, *for* "eve" *read* "even," a letter has fallen out here too

1137, ,, , para. 4, line 3, *for* "tumāns" *read* "tomāns"

1161, line 15, after the words "inclined to it" there should be a comma

1164, ,, 6, *for* "Chingīz" *read* "Chingiz," as it has been printed scores of times before

1166, note, para. 2, line 3, *for* "Bashghird" *read* "Bāshghird"

1180, ,, , 1, ,, 4, ,, "Ughūl" ,, "Ūghūl"

,, ,, , last, next to last line, *for* "Zī-Kadah" *read* "Zī-Ḳa'dah"

1183, ,, , para. 2, line 2, *for* "Shīrāmūn" *read* "Shīrāmūn"

1188, end of note 7, *for* "hat" *read* "that," a letter has been allowed to fall out again

1194, note, para 2, line 6, *for* "Jāmī'" *read* "Jāmī'" as in fourth line above

1196, ,, ², line 1, here again, through carelessness, the "g" of excepting has fallen out unnoticed

1197, text, line 14, and 1198, line 17, *for* "Isfirār" *read* "Isfizār"

,, ,, , 15, "Kā-īn" may also be written "Kā'in"

1201, ,, , 1, *for* "karwāns" *read* "kār-wāns"

1203, ,, , 3, the "b" in Tabas" should be doubled thus—"Tabbas"

1220, note, second line from bottom, and next page, line 7 of note, *for* "Ṭaghachār" *read* "Ṭaghāchār"

1234, ,, ⁴, line 4, *for* "'Uşmanlī" *read* "'Uşmānlī"

1239, ,, para. 3, line 7, *for* "Ilkāe, or Ilkā, or Ilkān," *read* "I-yalkāe, or I-yalkā, or I-yalkān"

1255, ,, , para. 1, last line, *for* "Ibn 'Umrān" *read* "Ibn 'Amrān"

1260, ,, ⁶, line 3, *for* "Īlkā" *read* "I-yalkā."

1267, ,, ⁶, para 3, line 4, *for* "Kürdīah" *read* "Kurdīah"

1276, ,, , 1, ,, 2 from end, *for* "Umrā" *read* "Umarā."

,, ,, , 3, ,, 10, *for* "Ḳāīmīrī" *read* "Ḳāmīrī"

THE TABAKAT-I-NĀSIRĪ

INTRODUCTORY

BEING AN EPITOME OF THE FIRST SIX SECTIONS.

THE following is a brief summary of the contents of the first six Sections of the work as an Introduction to the Seventh with which my translation begins.

SECTION I Account of Adam the Patriarchs and Prophets, the ancestors of Muḥammad, and the latter's history to the date of his decease.

SECTION II The four orthodox Khalīfahs, the descendants of 'Alī and the Aṣḥarah : Mubashīrah, or Ten Companions or Apostles of Muḥammad.

SECTION III and IV The Khalīfahs of the house of Ummīyah and Abbās, to the downfall of the latter

SECTION V The Malīks [Kings] of Ajam to the rise of Islām, consisting of five dynasties —I The Bāstānīah or Peṣh Dādān II The Kai-ānīan III. The Aṣḥkānīan. IV The Sāsānīan V The Akāṣīrah.

The author quoting the Tawārīkh : Ajam from which he says the Shāh Nāmah of Firdausī was taken, and the statements of the Fire Worshippers and other authentic information, states that, when Kābīl slew his brother Hābīl Adam had another son born to him who was named Shīṣ, which signifies 'given by God'. He was inspired and became ruler over Adam's descendants. The Persians say this [Shīṣ] was Gālū mart son of Adam but the Musal māns say that it is Unnugh, son of Shīṣ, who is here referred to. In Unnugh's time a son of Adam named Nabaṭī with his children, retired to the mountains of Jarmūn and devoted themselves to religion, and many others joined them. From the death of Adam to this period according to Abū l Maṣhar : Munajjim in the Qānūn : Mas'ūdī, was 432 years. After some time elapsed Nabaṭī and his descendants came down from the mountains and joined the

descendants of Ḳābīl, who had taken possession of the hills of Shām, and parts around, and who had increased beyond computation Iblīs [the Devil] had taught them the worship of fire, and drunkenness, and all sorts of other grievous sins prevailed among them A thousand years had elapsed since Adam's death, and the rebellious sons of Ḳābīl and Nabatī began to act tyrannically They chose one of their number to rule over them, who was named Sāmīārush, and between them and the other descendants of Adam, who were just persons, hostility and enmity arose

The sons of Shīs, and others of Adam's descendants who acknowledged Shīš' authority, assembled, and chose one of the Kārānīān Malīks, who are styled the Bāstānīān Malīks, to defend them from the wickedness of the sons of Ḳābīl and Nabatī, and this, the first person among the upright and just kings whom they set up, is styled Ilū-rūs in the Yūnānī language, and the Yūnānīs say, that he is the same as he whom the 'Ajāmīs call by the name of Gaiū-mart He was entitled Gīl-Shāh, and was the first king of the Gīl-wānīān dynasty, which is also named the Pesh-Dādiān, and Bāstānīān dynasty When this Ilū-rūs became king, 1024 years had passed from the fall of Adam, and the land of Bābīl became the seat of his government, and the just sons of Shīs, and other just descendants of Adam obeyed him When 1162 years had passed away, the countries of 'Arab, 'Ajam, Shām, and Maghrab became settled, and, according to the Kānūn-i-Mas'ūdī, previous to Nūh's flood, eleven kings of the Gīl-wānīān dynasty had reigned

FIRST DYNASTY THE BĀSTĀNĪAH

I GAIŪ-MART, or Gīl-Shāh, surnamed Pesh-Dād, or I-rān Shāh Reigned 30 years II HOSHANG, who was born 223 years after Gaiū-mart's death, reigned, according to different accounts, 1400, or 400, or 40 years III THAMŪRAS-I-DĪW-BAND, great grandson of the preceding Reigned 30 years some say 1030 IV JAMSHED, grandson of Hoshang, but Tabarī says brother of Thamūras Reigned 700 years V BĪWAR-ASP, the infidel, who dethroned Jamshed, and was swallowed up in the Flood For 1000 years after the death of Nūh there was no king

on earth but, after that one arose of the seed of Hām son of Nūh, named Zuhāk. VI ZUHĀK, THE TAZI [i. e. Arab] He was a great sorcerer and reigned 1000 years VII AFRĪDŪN entitled Mihr gān Ibrāhīm the Patriarch Tabarī says lived in his reign which was 500 years but Ibrāhīm lived in Zuhāk's reign when Nimrūd reigned over Bābīl. VIII Ī RAJ son of Afrīdūn, reigned 40 years IX NIMRŪD THE TYRANT He was great grandson of Nūh, and the first to assume sovereignty after the Flood. He perished after reigning 400 years. A son of his Kubī an idol worshipper succeeded, and reigned 100 years. After him a son of his reigned 80 years, when the sovereignty again passed to the former kings of Ajam X. MANŪ-CHĪHR son of Ī raj Reigned 120 years in the 60th year of which the Patriarch Mūsā appeared XI. AFRĀSIYĀB, THE TURK who invaded Ī rān and overthrew the dynasty XII ZAU son of Thamāsib son of Manū chīhr who reigned 30 years

SECOND DYNASTY : THE KAI ANĪAN

I KAI KUBĀD sixteenth in descent from Manū-chīhr Reigned 100 or 120 years II KAI KĀ ŪS his son reigned 150 years. A ihtar Sulīmān lived at this period III KAI KHUSRAU grandson of Kai Kā ūs Died aged 150 but the years of his reign are not given One of his champions was Rustam IV KAI LUHRĀSIB THE TYRANT Reigned 120 years and abdicated. The Prophet Aḡa yā [Isaiah] lived at this time, and Buḡht un Naṣṣar was leader of the forces of Sanjārib, Malik of Bābīl V GUSHTĀSIB, son of Luhrāsib Zartuṣht arose in this reign, Rustam died Buḡht un Naṣṣar became Malik of Bābīl and Jerusalem was sacked. Reigned 120 years VI BAHMAN son of Isfandiyār son of Gushtāsib, surnamed ARDA-SHĪER I DIRĀZ-DAST [Artaxerxes Longimanus of the Greeks] The Banī Isrā'īl carried into captivity Bahman marries an Isrā'īlī woman, who bore him a son. The Banī Isrā'īl set free. Reign 22 years VII. HUMĀ I [also Humāc], daughter of Bahman. Married by her father and bore him Dārā. She abdicated after reigning 30 years. VIII DĀRĀ [or DĀRĀB] I AĀBAR [Great or Elder] He made captive the king of Rūm, and imposed tribute of 100 000 eggs of

gold, each as large as an ostrich egg Failakūs, Iskandar's father, was king of Yūnān Dārā reigned 12 years IX DĀRĀ-I-ASGHAR [Less or Younger] Iskandar, son of Failakūs, brought all Rūm under subjection Invaded and subdued Ī-rān Length of reign not given X ISKANDAR, son of Failakūs, who 'is said to have been the son of Dārā's sister married to Failakūs Iskandar died in Ī-rān after 12 years' reign.

THIRD DYNASTY THE AŠHKĀNĪĀN

I AŠHK [Ushk = Hushkā'], styled ARFA'WĀ, ninth in descent from Dārā-i-Akbar Ašk reigned 10 years II AŠHKĀN, his son, reigned 10 years III SHĀPŪR, his son, who totally destroyed Jerusalem In his reign Mihtar 'Isā [Jesus Christ] was born Shāpūr reigned 60 years. IV GUDARZ-I-AKBAR, son of Shāpūr Reigned 10 years V GUDARZ-I-ASGHAR, his son, reigned 21 years VI NARSĪ-UL-AŠHGHĀNĪ, who reigned 40 years VII KISRĀ-UL-AŠHGHĀNĪ, son of Narsī He is styled also, ARDAWĀN-I-AKBAR, and reigned 44 years VIII BALĀS-UL-AŠHGHĀNĪ, who reigned 24 years IX ARDAWĀN-I-ASGHAR, who reigned 13 years

FOURTH DYNASTY THE SĀSĀNĪĀN.

I. ARDA-SHER-UL-JĀMĪ' or BĀBAKĀN, son of Bābak, son of Sāsān, descended from Kai-Luhrāsib He rose to power 266 years after Iskandar, some say 270, but the Christians, 550 years after He reigned 14 [40'] years and 6 months II SHĀPŪR, his son, reigned 30 years III HURMUZ [HURMAZ or AORMAZD], who reigned 1 year and 10 months IV BAHRĀM, his son, reigned 3 years V BAHRĀM, son of Bahrām, who assumed the title of Shāh-an-Shāh [King of Kings] He reigned 4 months Tabarī says, 4 years VI NARSĪ, son of the elder Bahrām, succeeded his brother, and reigned 9 years VII HURMUZ, son of Narsī, who reigned 7 years and 5 months He left one of his wives pregnant, who, after six months, gave birth to Shāpūr VIII SHĀPŪR-I-ZŪ-L-AKTĀF, so called because, when at war with the 'Arabs, he had the shoulder-blades of all those who fell into his hands removed He defeated and took prisoner the Kaişar of Rūm Shāpūr

reigned 72 years IX ARDA SHER, son of Hurmuz, Shāpūr's brother a great tyrant and after 4 years he was dethroned. X. SHĀPŪR son of Shāpūr : Zū l Aktāf who was put to death by his troops after reigning 5 years and 2 months XI BAHRĀM, son of Shāpūr styled Kirmān Shāh before his accession He was slain by his troops after reigning 11 years, but Ṭabarī says 15 years XII YAZDAJIRD-UL-ASIM [Evil-doer] also styled KĀW KHASH [morose] Killed after reigning 21 years by the kick of a mysterious horse, which suddenly appeared and as quickly vanished again XIII BAHRĀM his son styled BAHRĀM I GOR so called from having when hunting discharged an arrow at a lion which was about to tear a wild ass, and pierced both through. He reigned 60 years XIV YAZDAJIRD his son who reigned 18 years 4 months, and 18 days. XV FĪRŪZ, son of Yazdajird who reigned 27 years. XVI BALĀSH son of Fīrūz, reigned 4 years. XVII KUBĀD his son, was dethroned by his brother Jamāsib but recovered the sovereignty again. Reigned 42 years.

FIFTH DYNASTY: THE AKĀSIRAH

I NŪSHĪRWĀN son of Kubād famous for his justice and equity. Reigned 47 years, in the 40th year of which the Prophet Muḥammad, was born. II HURMUZ, his son reigned 11 years and 7 months, and was deposed. III. KHUSRAU PARWĪZ, son of Hurmuz, was one of the most magnificent monarchs of Ī rān and reigned 38 years when he was put to death by his son. In the 20th year of his reign Muḥammad began to propagate his religion and, in the 30th, fled from Makkah to Madīnah which year is called the Hijrah or Flight. IV SHERWĀLAH, son of Khusrau Parwiz, who died of poison 6 months after putting his father to death. V ARDA SHER, his son a mere child, succeeded who was put to death by his Wazīr Shahr ārāe, after he had been 1 year and 6 months on the throne. VI SHĀHR ARĀE [or Shahr yār] usurped the throne but was assassinated after 1 month. VII. TURĀN DUKHT daughter of Khusrau Parwiz was raised to the throne. She sent back to Rūm *the Cross* which her father had

Ṣāhib-ul-Fil son of Ḥasan-*uṣ*-Ṣabbāh. He endeavoured to destroy the *ka'bah* of Makkah, but perished with his whole army. The period of his reign and the reigns of his two sons, Yagsūm [Bāgsūm] and Masrūk, when this Ḥabashah dynasty terminated, was 73 years, and in the last year the Prophet, Muḥammad, was born.

XXIII. YAGSŪM, son of Abrahah, who reigned 1 years.

XXIV. MASRŪK, son of Abrahah. He was dethroned by Saif, the son of his mother by an 'Arab husband, aided by some criminals set at liberty for the purpose by command of Nūshīrwān, to whom Saif had complained.

XXV. SAIF, son of Zī-Yazan. He reigned a considerable time, and was subsequently slain by a Ḥabashī left behind, who had entered his service.

XXVI. HARIZ [or DAHRIZ], the 'Ajamī, who had accompanied Saif son of Zī-Yazan, from 'Ajam, by command of Nūshīrwān, became ruler. He reigned 1 years.

XXVII. THE MARZABĀN, son of Hariz [or Dahriz], the 'Ajamī. He succeeded his father by Nūshīrwān's command, and reigned over Yaman a long time. At his death his son, Sajān [Abū-Shajān?], succeeded, and, at his death Khur-Khusrau became king of Yaman. The reign of Nūshīrwān had terminated, and Hurmuz had succeeded; and Khur-Khusrau, having rebelled, was removed.

XXVIII. BĀZĀN, the Muslim Malik. He became king and ruled over Yaman up to the rise of Muḥammad, the Prophet. He embraced the new faith and Yaman passed under the rule of the Musalmāns.

THE present portion of this translation commences with Section VII of the original.

The first six Sections are meagre, and the first eight pages will contain a *résumé* of their contents, which will be given on the completion of the work, with Title-page, and Table of Contents.

SYSTEM OF PRONUNCIATION

THE system of transliteration adopted in the following pages, is that known as the system of Sir William Jones, which, after some thirty years' experience, the translator conceives to be the easiest, as well as the most natural, and as easy of pronunciation [except, perhaps, the purely Arabic gutturals] as the original letters of the Arabic alphabet. Some of the new systems proposed are difficult and complicated, and, in the translator's opinion [as far as he can understand them], in many instances entirely incorrect.

The vowels are three *short*—a, i, u, equivalent to — — and —; and three *long*—ā, ī, ū, equivalent to [— — —],

All consonants, except the following, are pronounced precisely the same as in English: *ç*—*çh*, as *çh* in thing, or liped *s*; *ç*—*ch*, as *ch* in church; *ç*—*h*, strongly aspirated, and occurs only in purely Arabic words; *ç*—*kh*, as *ch* in loch, and as German *ch*; *ç*—*q*, pronounced by applying the tip of the tongue inverted to the palate; *ç*—*g*, as *g* in thine, by Arabs, *çh*—*ç*—*r* as *r* uttered by striking the point of the tongue on the palate; *ç*—*jz*, as *s* in pleasure, or soft French *j*; *ç*—*gh* as *çh* in shall; *ç*—*z*, as *z* in dissolve; *ç*—*z* as *zed*; *ç*—*j*, as *t* with a slight aspiration; *ç*—*g*, as English *s* with slight aspiration; *ç*— a deep guttural without any audible aspiration, and when initial to a word the *h* is placed before its vowel, as in *Alh*, and when not initial, after its preceding vowel, as in *Mas'hid* and *Rāfi*; *ç*—*gh*, a guttural sound like that produced in gargling, or Northumbrian *r* and somewhat *ng* similar to *gh* in ghost; *ç*—*k*, another peculiar Arabic sound, produced by pressing back the root of the tongue to the throat, and partaking of the sound of *k* and *g*; *ç*—*h*, slightly aspirated; at the end of a word it is often unaspirated. When *ç* occurs at the end of a word preceded by *h*, the former is almost quiescent. The only diphthongs are *ai* and *au*.

From the above system the scholar can at once tell the original letters in the names of persons and places.

TYPOGRAPHICAL ERRORS REQUIRING CORRECTION

- Page 11, note 3, for Tālhah, read Talhah.
- „ 21, for Lāis, read Lais
- „ 23, for Al-Mawaffīk, read Al-Muwāfīk
- „ 23, note 1, for Badghais, read Bādghais
- „ 25, note 2, and notes 4 and 5, page 35, for Ibrahāmī, read Ibrāhīmī
- „ „ for Tāhir, read Tāhir in all cases, and for Nizām, read Nizām
- „ 36, note 9, for Sanjaris, read Sijzīs
- „ 40, last line, and note 4, for Tagin, read Tigin.
- „ 41, note 5, for Fanākātī, read Fanākātī
- „ 58, next to last line, for Tabrī, read Tabarī
- „ 59, line 10, and in all cases, for Mūsī, read Mauṣīl
- „ 69, paragraph 2 of note 4, line 15, for قُتُو read قُتُو
- „ 75, line 19, for SULTĀN-UL-'AZAM, read SULTĀN-'JL-'ĀZAM.
- „ 80, note 2, for overcome, read overcame
- „ 86, note, line 28, for Al-Zawzanī, read Az-Zawzanī, and in all cases
- „ 90, line 14, and notes 4 and 5, for Mawdūd, read Maudūd in all cases.
- „ 97, line 13, for Sūlīmān, read Sulīmān
- „ 101, line 23, for 344 H, read 443 H
- „ 109, line 15, for the martyr Sultān, &c, read the martyr, Sultān, &c.
- „ 110, note 1, line 1, for 548 H, read 514 H, and note 5, for 521 H, and 522 H, read 541 H, and 542 H
- „ 112, note 5, for year 523 H, read 543 H.
- „ 113, note, line 11 from bottom, for Seyr, read Siyar
- „ 115, line 1, and line 12, for Muhammad, Sām, read Muhammad-i-Sām and in all cases
- „ 137, note 3, for 555 H, read 455 H
- „ 140, note 5, for Khaṭā-ī, read Khiṭā ī, and in all cases
- „ 145, note 4, line 4 from bottom, for Almiūt, read Alamūt
- „ 146, line 1, for A'ZAM, read 'ĀZAM
- „ 167, note 8, line 8, for Yafā'-ī, read Yāfa-ī
- „ 172, note 3, paragraph 2, line 15, for up to this time, even, read up to this time even, &c, &c
- „ 176, note 1, line 6, for Istāk~~h~~ur, read Istāk~~h~~ur
- „ 177, note 6, for 603 H, read 613 H
- „ 184, note, line 4 from bottom, for Bamm, read Bam

THE TABAKĀT-I-NĀSIRĪ

SECTION VII

THE DYNASTY OF THE TĀHIRĪ MUHAMMADAN MALIKS IN AJAM

MINHĀJ I SARĀJ JORJĀNI the humblest of the servants of the Almighty's Court, gives in the following pages an account of the Tāhirī Maliks [kings] whose descent, in some histories is traced to Manūchīhr Al Malik sovereign of Ajam, and according to which the first of them who rose to power was Tāhir¹ son of Al Husain son of Mu'ab son of Zarnik son of Asad son of Būdān son of Māc Khusrāu, son of Bahrām. Māc Khusrāu was the first who embraced the faith of Islām having been converted by Ali—May God reward him!—and received the name of Asad. This Bahrām was son of Razān Mūrī, son of Rustam son of As-Saddīd, son of Dostān son of Barsān, son of Jūrak son of Gusht-āsp son of Ashraṭ son of Isḥam son of Tūrak son of Anshar son of Shūd āsp son of Aṣar sab son of Tūh, son of Rūshed son of Manūchīhr Al Malik.

The Tāhirī Maliks were remarkable for their virtues and equity and they first rose to power in Khurāsān in the time of the Amīr ul Mūminīn [Commander of the Faithful] Māmūn and in the following manner Between the Khālīfah Muḥammīd Amīn who was at

¹ The Tārīkh i-Yāfa'ī which is a rare and most valuable work, and highly esteemed by the early chroniclers, gives a different account. According to it the following is the genealogy of the family:— Abū Tayyib-i Tāhir called Zū-l-ʿImānān, son of Ḥusayn, son of Ruzāik [giving the vowel points] son of Mīhān-i Khazā'ī, son of Asad, son of Rūdwiāh; and according to another tradition, As'ad, son of Rūdān; and, according to another Mu'ab, son of Talḥah. Tāhir's ancestor Ruzāik, was a servant of Talḥah-i Talāḥī, who was renowned for his generosity and beneficence."

Baghdād, and his brother Māmūn, who was in Khurāsān, ill-feeling arose Upon this, Amīn despatched 'Alī 'Isā-i-Māhān² from Baghdad into Khurāsān to reduce Māmūn to obedience, and, in one of the months of the year 195 of the Hīrah, he reached Hamadān with a warlike army Māmūn appointed Harṣamah³, son of A'yan, to the command of a force to oppose 'Alī 'Isā, and Tāhūr, son of Hūsain, was nominated to command the van of Harṣamah's army

By the advice of Fazl⁴, son of Sahl, who was Māmūn's Wazīr, Māmūn bestowed a standard upon Tāhūr, saying unto him at the same time, that he had bent for him a standard which for thirty years should lead to victory, and so it turned out, for the sway of the Tāhūrīs lasted for upwards of thirty odd years⁵ Within two leagues of Rai, with 14 or 15,000 horse⁶, he encountered 'Alī, son of 'Isā, son of Māhān, who had brought 50,000 horse with him, defeated, and slew him⁷, and sent his head to Māmūn He then subdued the whole of the mountain tracts of 'Irāk, and took Wāsīt and Ahwāz, and appeared before the gates of Baghdad

After carrying on hostilities for the space of a year, Tāhūr captured Muhammad Amīn, put him to death⁸, and despatched his head to Māmūn, his brother,

² His right name is Abū Yaḥyā-i-'Alī, son of 'Isā, son of Māhān His two sons were also sent to serve under him, and his army amounted to 50,000 men

³ Ṭabarī says Tāhūr was alone appointed, but, subsequently, when he asked for reinforcements, on marching from the Hulwān Pass to Baghdad, then Harṣamah was sent with another army

⁴ Other chroniclers of undoubted authority state that 'Alī, son of Abī Khālīd, was the minister in question.

⁵ Most writers give a greater number of years than this Their dynasty is said to have continued nearly fifty-four years One of the poets has brought together the names of the Tāhūrīān rulers in these two couplets —

“ In Khurāsān, of the race of Muṣ'ab Shāh,
Were Tāhūr, and Ṭalḥah, and 'Abd-ullah
Then a second Tāhūr, and a Muhammad, who,
Gave up unto Ya'kūb, the throne and crown ”

⁶ Ṭabarī says 20,000 men

⁷ 'Alī, son of 'Isā, was slain, it is said, by Dā'ūd i-Siyāh, or the Black Most writers state that Tāhūr himself slew him

⁸ The author of the Mujmal-i-Faṣīḥ-i states, that a slave of Tāhūr's, Firdaus by name, slew Muhammad Amīn on the 5th of Muharram, 198 H The author of the Tārīkh-i-Yāfa'i gives the 6th of Safar as the date

together with his mantle, his rod of office, and his seal, by the hand of his uncle's son Muḥammad son of Al-Hasan, son of Muṣab. This event happened and this victory was gained, on the 25th of the month Muḥarram, in the year 198 H.

L. TĀHIR I ZŪ L-YAMANAIN¹

Ibn Haṣam, the chronicler and author of the work entitled 'Ḳaṣaṣ-i Sānī' whose patronymic appellation was Abū l-Hasan, and his name Haṣam, son of Muḥammad Al Bākī [Nābī ?] states, that, when the Commander of the Faithful, Māmūn removed Ghassān² son of Ubbad from the government of Khurāsān he conferred it, together with the government of Ajam upon Amīr Tāhir and that Asad, the grandfather³ of Tāhir before his conversion to the Muḥammadan religion bore the name of Farrukh. He was converted to the faith by Tālḥah⁴ who gave him the name of Asad and he had a son whom he named Muṣab, and he, Muṣab became resident at Fūshanj⁵.

When the claims of the family of Abbās to the Khilāfat were put forward this same Muṣab became one of the principal men and partisan leaders of that dynasty. Muṣab had a son, Husain by name, which Husain for a considerable time, administered the affairs of Fūshanj and was its Wālī [governor]⁶ and Tāhir [Zū l-Yamanain] was his son, and these successes, which have been mentioned, were gained by this same Tāhir.

When Māmūn came to Baghdād to assume the Khilāfat,

¹ Of the two right hands. Tāhir had also lost an eye, which our author does not seem to have known. The reasons why he obtained the name of Zū-l-Yamanain are differently related. One is, that, when engaged in battle against Alī, son of Isā, he struck another antagonist with his left hand, with the other sword he curled, with such force as to cleave him in twain. The other that when about to give his hand in token of allegiance to the Imām Rīḡā, at Māmūn's command he gave the left. Rīḡā asked the reason. Tāhir replied, "I swore fealty to Māmūn with my right hand." Rīḡā replied "Your left will do just the same."

² Only one copy of the different MSS. collated contains this name correctly.

³ ۛۛ means ancestor also. According to the genealogical tree previously given, Tāhir was third in descent from Asad.

⁴ Tālḥah, son of Abd-ullah one of the Prophet's companions.

⁵ According to the Tārīkh-i Yāfī, above quoted, the grandfather of Tāhir held the government of Fūshanj and Hīrūt. Fūshanj or Būshanj (it is written both ways) is the name of a city of Khurāsān near Hīrūt.

⁶ As considerable difference exists in some of these terms, I have thought it best to add, occasionally the signification which the author means to convey.

he despatched Tāhīr to Rakk'ah⁶, to carry on hostilities against Naṣr-i-Shī's⁷. Subsequently to this he came into Khurāsān, and, in 207 H⁸, he died, having nominated his son Talhah, son of Tāhīr, his Khalīfah or successor

The chronicler relates, that on the Friday he read the Khutbah⁹, and either forgot to mention the name of Māmūn, or omitted it purposely. After he had returned to his residence at night, and had retired to rest, at day-break of Saturday morning he was found in his bed asleep in death, and it was never known how¹, or from what, his death originated²

II ṬALḤAH, SON OF TĀHIR-I-ZŪ-L-YAMANAIN

When the Khalīfah, Māmūn, became aware of the death of Tāhīr, he sent letters patent to Talhah, confirming him in the government of Khurāsān, together with a robe of honour³. He held the government until 213 H⁴, and, when the end of his life drew near, he bequeathed the government of Khurāsān to Muhammad, son of Al-Ḥasan, son of Muṣ'ab, Aṭ-Ṭāhīrī, who was Talhah's paternal uncle, and soon after died

During his [Talhah's] lifetime, the Khārījī or heretic, Ḥamzah, broke out into rebellion in Sijistān⁵, and Talhah

⁶ In two MSS written Rakah, which is not correct. Tāhīr's father, Husain, son of Muṣ'ab, son of Ruzāik, died at Hirāt of Khurāsān in 199 H. At this time Tāhīr was at Rakk'ah, and the Khalīfah, Māmūn, was present at his funeral, and prayed over him, and the Wazīr Faḏl, son of Sahl, placed the body in the grave

⁷ Abu Naṣr-i-Shī's, son of Rabī, the Khārījī, or Schismatic

⁸ He died at Marw, according to the, 23rd of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 207 H, or, according to the computation of the Musalmāns, the night being reckoned before the day, on the night of the 24th

⁹ As the word Khutbah will occur frequently in these pages, it will be well to explain, that it is an oration delivered after the service on the Muḥammadan Sabbath, in which the deliverer of it—the ruler or governor of the province properly—blesses Muḥammad, his successors, and the reigning Khalīfah or the Sovereign. In ancient times, the Khalīfah, or his heir apparent, pronounced it, at the capital, in the principal Mosque

¹ He is said to have been poisoned. The account is to be found in detail in several histories

² His death took place in the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal

³ The Mujmal-i-Fasiḥ-i states, that, in 210 H, the Khalīfah, Māmūn, despatched 'Abd-ullah, son of Tāhīr, to the assistance of his brother Talhah, that, in concert, they might proceed into Māwar-un-Nahr to carry on hostilities against Rāfi', son of Hāsham

⁴ He died at the end of 212 H

⁵ Also called Nīm-roz

carried on hostilities against him for a considerable period, and what he did in Khurāsān during the Khilāfat of Māmūn, was the cause of his name being remembered with gratitude in that country where numerous proofs of his goodness remained.

III. ABD ULLAH, SON OF ṬĀHIR.

On the decease of Ṭalḥah the Commander of the Faithful, Māmūn, summoned to his presence Abd ullah, the son of Ṭāhir who had become Amir [governor] of Miṣr*. Abd ullah had been brought up at the Court of the Khilāfat, and under the patronage and under the eye, of the Khalīfah himself and had become greatly accomplished. In his seventeenth year Māmūn had entrusted him with the command of his forces and he had so conducted himself that, in his twenty-seventh year⁷ Abd ullah had become renowned among men for his manliness his vigour his intrepidity and his virtues and talents. At this period the Khalīfah appointed him to the government of Khurāsān, and directed that 'Alī*, son of Ṭāhir brother of Abd ullah should act as his brother's Khalīfah or Lieutenant, in the command of the troops of the Dār ul Khilāfat [the capital] in repressing the seditious and rebellious, and in the extermination of heretic Khārījīs, and likewise, in carrying out the affairs of state, and all such other duties as appertained unto Abd ullah to perform and attend to.

At the time the Khalīfah's mandate to proceed into Khurāsān and assume the government reached him Abd ullah* was at Dīnawr engaged in suppressing Bābak i Khurramī. When he reached Nīshāpūr rain, which had not fallen for a considerable time, began to descend and

* Any large city: Egypt, and its capital.

⁷ Some copies of the original mention "his twentieth year" but I prefer the other reading.

* Other writers state that Alī succeeded his father in the government of Khurāsān, and that he was killed in battle fighting against the Khārījīs, in the vicinity of Nīshāpūr; and, that Abd-ullah was at Abīward when he received the intelligence of his brother's death.

* Ṭabarī makes no mention of Abd-ullah, son of Ṭāhir as having been employed against Bābak, but says that Is-ḥāk, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Muṣab—who would be thus cousin of Abd ullah's father—was. That author states, that Abd-ullah seized Bābak's brother in Khurāsān, and, that he sent that heretic to Is-ḥāk at Baghdād, to be dealt with as Bābak had already been.

to refresh the parched ground on the very same day, and the people took it as a good omen. He founded palaces for himself, and his followers and dependents, at Shād-yākh¹ of Nīshāpūr. He suppressed the Khārjīs, and punished them with severity, and ruled with the utmost equity and justice, and introduced many good and wise regulations.

He was also a great patron of learning, and to such a degree, that he requested the Imām 'Abd-ul-Kāsim², son of Sallām, to write a commentary for him on the work entitled "Gharīb-ul-Ḥadīṣ," and, in recompense for so doing, sent him a present of 100,000 silver *dirams*, and a valuable dress of honour.

The Lord of the Faithful, Al-Māmūn, had entrusted 'Abd-ullah with the government of the whole of the territory of 'Ajam³, and, when that Khalīfah died, his successor, Al-Mutaṣim B'illah, confirmed him, as his father had done before, in the government of the whole of the territory of 'Ajam, which 'Abd-ullah retained until the year 230 H, in the reign of Al-Wāsiḳ B'illah, when he died. He had exercised sovereignty over the territories of 'Ajam for a period of seventeen years, and, when he died, he had attained the age of forty-eight, the same age as his father. When his death drew near, he nominated his son Tāhir as his successor over Khurāsān⁴.

IV ṬĀHIR, SON OF 'ABD-ULLAH

When the account of the decease of 'Abd-ullah reached the Khalīfah, Al-Wāsiḳ, he despatched, from the Dār-ul-Khilāfat of Baghdād, letters patent and a standard, confirming him as his father's successor.

His brothers⁵ solicited from Tāhir the grant of the pro-

vince of Khurāsān and its government and he bestowed on his brother Amīr Muṣab the government of Nīshāpūr⁶. The Khallifah Al Wāṣik died in the month Ẓū l Hijjah 232 IL, and Al Mutawakkil assumed the Khilāfat.

He confirmed Tāhir in the government of Ajam. After a period of fourteen years and nine months, at which time the Khallifah, Al Mutawakkil was martyred⁷ by the Turks, he was succeeded by Al Mustanṣir.

Six months subsequently to that event, in the year 248 IL⁸, Al Musta'in succeeded him. He sent letters patent and a standard and confirmed Tāhir son of Abd ullah, in his government as before and in that same year Amīr Tāhir died, having previously nominated his son Muḥammad as his successor over Khurāsān⁹.

V MUHAMMAD SON OF TĀHIR.

Amīr Muḥammad i Tāhir¹ was endowed with good breeding the gift of poetry and many other accomplishments but was greatly addicted to pleasure and amusement.

He had entrusted the government of Tabaristān to his uncle Sullmān, son of Abd ullah i Tāhir but, in 251 IL, Amīr Hasan son of Zaid ul Alawī broke out into rebellion in that country. He was a Sayyid, and a well bred and learned person and a poet. He subdued the territories of Dīlam, and Gīlān which were in the possession of infidels, and the people of those parts were converted to the Muḥammadan faith by him. From thence he entered Tabaristān with a large army and Sullmān, son of Abd ullah i Tāhir uncle of Amīr Muḥammad was defeated by him and retreated.

⁶ In 231 IL Hasan, son of Al Husain, brother of Tāhir i Ẓū l Yamanain, died in Tabaristān; and, in 235 IL Is-hāk, son of Ibrāhīm, son of Ẓū l Yamanain's brother Hasan, died at Baghdād. He had held the Sharṭ, or district of Baghdād under three Khallifas.

⁷ Middle of the month of Shawwāl, 247 IL.

⁸ According to our author in his account of the Khallifas, on the 4th of Rabī ul Awwal, 248 IL.

⁹ Succession to the government of Khurāsān seems to have been considered hereditary but to that of Ajam, at the pleasure of the Khallifah.

¹ His name is given differently by Hamd-ullah i Mustaufi in his history. He styles him Muḥammad, son of Aḥmad son of Tāhir son of Abd ullah, son of Tāhir i Ẓū l Yamanain. In the Mujmal i Faṭih-i he is called Muḥammad son of Tāhir i Ẓū l Yamanain.

to Rai², and subsequently retired to Baghdād. On his arrival at the latter place, he was made Kā'id [governor] of the district of Baghdād.

At this period, Ya'kūb, son of Laiṣ, had risen in rebellion in Sistān, and had subdued some portion of Jarūm³, and of Zāwulistān, and had acquired considerable power in Khurāsān. In 259 II, Ya'kūb determined to attack Amīr Muhammad. The reason of this was, that his enemies, Ahmad and Fazl, the brothers of 'Abd-ullah-i-Šālih, Sijizī, had fled from the territory of Nīm-roz, and had sought the protection of Muhammad, son of Tāhīr. Ya'kūb continued repeatedly to demand them at the hands of Amīr Muhammad-i-Tāhīr, but he had always refused to give them up. On this Ya'kūb determined to march against Nīshāpūr⁴, and, when he had arrived within a short distance of it, Ahmad and Fazl came to the entrance of the palace, where Amīr Muhammad was at the time, to acquaint him with the news of Ya'kūb's approach. The Hājib [chamberlain] of the Amīr told them that his master was asleep, and that he had no leisure to receive them. They observed to each other that it was necessary that some one should awaken the Amīr, and, thus saying, they retired and went to their brother 'Abd-ullah-i-Šālih, Sijizī, and told him what had occurred. He was well aware that Amīr Muhammad was entirely sunk in carelessness, and that his dynasty was near its fall, so he retired to Rai, and sent his brothers, Ahmad and Fazl, to the Wālī [governor] of Rai, but went himself into Ṭabaristān to Amīr Ḥasan, son of Zaid-ul-'Alawī.

When Ya'kūb, son of Laiṣ, reached a place called Farhād-gurd⁵, a short distance from Nīshāpūr, Amīr Muhammad despatched an agent to Ya'kūb, named Ibrāhīm-i-Šālih,

² *Re* is not the correct pronunciation for the name of this city, but *Rai*. It is written thus in the original Persian—ری.

³ Jarūm is described as being the district of Garmsīr, which latter word is written in various ways by those who fancy that Oriental proper names, as well as other words, may be written according to *their* fancy, such as Gurmsehl, Gurmseer, and the like.

⁴ The capital of Khurāsān. As stated, previously, the Tāhūrī rulers held their court at Shād-yākh, a short distance from that city.

⁵ The name of this place is not quite certain. It is written—امراکرد و مرادکرد—and even امهاکرد in the different copies of the MSS. collated. The above name is the most probable one.

Marwazī [or native of Marw] with a message demanding whither he was going without the command of the Lord of the Faithful and that, in case he had a commission he should show it, in order that he, Muḥammad, might obey it, and observe its provisions. When the agent reached Yaḳūb's presence, and delivered his message Yaḳūb put his hand under his prayer-carpet and drew forth his sword and placing it before the envoy, said "This is my pass and authority."

When the envoy, Ibrāhīm i Šālīḥ returned with this reply, all the people of Nišāpūr entered into communication with Yaḳūb, and they delivered Muḥammad i Tāhīr into his hands, and the dynasty of the Tāhīrīs came to an end.⁶ This event happened on Sunday the 3rd of the month of *Shawwāl* 259 H. Respecting the generosity and munificence of Muḥammad i Tāhīr one of the learned whose statement may be depended on relates the following

ANECDOTE.

There was a person dwelling at Nišāpūr one of the most excellent men of his day named Maḥmūd i Warrāk.⁷ He possessed a female slave, who played exceedingly well upon the *barbat*—a kind of lute—and of such grace and beauty as cannot be described.

The fame of the loveliness of this slave-girl and of her amiability and accomplishments, having reached the ear of Muḥammad i Tāhīr to the effect that she improvised *ghazals* or odes, sang them and accompanied them on the *barbat*, the heart of Muḥammad-i Tāhīr desired, beyond measure, to obtain possession of her. He had repeatedly asked Maḥmūd-i Warrāk to part with her and had offered to give a very high price for her, but all his offers were rejected and he could not obtain possession of her for her master himself was deeply enamoured of his beautiful slave Rātibah, as she was named.

After some time had elapsed however and Maḥmūd i Warrāk had expended all his property and possessions in pleasure and expense on her account, and nothing remained to him, he despatched a person with a message to the

⁶ These events are fully detailed in the *Jāmi -ut Tawārīkh*, and several other histories. See note 7 page 22.

⁷ Warrāk means a writer a cutter and folder of paper also a moneyed man.

presence of Muhammad-i-Tāhīr soliciting that the Amīr would honour him with a visit, in order that he might dispose of his beautiful slave to him

When Muhammad-i-Tāhīr received this message he was delighted beyond measure, and directed that four *badrahs*⁸ of silver should be brought and handed over to the domestic who brought the message, while the Amīr arose, and proceeded, by way of his own private residence to that of Mahmūd-i-Warrāk. When the Amīr had sat down, and the silver was placed before the eyes of Mahmūd-i-Warrāk, he, seeing the state of affairs, went out, and directed Rātībah, saying "Don your best apparel, Rātībah, and prepare to present yourself before the Amīr, as I am going to sell you to him." When the slave-girl heard these words she burst into a flood of tears, and, such was the paroxysm of her grief, that the sounds reached the ears of the Amīr, who was in another apartment. He heard Mahmūd say to her "Wherefore all this grief and lamentation, O Rātībah?" to which she replied "O my master! is this the end of our connexion, that at last you separate me from you?" Mahmūd replied "All this I do out of love and affection for you, now that I possess nothing, and am a beggar, and, that you may continue to live in ease and affluence for the rest of your life, I send you to the *haram* of the Amīr." Rātībah replied "If you merely act thus on my account, refrain from doing so, for I undertake to work for the rest of my days, and, by industry befitting a woman, by weaving coifs and mantles, earn sufficient means for your subsistence and my own, but do not separate me from you." Mahmūd-i-Warrāk rejoined "If such be the case, O Rātībah, I now pronounce you free, and fix your dowry at nineteen *dīnārs* and a half, and make you my wife."

Muhammad-i-Tāhīr, hearing this loving and affectionate dialogue between Mahmūd-i-Warrāk and his slave, arose, and, gathering his garments about him, said to Mahmūd "The whole of the four *badrahs* of silver are thine, I make thee a present of it pass the rest of thy life in ease and affluence!" Thus saying, he went his way, and the fame of his generosity still remains

⁸ A weight equal to 10,000 *dirams*, also a bag made of leather or lamb's skin

SECTION VIII

THE ŠUFFĀRĪŌN DYNASTY

THE author Minhāj i-Sarāj Jūrjānī makes a short extract from the *Tārīkh* or chronicle of Ibn Haṣam i-Sānī, respecting the dynasty of the Šuffārīūn. That chronicler and annalist relates, that Ya'kūb-i-Laig, and Umro, Ail, and Mu'addil i-Laig, were four brothers, sons of Laig, the Šuffār or worker in brass who was head of the braziers of Sijistān¹ [At this time] Ibrāhīm, son of Al Husain², was the Wālī [governor] of Sijistān on the part of Muḥammad son of Tāhīr, the last of the Tāhīrīs who was the Amīr of Khurāsān. This Ibrāhīm had appointed a deputy or lieutenant of his own to govern in Sijistān in his name, who was called Šālīḥ, son of Un Naṣr. This Laig the brazier was a restless and refractory fellow and had a great number of assistants, servants and followers.

¹ Other historians greatly differ here, as to the origin and rise of the Šuffārīūn. One says that Laig the brazier was in the service of Šālīḥ son of Naṣr Ḥanānī; and another quoting the History of Khurāsān of Muḥammad bin ud-Dīn, Sabzwārī, states, that the latter author had traced the descent of this family to Nūshīrwān the Just the celebrated ruler of Irān. Again, another author states, that Ya'kūb, son of Laig after the death of Darhīm [sic], son of Un-Naṣr revolted against his sons Šālīḥ and Naṣr in 237 H. and managed to gain possession of some portion of the territory of Sijistān. His affairs prospered, and the principal men among the partisans of Darhīm's family having combined with him from time to time in 253 H. he acquired the whole of Sijistān. Darhīm's sons fled to the king of Kābil.

² In three copies of the MSS compared, and also in the *Tārīkh i Fanākatī*, this name is written *Haṣn*,³ [حصن] which signifies a fortification. A few words, respecting the *Tārīkh i-Fanākatī*, may not be amiss here. Abū Sulīmān-i Dāūd, the author of that work, surnamed Fakhr ud-dīn, was a native of Fanākat—also written Banākat, according to the rule by which Arabs change Persian *f* into *b*—in Māwar-un Naḥr; hence he is known as Al-Fanākatī and Al-Banākatī, and his work as the *Tārīkh i Fanākatī* or *Banākatī*; but not by the absurd name that some persons have bestowed upon it, apparently through ignorance of the existence of this place, such as *Bīd-i-Gety* and *Bīnā-i-Getī*. They probably supposed the meaning to be a History of the Foundation of the World,⁴ which *Bīd i Get* would signify

the name of some one of the nobles and grandees of the country. Unexpectedly the deputy of the Amīr of Sijistān Sālīh, son of Naṣr himself on his return home from the chase, arrived at this place, attended by his usual small suite. Perceiving this assemblage of people collected on the mound in question, he directed one of his attendants to go and make inquiry who they were.

When the man sent reached the party and noticed what was going on he was much astonished and a bevy of youths having come forward to receive him the messenger was forced to dismount from his horse because it was necessary to present himself before the Amīr of the sports on foot. The servant of Sālīh, accordingly was under the necessity of complying, and he made his obeisance, and returned and related to his master, Sālīh, son of Naṣr, what had passed and what he had seen.

Sālīh, whose disposition was inclined to pleasantry, said "We will go and see what this party of youths are about, and rode up and came to the spot where they were. Ya'kūb-i Lāi never moved from his seat, and he directed, that Amīr Sālīh should be brought forward to pay his obeisance. The youths, as commanded advanced to meet him, and they made Sālīh dismount from his horse, and compelled him to make his obeisance to Ya'kūb.

As the day of his fortune and the period of his age had reached the evening of their termination, and the morning of the prosperity of the Šuffārīūn had dawned, Ya'kūb made a sign to the effect that it was necessary to put an end to Amīr Sālīh's career, and forthwith they put him to death. Ya'kūb, without delay mounted a horse, and the party with him armed themselves, and with the utmost expedition, they set out for the city and proceeded to the palace of the ruler and there Ya'kūb took up his quarters.

This event took place at the time of early forenoon and by the time of meridian prayer the territory of Sijistān was in the hands of Ya'kūb-i Lāi, and all the people submitted to his rule, like as if the Almighty God had pre-ordained that he should follow his own way. Ya'kūb directed that the Khuṭbah should be read for him, and these events, and this success, took place in the year 251 H.

After this, Ya'kūb led an army towards Rust and Zāwulistān and the territory of Dāwar [Zamīn i Dāwar]

and Ghaznīn, and subdued the whole of them. From thence he advanced into Tūkhārīstān⁴ and Balkh, and subdued them, and then returned and marched towards Kābul⁵. This success took place in 256 H, and, subsequently, he returned to Sijistān, and afterwards advanced to Hirāt, which, after much fighting, he gained possession of. After this he took Bādghais, Būshanj [or Fūshanj], Jām, and Bākhuriz, and returned to Sijistān again.

After a short time Ya'kūb again put his forces in motion, and marched against Nīshāpūr, which he gained possession of without opposition in 259 H, and seized upon Muḥammad-i-Tāhīr, son of Ḥusain⁶, together with his treasures, and his dependents, and followers. He then marched towards Gurgān and Tabaristān, and, after having extorted tribute, again retired. He made his brother, U'mro-i-Lais, Wālī [governor] of Hirāt and, in 261 H, a person—one of the Amīrs of Muḥammad-i-Tāhīr—revolted, and set Muḥammad-i-Tāhīr at liberty⁷, who retired to the Court of the Khalīfah, Al-Wāsīk B'illah. Ya'kūb-i-Lais again marched an army into 'Irāk, and, on his return from thence, he reached a place which was called Khandah-i-Shāpūr⁸, and there he departed this life, in the year 265 H, of colic, after a reign of fourteen years.

⁴ The ancient name of *one* of the districts of the territory of Balkh, and of which Tāe-kān—Tāl-kan by moderns, but not correct, I think—is the largest town, the authority of "Hwen [Houen ?] Thsang," and its extent of "*ten day's journey by thirty days*," and "*twenty-seven states*," notwithstanding. See J. Ro. As. Soc., vol. vi p. 94.

⁵ As stated in a former note, the sons of Darhim, Naṣr and Šālīḥ, had fled to Kābul, and had sought shelter with the "Shāh," as he is styled, of that territory, whose name was Ratbel or Rantbel, but this seems to have been a surname merely, for the opponent of the first Mussalmāns bore this very title.

⁶ The name here is not correct: the last of the Tāhīrīs is Muḥammad, son of Tāhīr, son of 'Abd-ullah, son of Tāhīr-i-Zū'l-Yamanain. See page 15.

⁷ The author says not one word respecting Ya'kūb's overthrow near Hulwān by Muwaffīk, the brother of the Khalīfah Mu'tamid, in 262 H. On that occasion the baggage and effects of Ya'kūb fell into the hands of the victors, among which were the chests containing his treasures, clothes, &c. On opening one of the chests, they found reclining therein the Amīr Muḥammad, son of Ut-Tāhīr, whom Ya'kūb had made captive, when he gained possession of Nīshāpūr, and overthrew the Tāhīrī dynasty. Muwaffīk set him at liberty, and sent him to Baghdād. He died there in 266 H, and, at that time, and with him, other authors consider the Tāhīrī dynasty to have ended.

⁸ The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh calls this place by the name of "Jand-i-Shāpūr, a town of Ahwāz," and states that the date of his death was the 14th of Shawwāl, 265 H. It is also called "Jande-Shāpūr." Ya'kūb was buried there.

II. UMRO, SON OF LAIŠ ŠUFFĀRĪ

When Ya kûb 1 Laiš was removed from this transitory life, his brother Umro Šuffārī sent a written petition to the Lord of the Faithful the Khalīfah Al Muwaffik Billah² tendering his obedience and submission, and soliciting that he should be confirmed in the possession of the greater part of Fars Gurgān, Sijistān, and Khurāsān. His request was acceded to by the Khalīfah, and Umro retired from the mountain tracts of 'Irāk with his own forces and those of his brother and returned towards Sijistān again. From thence he moved towards Hirāt, and arrived there in the year 266 H. From Hirāt he marched to Nīshāpūr and Khujistān¹ who was one of the Amīrs of Muḥammad, son of Tāhir [the last of the Tāhirī dynasty], who had released his master from the hands of the Šuffārīs, and who was at this period in Gurgān marched to Nīshāpūr against Umro and there he was joined by Rāfi son of Harḡamah from Marw

They fought a battle with Umro before the gate of Nīshāpūr and Umro was defeated and put to the rout. He retreated to Hirāt, and the Khalīfah, Al Mawaffik Billah², deposed

¹ There was no Khalīfah of this name. The author must refer to the Khalīfah Mutamid's brother Muwaffik, who was made Wālī over the eastern parts of Islām, and declared heir after the death of Mutamid's son Ja'far but he did not succeed to the Khilāfat. Mutamid, son of Muwaffik, who died before his brother Mutamid, succeeded his father Al-Muwaffik in his capacity as ruler of the eastern parts of the Khilāfat; and he conferred the investiture of Khurāsān, Fārs, Iṣfahān, Sijistān, Kirmān, and *Sīmal*, upon Umro in 265 H. after the death of Ya'kub and, in 266 H. Umro appointed 'Ubaid ullah, the son of Tāhir to the district of Baghdād, as his deputy. Mutamid was the Khalīfah who excommunicated Umro, son of Laiš from the pulpit, at Baghdād, in 265 H. Umro had despatched an agent to offer his submission and obedience, which the Khalīfah refused to accept, and he cursed him.

Under the events of the year 278 H. the *Mujmal i Faṣṣḥ-i* also mentions, that Amīr Ismā'īl, Sāmānī, overcame Umro, son of Laiš the Šuffārī,² and under the events of the following year, 279 H. I find the Khalīfah, Al Mutamid, presenting a standard to Umro with the government of Khurāsān, at Umro's request, and that Umro hoisted the standard over his Sarāi or palace, and kept it flying there for three days. The Khalīfah also conferred upon Umro's envoy who brought the request for a standard, a dress of honour and a present.³ Our author sadly confounds the dates of events, and jumbles them into a very short space.

¹ This is an error although seven copies of the text give the same name. Other authors state, that Ya'kûb was defeated by Aḥmad, son of Abd-ullah, Khujistānī, i.e. a native of Khujistān, which, the author of the *Mujmal i Faṣṣḥ-i* says, is a dependency of Baghdād, in the highlands of Hirāt.

² See preceding note¹ on this subject.

'Umro-i-Lais from the government of Khurāsān in the year 271 H, and the whole of the territories and places which had been annexed by him were given [back] to Muhammad, son of Tāhūr, son of 'Abd-ullah

Muhammad was, at that time, at the Dār-ul-Khilāfat of Baghdād, and Rāfi', son of Harṣamah, was directed to act as his deputy and lieutenant in the government of Khurāsān. The government of Māwar-un-Nahr—the territory trans Jihūn—was conferred upon Ahmad, Sāmānī, as the deputy likewise of Muḥammad, son of Tāhūr. Between 'Umro-i-Lais and Rāfi', son of Harṣamah, many battles and conflicts took place up to the period that Rāfi'-i-Harṣamah himself rebelled against the authority of the Khalīfah

In the year 284 H, in an encounter which took place between him and 'Umro-i-Lais, Rāfi' was slain³. 'Umro sent the head of Rāfi' to the Court of Baghdād, at which time the *masnad* [throne] of the Khilāfat had devolved upon Al-Mu'tazid B'illah, and 'Umro-i-Lais made a request to him that the government of Māwar-un-Nahr, Khurāsān, Nīm-roz⁴, Fārs, Kirmān, and Ahwāz, together with the Nakābat⁵, or guardianship of the entrance to the palace of the Khalīfah, and of the district of Baghdād, should be made over to him. More than this, he solicited that the name 'Umro should be inscribed on the canopies⁶ which every chief had in his residence [which would signify that he was above them all], and that his name should be mentioned in the Khutbah, and on the coins of Makkah and Madīnah and of Hījāz. All his demands were acceded to by the Khalīfah's Court, and were duly carried out, and numerous dresses of honour, and countless marks of favour and distinction, were conferred upon him.

The letters patent, acceding to his demands, having reached Umro from his Majesty the Khalīfah, he made

³ Other authors state that Rāfi' was taken prisoner by 'Umro, and sent to Baghdād, where he died in confinement, which former proceeding so pleased the Khalīfah that he restored 'Umro to the government of Khurāsān, Māwar-un-Nahr, Kirmān, &c., again. The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, and Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah, however, state that Rāfi' sought shelter with the ruler of Khawārazm, who put him to death, and sent his head to 'Umro. The latter's report to the Khalīfah, in the Muijal-i-Fasīḥī, confirms this.

⁴ Siyistān

⁵ Nakābat, the office of a Naḳīb, a leader, &c.

⁶ The word is rather doubtful—سرهائی. One MS has سرهای another سرهای

preparation for proceeding and taking possession of Māwar un Nahr and Muḥammad Baḥīr who was his Hājib [chamberlain] was despatched with a force from 'Umro's army in advance.

Amīr Ismā'īl i Aḥmad⁷ Sāmānī, marched from Bukhārā towards Khurāsān, crossed the river Jīḥūn⁸ and defeated the [advanced] force of 'Umro under Muḥammad Baḥīr who was slain in the engagement, together with a great number of his troops. Upon this 'Umro-i Laḡ proceeded towards Māwar un Nahr with a numerous army for it included 70,000 horsemen armed with spears, besides other troops. Amīr Ismā'īl i Aḥmad crossed⁹ the Jīḥūn and fought a battle with 'Umro-i Laḡ before the walls of Balkh, defeated him and took him prisoner and sent him to the court of Baghdād¹, and then Ismā'īl returned to Bukhārā. In the year 288 H., the Khalīfah Al Mu'taḍid directed that 'Umro should be cast into prison and in it he died and the dynasty of the Suffārīūn terminated².

⁷ Ismā'īl's army is said to have consisted of 12,000 horse, but the accounts of other writers differ considerably in their statements from this one.

The Oxus, also called Bakhtrus, and Amūsh.

⁸ According to the author's own statement above, Ismā'īl with his army was already across.

¹ See note³ page 31 for a full account of 'Umro's fate.

² The Tārīkh-i Ibrāhīmī, and others, state, that after the downfall of 'Umro his descendants contented themselves with the sovereignty of Sijistān, subject, however to the Sāmāniya. This is also proved from the subsequent accounts given by our author himself. When the people of Sijistān became aware of 'Umro's capture they set up Ṭāḥīr who, according to the Tārīkh-i Guzīdah, Nizām-ut Tawārīkh, Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, and other works, was not 'Umro's brother, but his grandson, Ṭāḥīr, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Umro. Ismā'īl, Sāmānī, overcame him; but after a time conferred the government of Sijistān upon Naḡr son of Aḥmad, Ṭāḥīr's son. His descendants continued to possess it until the year 643 H. 'Umro, son of Laḡ, founded the Atīf Masjid at Shīrāz.

SECTION IX

THE DYNASTY OF THE SĀMĀNĪS

THE humblest of the servants of the Almighty, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Jūrjānī, states that, after the mention of the Maliks of Yaman, and the Suffārīūn Amīrs, he has considered it preferable to insert here the section in which it is proposed to give an account of the race of Sāmān, and the Maliks of that dynasty, and therefore this portion of the work was made, in its arrangements, antecedent to that treating of the genealogy of the Mahmūdī, and Nāṣirī Maliks¹. Although the history of the Maliks of Yaman ought, properly, to have been first in the arrangement of the book, still, as they were not among the number of Maliks of Islām, he did not consider it right to place them before the Khalīfahs, and therefore they have received this much precedence².

This section has been taken from the Tārīkh or Chronicle of Ibn Haiṣam, in order that those under whose inspection it falls may place perfect confidence in its correctness.

The chronicler relates that the ancestor of the Sāmānīs was named Sāmān, but, according to some others, his name was different from this, and, moreover, that Sāmān is the name of one of the districts of the Sughd of Samikand, and that the ancestor of the Sāmānīs was the Ra'īs [chief] of that place, and that he used to be styled Sāmān-i-Khaddāt³, but, for sake of brevity, the name of Sāmān was

¹ The Ghaznawī dynasty, and the Turkish Slave dynasty (not *Patāns*), of which Nāṣir-ud-dīn, the ruler of Dihlī, to whom the author dedicated his work, was one.

² These remarks would have been better prefixed to the notice of the kings of Yaman, or the Tāhīrīs, and are rather out of place here.

³ The Tārīkh-i-Jahān-Ārā states that he was chiefly known by the name of Sāmān-i-Khadāh, which signifies the master or possessor of *sāmān* or effects, chattels, &c. Sāmān likewise, quoting the "Muajjam-ul-Baladān," is the name of a village of Māwar-un-Nahr, but others consider it to be the name of a place in the territory of Balḫ. The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh also agrees with this statement.

adopted, and it became the name by which he was generally known. He was of the posterity of Bahrām Shūbīn⁴.

This Sāmān i Khaddāt had a son who was named Asad who had four sons—named respectively Nūh, Yahyā, Ilyās, and Aḥmad. They became Princes and Lords of great dignity and power, able, and experienced, and endowed with considerable promptness and vigour. At length, when their family had attained the pinnacle of greatness and power Alb-Tigīn⁵ the Amīr of Ghaznī and Sabuk Tigīn were among the slaves and servants of their descendants. All the Sāmānīs left numerous proofs of their goodness in Khurasān and Māwar un-Nahr and may the Almighty reward them by bestowing upon them exalted stations in the courts of Paradise.

ASAD SON OF SĀMĀN I KHĀDDĀT

He had four sons, Yahyā, who held the territory of Shāsh and Isfānjāb and their dependencies. Ilyās, who held the government of the province of Hīrāt and parts adjacent. Aḥmad, the third son, who held Samrḳand and Farghānab and their dependencies and Nūh, the fourth, who at first held the government of Samrḳand which however was subsequently conferred upon Aḥmad.

The Lord of the Faithful, Māmūn, when he came to Marw remarked the talents and capabilities, bravery and innate nobility of mind of the sons of Asad, son of Sāmān and he treated them with great distinction, and conferred great favours upon them and raised them to high rank and position.

When the Khallifah, Māmūn returned to Baghḍad, his capital, he directed Ghassān⁶ the son of Ubbād to

⁴ The noble, who, in the reign of Hurmuz, son of Nūshīrwān, overthrew the son of the Khākān of Turkistān, with an immense army before the walls of Balḳh but was insulted by Hurmuz, and rebelled and dethroned him, and set up another in his stead. The word is sometimes written Chūbīn, sometimes Shūbīn.

⁵ See note ³ page 37.

⁶ In the year 304 H. Ghassān, son of Ubbād, was appointed to the government of Khuristān. He conferred Samrḳand upon Nūh, son of Asad, Sāmānī Aḥmad, Ilyās, and Yahyā, the other sons of Asad, received, respectively the investiture of Farghānab Shāsh Isrughtah, or Sirughtah, and Hīrāt. Soon after Tāhīr i Zū-l-Yamanān became Wālī of Khuristān, Nūh died, and the former bestowed the territory held by Nūh on his brothers, Yahyā and Aḥmad. When Ilyās, another brother died, Tāhīr gave his territory of Hīrāt to his own son, Abd-ullah. After this the family of the Sāmānīs rose to great power in Khuristān and Māwar un-Nahr. See note ¹ page 11; note ² page 28.

assume the government of Khurāsān, and added thereunto the whole of it as far as Māwar-un-Nahr Ghassān, son of 'Ubbād, made each of the sons of Asad the Amīr [ruler] of a territory, and conferred certain cities upon them, as the table given at the end of this Section shows. These governments were first conferred upon them in the year 204 H, and, when his Majesty, the Khalīfah, nominated Amīr Tāhīr-i-Zū-l-Yamanāin, son of Al-Ḥusāin, to the government of Khurāsān, the whole four Sāmānī Amīrs, who [as already stated] were four brothers, were confirmed by him in the territories and cities they were then holding.

When the sovereignty passed from Amīr Tāhīr to his son, 'Abd-ullah-i-Tāhīr⁷, he confirmed the Sāmānīs in their governments as his father had done, and made no change with respect to them.

I AHMAD, SON OF ASAD, SON OF SĀMĀN

Each of the sons of Sāmān-i-Khaddāt rose to great rank and power, and they each held a tract of territory in Māwar-un-Nahr, Farghānah, or Khurāsān, as will be mentioned in the succeeding pages.

Nūh, son of Asad, who was a person of excellent qualities and disposition, and of great energy and high courage, was invested with the government of the territory of Samrkand. Yahyā, another son, held the territory of Shāsh, and Isfanjāb⁸, and their dependencies. He was a man of undaunted spirit and energy, and possessed great talent for government, and left many proofs of his goodness in those parts. Ilyās held the government of the province of Hīrāt and its dependencies, and the parts adjacent. He also was a person of energy and great experience, but Ahmad was the greatest, the most intrepid, energetic, and sagacious of

⁷ It passed to his son, Talhah, first, and afterwards to 'Abd-ullah, and also by the author's own account.

⁸ Shāsh is the name of a territory, river, and city of Māwar-un-Nahr, on the Sihūn or Jaxartes, on the frontier of the Turks. It was also called Fanākat, and is now known as Tāshkand. According to the ASĀR-UL-BILĀD, and MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK, it was also called Chāj and Jāj. Ibn Hauḳāl [the translation] first states that Seket is the capital, and immediately after says Chāj is. Its inhabitants were Musalmāns of the tribes of Ghuzz and Khalj. Isfanjāb, also written Sfanjāb, is a town or city of Māwar-un-Nahr, towards Turkistān. These names are generally carelessly written in the various copies of the text.

the whole of the brothers and held charge of the territory of Samrḡand

Nūḡ at first was placed in charge of the affairs of Iar ghānah but, subsequently it came into the hands of Aḡmad with the whole of Kāsg̡har and Turkistān to the frontier of Chīn. He was renowned for his courage and valour and experience, which were celebrated throughout Irān and Tūrān and his descendants one after the other occupied the throne, and governed God's people liberally and beneficently. Of those of his descendants who attained to sovereignty one of the learned men has spoken in verse, in the following quatrain —

Nine persons there were of the race of Sāmān, renowned,
Who as rulers became famous in Khurāsān,
A Ismā'īl, a Aḡmad, and a Naḡr
Two Nūḡs, two Abd ul Malīks, two Manḡūr.

Amīr Aḡmad had nine sons Naḡr, Ismā'īl Is-hāk Manḡūr, Asad Yaḡūb Hamīd, Yahyā, and Ibrāhīm. The mention of their descent was found as has been entered herein—Sāmān son of Jashmān, son of Tamghān son of Nosher son of Noshed, son of Bahrām son of Shūbīn [Chūbīn].

II. NAḡR, SON OF AḡMAD SĀMĀNĪ

When Aḡmad, son of Asad son of Sāmān died at Samrḡand, he nominated his son Naḡr* as his successor and, during the sway of the Tāhīrīs, the territory which Naḡr's father had held, was confirmed to him and his brother Ismā'īl served under him and acknowledged in him as his suzerain, his superiority.

In 261 II Naḡr conferred the government of the territory of Bukhārā upon Ismā'īl who established himself therein. Naḡr performed great deeds, and was endowed with many virtues. He governed with strict regard to the rules of equity and justice until the end of his days, when death overtook him in the month of Jamādī ul Akhīr in the year 279 II.¹

* The Tārīkh i-Guzdah and others state, that, after the death of Aḡmad in 261 II. the Khalfīsh, Al Muṭamid B'illah, placed the whole of those territories under the government of one person—Naḡr son of Aḡmad, the most upright and best prince of the Sāmānī dynasty.

¹ According to the I. O. L. MS. No. 1952, and the R.A.S. MS. which

When his brother, Ismā'il, had become established in the government of the Bukhārā territory, several designing and evil-intentioned persons managed to come between him and his brother Naṣr, his sovereign, and began to resort to calumny and falsehood [to effect their designs], until the-disposition of Naṣr became completely changed towards his brother, and he determined to reduce Ismā'il by force, and overthrow him entirely

Amīr Naṣr accordingly moved from Samrkand towards Bukhārā with a large army. Amīr Ismā'il despatched a trusty agent to Rāfi', son of Harṣamah, son of A'yan, who was Amīr of Khurāsān², and acquainted him with the state of affairs between himself and his brother, Amīr Naṣr, and solicited assistance from that ruler

Rāfi', son of Harṣamah assembled a warlike army, numerous and well-equipped in every way, and marched towards the scene of expected hostility, but he, out of benevolence, kindness, and humanity, interposed between the brothers, and brought about an accommodation between them, and retired into his own territory again

Amīr Naṣr returned to Samrkand, and Amīr Ismā'il proceeded to Bukhārā. As soon as Naṣr heard of this, still nourishing that antagonism against his brother which had taken possession of his heart, he advanced towards Bukhārā with a warlike army. Ismā'il came out of the city to encounter him, and a fierce and obstinate battle took place between them, attended with great carnage, in the year 275 H. Ismā'il was victorious over his brother, whose forces were defeated and put to the rout, and Amīr Naṣr was himself taken prisoner. He was taken to the presence of Ismā'il, who, seeing that he was being brought forward, immediately dismounted from his horse, and rendered homage to his captive brother, and kissed him on the breast, and paid him the utmost honour and respect. He then induced Amīr Naṣr to return to Samrkand, and returned himself to Bukhārā, which he continued to retain as the lieutenant of his brother. Naṣr, son of Ahmad, ruled for a period of eighteen years

of course agrees, Naṣr assumed the government in 269 H, and reigned eighteen years. This is quite wrong. The correct date is 261 H, as in the other MSS, which date other histories confirm

² Subordinate to the Khālifahs

III. ISMĀ'IL, SON OF AḤMAD SĀMĀNĪ.

On the death of Amīr Naṣr the Khālifah, Al Muṭaḥḍ Billah conferred upon Amīr Ismā'il the government of the territory of Māwar uq Nahr and also all the territory which his brother Naṣr had held and sent him a commission and a standard. He became a great and powerful ruler and the whole of those territories submitted to his sway⁴ and all men chiefs, and grandees, and the common people, became obedient to his authority.

He was a just man, and endowed with wisdom and many great deeds were performed by him for when Umro son of Laig, determined to make war upon Ismā'il and set out with a vast army to attack him—according to the author of the Tārīkh of Ibn Haṣṣam—on the day that Umro son of Laig, set out to enter upon hostilities with Amīr Ismā'il he had seventy thousand horsemen armed with spears under his standard without counting archers, swordsmen and other armed men besides. Amīr Ismā'il crossed the river Jihūn and encountered Umro son of Laig, at Balkh and the Almighty bestowed the victory upon Ismā'il. The army of Umro was defeated and put to the rout, and 'Umro was himself taken prisoner. Ismā'il sent his captive to the Lord of the Faithful, Al Muṭaḥḍ B'illah, to dispose of as he might deem fit⁵.

⁴ Abū Sulīmān i Dā'ūd, author of the Tārīkh i Fanākiyā considers Ismā'il, Sāmānī, very properly as the first of the dynasty who is entitled to be considered a sovereign prince. The Tārīkh-i Ibrāhīmī, Jahān-Ārā, and several other histories, also confirm it, as does Ibn Haṣṣal likewise. The Majmal i Faṣīḥ-i also agrees in this. Under the events of the year 287 H. it is stated that from that year commenced the sovereignty of the Sāmānīn, who were nine persons, who reigned 103 years, 9 months, and 11 days and that Ismā'il, Sāmānī, had risen, and had subdued, during that same year Māwarun Nahr, Khurāsān, Fāra, Kirmān, Irāk, Sijistān, and some parts of Hindustān. At this period, it must be remembered the territory of Balkh was considered a part of Hind⁶ and this doubtless, is what is referred to. In the same year the Khālifah, Al Muṭaḥḍ Billah sent Ismā'il a tribute of Khurāsān, Tabaristān, and Jurjān, together with a rich dress of robes and the sum of ten times a thousand thousand *dinārs* [?] and the affairs of Ismā'il began to prosper greatly.

⁵ In 280 H., Ismā'il made an expedition into the territory of the Umayyads and made holy war upon them. The chief town was taken and the booty beyond compute carried off together with the heads of the enemy. Each horseman present on this expedition received a share of the booty.

⁶ Respecting the subsequent fate of Balkh, see the next page.

The Khalīfah bestowed a commission on Amīr Ismā'il, with the investiture of the territory of Khurāsān, together with the whole of 'Ajam, and Amīr Ismā'il's power and grandeur increased accordingly

Subsequently, the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Mu'tazid, despatched a commission to him, with directions to free the countries of Tabaristān and Gurgān from the sway of Amīr Muhammad-i-Zaid-ul-'Alawī⁶, who had possessed himself of them. Amīr Ismā'il appointed Ahmad-i-Hārūn⁷ to the command of the van of his army, and sent him on in advance with that portion of his forces, and, between Amīr Muhammad-i-Zaid-ul-'Alawī and Amīr Ismā'il, very severe fighting took place, and the Amīr Muhammad-i-Zaid was slain. His son, Zaid, also, was taken prisoner and brought before Amīr Ismā'il, who sent him to Bukhārā, with orders that, on the way thither, due respect should be paid to him, and that he should be provided with suitable accommodation, and he treated him with such honour and attention as kindness and magnanimity could devise

trustworthy authority, that Amīr Ismā'il sent 'Umro to Baghdād at his ['Umro's] own request. Arrived there, he was, by the Khalīfah's orders, paraded on a camel's back through the streets of Baghdād, and afterwards thrown into prison. This was in 287 H. In the year 289 'Umro died in confinement. It is said that the Khalīfah, Mu'tazid, whilst in his last struggles, expressed a desire that 'Umro should be put to death, but, that he was entirely forgotten in his prison, and neither food nor drink was brought to him, and he died of starvation and thirst. Another account is, that Mu'tazid gave orders to Šāfi to put him to death, and that he delayed carrying the sentence into execution. When Al Muktafi succeeded to the Khalīfat, he inquired of Šāfi respecting 'Umro, whether he was still alive. He replied that he was. Muktafi said "I will act generously towards him, for, during the time of Mu'tazid, he continually sent me presents, and was always very attentive to me." Kāsim, son of 'Abd-ullah, however, feared 'Umro, and, when he heard this speech of the Khalīfah's, he gave directions to put 'Umro to death in his prison. More respecting the Šuffārīs will be found at page 183. I hope, very shortly, however, to give a detailed account of the rise of the different Muhammadan dynasties to the public.

⁶ In the Mir'āt-ul-'Ālam and other works, he is styled "Muḥammad, son of Zaid-ul-'Alawī, who bore the surname of Ud Dā'i-alā-l-Haḳ." In the Tārīkh i-Guzīdah, he is styled "Al-Bākūrī," instead of 'Alawī, but the meaning of these two titles is much the same. He was a descendant of the Khalīfah, 'Alī, and Bākūr was the surname of Abū Ja'far-i-Muḥammad, son of 'Alī, son of Ḥusam, son of 'Alī, the fourth Khalīfah.

⁷ Muhammad, son of Hārūn, seems to be the correct name of this officer. He had been deputy to Rāfi, and had entered the service of Amīr Ismā'il.

At this time, the Khalifah Al Mutaxid B'illah died and his son Al Muktafi Billah, succeeded to the throne of the Khilāfat. He despatched a commission and a standard to Amīr Ismā'il, and conferred upon him the territories of Irāk Rai, and Şafahān* and the provinces of Tabaristān, and Gurgān, the whole of which were incorporated with Khurāsān. Amīr Ismā'il gave the government of Rai to his nephew named Abū Şālih, son of Maṣūr son of Is-hāk¹, Sāmānī and to his own son Aḥmad by name, that of Gurgān.

On the night of Tuesday the 14th of the month Şafar in the year 295 H., he died and his title became Amīr : Māfi or the Past or Late Amīr¹. He had reigned for a period of eight years³.

IV ABŪ NAŞR I AḤMAD : SON OF ISMĀ'IL.

This ruler had four sons, named Naşr Maṣūr Ibrāhīm and Yaḥyā, whose surnames were, respectively Abū Şālih, Abū Muḥammad Abū Is-hāk and Abū Zakarīā.

Abū Naşr : Aḥmad was a severe and energetic ruler and put to death several of his slaves for some misconduct. The rest of the slaves, who were their comrades sought opportunity to revenge them and to assassinate Amīr Aḥmad but he had a lion⁴ which had been trained and he was in the habit of securing the animal near his sleeping apartment, in the night time, in order that, through fear of this creature, no one should approach his place of repose.

This animal used to keep guard over his master at night until on one occasion when the Amīr had gone on a hunting excursion, and set out, on his return from thence, at an untimely hour. The halting place was at a considerable distance and he was unable to reach the station fixed upon, and had to stop at another place for the night. The slaves

* Isfahān.

¹ A son of Aḥmad is so named. See page 39.

² Amīr Ismā'il made the celebrated Abū-l Faṣl, Al Balamī, his Wazir. He continued to act in that office up to the time of Amīr Nūh, son of Maṣūr by whose command he translated the *Tārīkh-i-Tabarī* from Arabic into Persian.

³ Computing from the commencement of his reign in 287 H.

⁴ Abū Naşr : Aḥmad signifies Aḥmad, the father of Naşr.

⁵ The word شیر is used both for lion and tiger.

now found the opportunity they had been seeking, and they assassinated Amīr Ahmad. This event happened on the night of Thursday, the 23rd of the month Jamādī-ul-Ākḥir, 301 H⁵. They then took his body, and conveyed it to Bukhārā, and, after this occurrence, Amīr Ahmad was designated the Amīr-i-Shahīd, or the Martyred Amīr.

In the outset of his career, after his father had departed this life, and an assemblage of the heads of the army, the grandees, and principal men of the country had pledged their allegiance to him, Abū Naṣr-i-Ahmad, son of Ismā'īl, he sent a distinguished person, as envoy to the Court of the Khalīfah, and from thence, the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Muktafī B'illah, sent him a commission and a standard, and his reign gave regularity and order to the affairs of the Empire. In Sijistān⁶, however, Mu'addil, son of 'Alī, son of Laīs, Suffārī, brother's son of Ya'kūb and 'Umro, had broken out into rebellion, and caused great disturbance and disorder. An army had been appointed to proceed into that quarter, and Mu'addil had been reduced, and rendered powerless, and he was made captive, and put in durance.

The government of Sijistān was then conferred by Amīr Ahmad upon his uncle's son⁷, in whom he placed confidence, Abū Ṣālih-i-Mansūr, son of Is-hāk, son of Ahmad, Sāmānī. Subsequently the people of Sijistān revolted, and seized the person of Abū Ṣālih, and confined him in the fortress of Ark⁸, and gave their allegiance to 'Umro, son of Ya'kūb-

⁵ Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah, Khulāsat-ul-Akḥbār, Muḡmal-i-Faṣīḥ-i, and other works, say this event occurred 23rd Jamādī-ul-Ākḥir, 300 H. Faṣīḥ-i gives his reign as 5 years and 3 months.

⁶ Our author seems to have had a very imperfect and confused idea of the state of Sijistān at this period. He makes no mention of the doings of Sijizī, the slave—the Sijizī [سجزي], or Sijizī [سجري] slave probably—of 'Umro, son of Laīs, his having, at last, taken to the fortress of Bam, in Kirmān, and his subsequent flight into the desert of Khurāsān, nor of Tāhīr and Ya'kūb, 'Umro's sons, nor of Laīs, son of 'Alī, of the same family, all three of whom were, at different times, taken captive and sent to Bagḥdād. In 297 H. Muḡammad, son of 'Alī, brother of Ya'kūb and 'Umro, sons of Laīs, Suffārī, was made prisoner along with Sijizī, by Amīr Ahmad, Sāmānī, who subdued Sijistān. He sent them to Bagḥdād, at the Khalīfah's request. In 299 H., Laīs, son of 'Alī, died in Fārs, and Mu'addil, his son, died the same year.

⁷ The same Abū-Ṣālih, who was son of Mansūr, son of Is-hāk, mentioned towards the close of the last reign, which see.

⁸ All the copies of the MSS. compared, except one, which has Ark, have the words Ark "fortress of Ark or Arg," but I think it *might* be Ark [Ark], which is the name of a buried town of Sijistān, and, from its ruins, Afghāns and

i-Laig¹ On this, Amīr Abū Naṣr ī Aḥmad son of Ismā'il, nominated a well appointed army [well equipped in all things] to march into Sijistān for the second time, and Husain All¹ Marw-ar Rūdi² was made Amīr [commander] of that force. This army had entered Sijistān in the year 300 H., and had invested Umro [son of Muḥammad] son of Yaḳūb, for a period of seven months³ when he begged for quarter and came out and surrendered. Sijistān was then made over to the charge of Simjūr ī Dowātī⁴

It was at this period that the Amīr having been unable to reach his appointed place of rest before nightfall, as already related was assassinated after having reigned for a period of six years and three months.

V NAṢR¹ SON OF AḤMAD SON OF ISMĀ'IL

On the decease of the Amīr ī Shāhid, Aḥmad son of Ismā'il, the whole of the Amīrs, and commanders of the troops and the principal men of the country in concert with the Ulamā—the learned in law and religion—of that period, set up his son Naṣr as his successor⁵

Amīr Naṣr at this time was but eight years of age, and according to the statement of the chronicler, at the very

Hindūs of Kandahār have brought me coins. The fact of *ark* being given as well seems to throw a doubt upon it, for both Arg and Kala are just the same in meaning, and would have to be read the fort or castle of [the] citadel, unless Ark be a proper name—the castle of Ark. Perhaps has been written by mistake for, The Tārīkh i-Haft Aqlīm says there is "a place called Ūḳ [وېك], in Sijistān, near which is a Reg-i-Rawān [running or flowing sand] situated near Kala ī Kāh, or Gāh, in which vicinity are several holy tombs.

¹ Umro, son of Muḥammad, son of Yaḳūb-i Laig, is correct.

² Other writers say Husain, son of All.

³ That is, he was a native of Marw-ar Rūd.

⁴ Others give nine months as the period.

⁵ Tārīkh i Ibrāhīmī says Aḥmad ī-Simjūr—also written Simjūr-i-Dowātī. Dowātī is from *dawd* a pen-case, or ink holder

⁶ His proper designation, according to the Mujmal ī Faṭḥ ī, Tārīkh-i Jahān Arī, the Tārīkh i-Ibrāhīmī and Tārīkh i Fanīkatī, is Abū-i Ḥasan ī-Naṣr &c.

⁷ Among the events of the year 301 H. the Mujmal-i Faṭḥ-i mentions, the arrival of the news at Baghdād, that the slaves of Amīr Aḥmad, son of Ismā'il, son of Aḥmad, Sāmīnī, had put him to death, on the banks of the Jihūn of Balḫ, [referring to what was mentioned under 300 H.] and that his son, Abū-i Ḥasan-i-Naṣr had succeeded him. Upon this, the Khālīfah, Muḥtadir despatched to him a commission confirming him in the government of Māwar-un Naḥr and added thereto that of Khurāsān.

time that they brought him forth from the Ḥaram to place him upon the throne, being of such tender years, he was completely overcome with fear and began to cry, and was saying, "Where are you taking me to? Do you desire to put me to death, in the same way as you put my father? Let me alone, I beg of you!"

After they had placed him on the throne, Abū 'Abd-ullah Muhammad, son of Ahmad, Al-Jihānī, was appointed his Nāyab [lieutenant]. He was a man of sagacity, and wise in counsel, and he entered upon the administration of the government in accordance with the rules of strict justice, and with a firm hand, but based upon moderation and beneficence, but, as the Amīr was himself so young in years, the governors and great nobles on the confines showed a refractory spirit.

The first to revolt against his authority was his father's uncle, Is-hāk, son of Ahmad, Sāmānī, and his son Ilyās, at Samrḳand. They made ready their forces, and marched towards Bukhārā. Ḥamzah, son of 'Alī, who was one of the chiefs of Amīr Naṣr's forces, pushed forward to meet them with a large following, put them to the rout, and pursued them as far as the gates of Samrḳand. Amīr Is-hāk sought for mercy, and became ashamed of his conduct, and he was forgiven.

Subsequently to this, Amīr Naṣr's uncle's son, Maṣṣūr, son of Is-hāk, revolted against him in 302 H in Khurāsān and Nishāpūr, and Ḥusain 'Alī⁷, who was Wālī [governor] of Hirāt, joined him in his rebellion. The Sipah-sālār, [general-in-chief] of Amīr Naṣr's forces, Ḥamawīyah⁸, marched against them from Bukhārā, but, before he came up with them, Maṣṣūr had died at Nishāpūr, and Ḥusain 'Alī returned to Hirāt, but still continued in a state of revolt. He engaged in many conflicts, and gave battle on several occasions, until, at length, he was taken prisoner⁹. He likewise, being clothed in a dress of

⁷ Husain, son of 'Alī

⁸ حمويه

⁹ In 309 H Abū Maṣṣūr-i-Jihānī, was appointed to the government of Hirāt, Fūshanj, and Bādghais, and arrived at the former city to take up his appointment. In 311 H Shāh-Malik, son of Ya'qūb, son of Laiṣ, the Sulṭānī, and a body of Sanjaris appeared before Hirāt. Sīmjūr was at Hirāt at this time, and Shāh-Malik and his party invested Hirāt four months, but could effect nothing, and had to retire. Changes continually took place there for

pardon¹, was forgiven, through the intercession of Muḥammad son of Aḥmad Al Jihānī the Nāyab of the Empire, indeed during the reign of Amīr Naṣr whoever revolted against his authority, was either put to death, or, on expressing penitence for his conduct, was pardoned.

His sovereignty continued during the reigns of the Khālīfahs, Al Muktaḍir Billah Al Kahir Billah Ar Rāḥī Billah up to that of Al Muttaḥī Billah and he continued to pay fealty to them and to render them submission and obedience and, from each of those Khālīfahs likewise he received a commission and a standard. He continued to reign, until the month of Rajab, in the year 331 H² when he died³. He was spoken of by the title or surname, of the Amīr i Sa'īd or the August Amīr and his reign extended to a period of thirty years. He had three sons

some years. In 319 H. Abū Zakarīyā Valiyā, son of Aḥmad, son of Ismā'īl, Sāmānī, appeared before Hīrāt ousted Shihābī who had seized the government, burnt some of the gates, and threw down part of the walls, and left Harā Tigin, a slave of Abū Ibrāhīm, Sāmānī in possession. He then departed towards Samarkand but, the following day Amīr Naṣr himself reached Hīrāt, stayed one day and set out by way of Karkh after Abū Zakarīyā, leaving Sīmjur again governor of the province. In 321 H. Manṣūr son of Alī, was appointed. He died there in 324 H. having been Wālī [governor] for three years. The appointment was then conferred upon Muḥammad son of Hasan, son of Is-hāq. Soon after in the same year Abū l Abbās, Muḥammad son of Al Jarrāh, marched against Hīrāt, took Muḥammad, son of Hasan, captive, and sent him, in bonds, to Jurjān to Balkh Tigin. In 326 H. the office of Wālī was conferred upon Muḥammad son of Muḥammad Al Jihānī, by Amīr Naṣr.

Our author generally leaves out the principal events, or most of them, so does not say anything of Mākhān son of Kākī Dīlāmī his attempt on Khurāsān or the events which led to his death. He was slain by Amīr Alī, son of Jiyās who was one of the Umrā i Juyūsh [Commanders of the Forces] of Amīr Naṣr. Amīr Naṣr sent a Dabīr [Secretary] along with Amīr Alī, with directions to transmit him a brief account of what took place, and send it by a carrier pigeon. He did so in the following words—*اگرچه نام من را در این نامه نماند* containing a play upon the first part of his name Mākhān [ماخانه] was not, which interpreted is— *It has not become like his name.*"

In this same year 329 H. Balkh Tigin was removed from the government of Hīrāt, and it was again conferred upon Abū Manṣūr i Harā Tigin.

¹ A winding-sheet, with a sword hung round his neck probably as was the custom until very lately.

² It was in Amīr Naṣr's reign that Alb-Tigin is first mentioned as being one of his *mamlūks* or slaves, but it was only in the subsequent reign that he rose to the rank of Amīr [lord]. See page 49, and note ⁴.

³ The *Tārīkh i Guzidab*, *Tārīkh i Faḡh* i *Tārīkh i Ibrāhīmī*, and other histories, state that Amīr Naṣr was slain by his own slaves, 12th of Ramaṣān, 330 H., but some say it took place in 331 H.

Nūh, Ismā'il, and Muhammad, and the first succeeded him.

VI NŪḤ, SON OF NAṢR, SON OF AḤMAD, SĀMĀNĪ

Amīr Nūh, son of the Amīr-i-Sa'id, ascended the throne of the dominion of 'Ajam, on the 5th of the month of Sha'bān, in the year 331 H⁴, and he reigned for a period of twelve years and three months. He had two sons, 'Abd-ul-Malik and Mansūr. The Lord of the Faithful, Al-Muttakī B'illah, sent Amīr Nūh a standard, with the deed of investiture, confirming him in the government of the whole of the territories of 'Ajam and Khurāsān, which had been held by his father. He appointed the Imām, Shams-ul-A'immah, Abī-ūl-Fazl, Muhammad, son of Al-Hākīm, Sarakhsī, the author of the work entitled "Mukhtaṣar-i-Kāfī," to the office of Wazīr, and made him his Nāyab, and entrusted to him the administration of his affairs⁵.

Having entered upon his office, the Imām began to conduct the affairs of the country according to the precepts of wisdom and knowledge, the rules of justice, and the canons of the orthodox law and usage, and, in such a manner, that he left not the least thing neglected. Matters went on in this way until Amīr Nūh, through the rebellion of 'Abd-ullāh, son of Ashkān⁶, Khawārazm Shāh, proceeded to Mārw⁷ in 332 H, and brought that important matter to a successful issue. In the year 335 H, his

⁴ In 330 H, according to others, as stated previously.

⁵ Nūh first appointed Hākīm Abū-l-Fazl, Ahmad, son of Muhammad, to the office of Wazīr in 330 H, when he succeeded his father. In the same year I find Amīr Nūh giving orders to put the Wazīr Abū-l-Fazl, Al-Bal'amī, to death. This is not the Wazīr, Al-Bal'amī, who translated the Tārīkh-i-Ṭabarī, but of the same family.

⁶ The Mujmal-i-Fasiḥ-i mentions among the events of the year 332 H, that 'Abd-ullāh, son of Ashkān, manifested hostility towards Amīr Nūh, but where, is not stated. The Khawārazm Shāh is not mentioned by our author until a long period after this time. The name of this person is written Ashkān, Ashkāb, and Askāb, in as many different copies of the MS. In 331 H Karā-Tigīn had been removed from the government of Hirāt, and it was conferred upon Ibrāhīm, son of Simjūr, who, in the following year, sent thither Abū-l-Fazl-i-'Azīz, son of Muhammad, the Sijizī, to act as his deputy, until he came himself, and directed that the gateways should be destroyed and the walls of the city thrown down.

⁷ Neither "Meru" nor "Merve" is the correct pronunciation.

uncle Is-hāk* who had fled to Baghdād had managed to obtain from the Khalīfah Al Muktafi Bīllah the investiture of Khurāsān. He accordingly entered those parts, and seized upon the territory of Jibāl† and Khurāsān.

Amīr Nūh had proceeded to Marw to expel him but the whole of his nobles, his retinue, and the soldiery were disaffected. They had become annoyed and irritated at the enlightenment displayed and the just administration of Shams ul A'immah, and had become quite sated with his ministry because he had entirely fettered the hands of tyrants and oppressors, and restrained their extortionate demands and exactions so that that party were unable to succeed in acquiring what their ambition and tyranny suggested.

Amīr Nūh, was in urgent need of his army's services, to enable him to oppose his uncle, Amīr Is-hāk, whilst the troops began to show a rebellious spirit towards him and an inclination to take the side of his uncle. A party of the officers of his army tyrants and enemies to progress and good government proceeded to the presence of Amīr Nūh, and stated that all the dissatisfaction and discontent among his retinue and troops the confusion in the country and division in the state was caused by the Wazīr Shams-ul A'immah‡. "Give him" they demanded, over into our hands or otherwise we will all join your uncle. Amīr Nūh was constrained by necessity to deliver the Imām into the hands of those tyrants and they brought him forth. At the entrance of the royal residence there stood two tall white poplar trees. These they bent downwards, and fastening each of that unfortunate minister's feet to a branch of either tree which was nearest it, let the trees spring back again into their upright

* Other authors mention hostilities between Amīr Nūh and his uncle Ibrahim.

† Jibāl or the Highlands of Irāk, is meant here.

‡ Faṣīḥ I, under the events of the year 335 H. mentions that Abū Alfī Simjūr became hostile towards Amīr Nūh, son of Naṣr and that the troops demanded of him the Wazīr Hakkim Abū I Faṣī, son of Muḥammad and that the Amīr had to comply whether he liked it or not, and that they put the Wazīr to death, after he had held that office four years. After his being thus put to death, Amīr Nūh conferred the office of Wazīr upon Shams-ul A'immah; so it seems from this, that our author has confused the two ministers into one.

position, and that great man was thus torn asunder This occurrence took place in the year 335 H

Amīr Nūh, son of Naṣr, died in 343 H, and he was styled by the title of Amīr-i-Ḥamīd, or the Laudable Amīr

VII 'ABD'-UL-MALIK, SON OF NŪḤ, SĀMĀNĪ

On the decease of Amīr Nūh, the son of Naṣr, the whole of the great nobles and principal commanders of the troops agreed together to give their allegiance to his son, Abū-l-Fawāris-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, and they accordingly placed him on the throne The Wazīr's office was given to Abū Mansūr, Muhammad, son of Al-'Azīz², and the commander over the Amīr's troops was Abū Sa'id-i-Bakir, son of Al-Malik, Al-Farghānī

Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik based the administration of the government of his dominions upon the rules of justice and rigour, and placed Wālis [governors] in different parts, while others of the great nobles were retained by him in authority near his own person An arrangement was entered into with Abū-l-Ḥasan, son of Buwīah respecting his territory, for the sum of 200,000 *ruknī duams*³ This treaty was concluded, in accordance with the mandate of the Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik, by Abū Sa'id-i-Bakir, son of Al-Malik, Al-Farghānī, before mentioned, who was the general of his troops, but Abū Sa'id being suspected of partiality in this matter towards the Dīlamān and the family of Buwīah, Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik put him to death He also imprisoned the Wazīr, and subsequently put him to death likewise, as both he and Abū Sa'id had become tainted with the doctrine of the Kārāmītah sect of heretics The command of his troops was entrusted to Alb-Tagīn⁴, the Ḥājib [chamberlain],

² Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik made Abū Ja'far, ul-'Uṭbā, his Wazīr, according to other authors

³ See the dynasty of the Dīlamān, page 55

⁴ In I asīh-i, Alb Tagīn is first mentioned in the year 267 H in the following words — "Birth of Alb-Tagīn, the freedman (جوي) of Naṣr, son of Aḥmad, Sāmānī" According to the same excellent authority, in 346 H, Abū Mansūr, son of 'Abd-ur-Razzāl, who had been made Wālī [ruler] of Hīrāt [which appears to have always formed a province of itself, from its constant separate mention], that same year left it, and retired to Tūs, thus throwing up his command

until the year 350 H⁺ when Amīr Abd ul Malīk having gone one evening to the Maidān or Course to amuse himself in playing *Chaugūn*⁶ fell from his horse and was killed⁷ after having reigned for a period of little over seven years.

VIII MANŠŪR, SON OF NŪH⁸ SAMĀNĪ

On the decease of Amīr Abd ul Malīk the commanders of the troops and the heads and elders of the religious bodies and the law at the capital [Buḥhārā] met together,

Great agitation and commotion took place at Hīrāt in consequence and the government was bestowed upon the Hājib, or chamberlain, Abū-Tigīn. The latter sent his deputy Abū Is-hāq i Tāhīrī, thither; but in the same year Abū Is-hāq was seized and bound and removed and Husain, son of Rībāl, came to Hīrāt as Abū-Tigīn's deputy * * * In 350 H⁺ Hīrāt was given to Abū l Hasan i-Sīmūr. This Abū-Tigīn is the Turkish slave who was master of Saluk Tigīn, who was also a Turkish slave, and father of Maḥmūd i Ghaznawī. Some persons, who appear to have been unable to read the man for themselves, have called him by all sorts of names in their so-called "Histories of India" and in professed translations, such as "Alpettekin, Alustageen," "Abutagy, Abi-tagi," "Alepteggin," and the like from Dowdwan to Marshman, and his Samanides and Alpustageen" who rose through the gradations of office to the government of Candahar [which is never once mentioned by any writer of that period] or Ghuzni—he is not quite a Turk which.

⁶ Abū Sulīmān i Dī'ūd, Al Fanākhī, says in 351 H⁺. Manšūr succeeded in 349 H⁺.

⁷ *Chaugūn* is a game somewhat resembling tennis, but played on horseback and with a stick with one end bent, instead of a bat. The Turks were passionately fond of it. Amīr Abd ul Malīk, Samānī was riding at full speed after the ball, when he fell from his horse, and was so injured thereby that he died. Kuṣbūd-dīn, Iḥāk, the first of the Turkish slave kings of Dīhīlī was also killed from a fall while playing at this same game.

⁸ Fa ḥ ḥ ḥ says, "This occurred in the year 348 H⁺ although some say in 351 H⁺ and, that it happened either whilst playing at *Chaugūn* or whilst hunting." He had reigned seven years, six months, and eleven days.

⁹ There is great discrepancy here between our author and others. The *Tārīkh-i-Guzdāh*, *Nusakh i Jahān Ārā*, *Lal-bat Tawārīkh*, *Tārīkh i Ilkū hīmī*, *Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh*, *Khullī'at-ul Akhbār*, *Tārīkh i-Yūsaf* and last, and not the least trustworthy history the *Mujmal i Fa ḥ ḥ ḥ*, all say that Abū-Ṣāliḥ, son of Abd ul Malīk, son of Nūḥ, surnamed Us-Ṣāliḥ, the son not the brother of the late Amīr Abd ul Malīk, succeeded his father. The first event mentioned in the latter work, under the year 349 H⁺ is "Accession to the throne of Manšūr son of Abd-ul Malīk, son of Nūḥ, son of Naṣr son of Aḥmad, son of Ismā'īl, Samānī." What is most strange in our author's statement is that he only mentions *one* name of the two; and therefore I suspect he has confused them. All the copies of the MS however are alike on this point.

and held consultation whether they should raise to the throne Abū Ṣālih-i-Manṣūr, son of Nūh, the late Amīr's brother, or the latter's son

At this juncture Alb-Tigīn, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib [Lord-Chamberlain], was absent in Khurāsān, and the Wazīr of the late Amīr was 'Alī Al-Bal'amī⁹, between whom and the Amīr-i-Ḥājib great unanimity and concord existed. The Wazīr wrote to Alb-Tigīn to consult with him on this matter, and have his advice, to which Amīr Alb-Tigīn wrote in reply that the son's right to succeed his father to the throne was greater than that of the father's brother¹, but, before Alb-Tigīn's reply had time to arrive, the whole of the soldiery, the great nobles, and the heads of religion and law, had agreed to place Amīr Manṣūr, son of Nūh, on the throne, and had already installed him thereon. When the news reached Alb-Tigīn respecting Amīr Manṣūr's elevation to the sovereignty, he despatched messengers and agents in order to stop by the way, those bearing his letter of reply, and to bring it back, but they did not succeed in finding the kāšids, or couriers, who bore it.

Amīr Alb-Tigīn [at this period] held the government of the province of Nīshāpūr from the Sāmānī Court², but it was [now] conferred upon Ibn 'Abd-ur-Razzāk³.

⁹ His name is not correctly given by our author. His right name is Abū 'Alī, son of 'Abd-ullah, Muhammad, Al-Bal'amī, and on the authority of the Āṣār-ul-Nuzarā, Tārīkh-i-Yāfa'i, and other works, Abū 'Alī was the translator of the Tārīkh of Imām Muhammad Jarīr-ut-Ṭabarī, as stated in the preface to that translation. See note 4, page 44.

¹ Other writers state quite contrary to this, and say that Alb-Tigīn, having risen so as to be considered one of the greatest Amīrs, was written to, and asked which of the two named he preferred being raised to the throne. He wrote in reply that the uncle was the best of the two, but, before his reply came, the nobles and great men had raised Manṣūr, son of the late 'Abd ul Maḥk, to the throne. On this account Manṣūr cherished enmity towards him, or at least Alb-Tigīn thought so. Faṣḥ ī says nothing whatever respecting the letter to the Wazīr, or his advice as to the succession. Had Alb-Tigīn written what our author states he did, it was entirely in favour of the son, and therefore if Manṣūr was the son he could have no cause to entertain enmity against him, but, if the uncle, the case would be different. I have been very careful to give the exact words here.

² See note 4, page 40.

³ It was conferred upon Abū-l-Hasan-i-Simjūr in 351 H, he having become Ṣāhib-ul-Jaish, or commander of the troops, and proceeded to Nīshāpūr, and the government of Hirāt was conferred upon Abū-l-Hasan, son of 'Umro Al-Fāryābī. After four months it was bestowed upon Talḥah, son of Muhammad, Un-Nisā'i. In 352 H Alb-Tigīn died.

Alb-Tigīn was filled with wonder and astonishment, and he determined to proceed from Nišāpūr to the court of Bukhārā⁴, but, when he had reached Balkh on the way thither having been informed respecting the change in the heart of Amīr Maṣṣūr towards him on account of the letter he had despatched [which had fallen into Maṣṣūr's hands] on reaching Balkh, he turned aside and proceeded towards Ghaznīn. Amīr Maṣṣūr despatched a commission after him, and pacified his mind⁵ [by assuring him of his favour]

In this reign Hasan son of Buwīsh died⁶ and his son Fanā Khusrāu removed his father's treasures and proceeded to Baghdad, overcame his uncle, Bakhtyar and possessed himself of Irāk. The Ulamā and the Kāfīs he now put forward and solicited an accommodation from Amīr Maṣṣūr under the agreement that he, Fanā Khusrāu should retain possession of the territories of Irāk Rai Gūrgān, and Ṭabaristān in fief on payment of a tribute at the rate of one thousand gold dīnārs daily⁷

During the reign of Amīr Maṣṣūr in Farghānah Sijistān and Irāk, the whole of the great nobles were continually revolting from his authority but the Almighty was pleased to bestow victory upon the Amīr's nobles and

⁴ This too is quite contrary to other writers, who give much greater details of these matters. An army was sent by Maṣṣūr against Alb-Tigīn, who defeated it, and then marched against Ghaznīn, and gained possession of it. Upon this Maṣṣūr proposed to move against him in person, but instead, he sent a still larger force than before against him, but did not succeed in reducing him. The details of these events are far too long for insertion here. I may mention, however that when Alb-Tigīn appeared before Ghaznīn, the Ṣāhib, or lord of Ghaznīn, refused to admit him, on which he invested it until it was reduced to such straits that the city was surrendered to him, and *he put the Bādshāh of Ghaznīn to death.*" On this Amīr Maṣṣūr sent 30,000 horse against him, but he suddenly fell upon them with a force of 6000, and defeated them. On this Maṣṣūr gave up the contest. Our author says nothing more respecting Alb-Tigīn until the middle of the next reign, and then, that he had died at Ghaznīn. The *Mujmal i Faṣīḥ-i*, which is quite silent on the hostility between Maṣṣūr and his slave, and the cause of it states, under the year 352 H. that Alb-Tigīn, Turk died at Ghaznīn in this year and that Is-lāk, son of Alb-Tigīn, assumed the government." See note on this subject at page 71. Our author is entirely silent on the affairs of Khalaf, son of Ahmad, in Sijistān, and of his proceeding to the court of Bukhārā to obtain aid from Maṣṣūr. See notes to Section XIV

⁵ The investiture of Ghaznīn he means, no doubt.

⁶ See account of the Buwīshs farther on, and note⁸ to page 63.

⁷ The I O L. MS. the Bod. MS., and the R A S. MS. say three thousand gold dīnārs but the other MSs. give the amount as above.

troops, until the whole of the rebels were reduced to submission

Amīr Mansūr died on Tuesday, the 11th of the month of Shawwāl, 365 H⁸, after a reign of seventeen years, six months, and eleven days. He went by the surname of the *Amīr-i-Sadīd*, or the Steadfast Amīr

IX NŪḤ, SON OF MANṢŪR, SON OF NŪḤ, SĀMĀNĪ

His sons were Manṣūr, 'Abd-ul-Malik, and Muhammad⁹

On the departure from this world of Amīr Manṣūr, son of NūḤ, they [the people] gave their allegiance to his son, Amīr Abū-l-Ḳāsim-i-NūḤ, and raised him to his father's throne. The Lord of the Faithful, Uṭ-Tā'ī'u-L'llah, sent him a patent of investiture and a standard

The new ruler directed *Fāyik-i-Ḳhāṣah*¹; and *Tāsh*², the *Hājib* [chamberlain], to assume the command of his troops and the direction of military affairs. Abū-l-Ḥasan-i-Sīmjūr, who was the son of a slave of this dynasty, and ruled, in the name of Amīr NūḤ, over parts of *Ḳhurāsān*, such as *Hirāt* and *Nīshāpūr*, and over the territory of *Māwar-un-Nahr*³, received the title of *Nāṣir-ud-Daulah* from the Amīr, and the territory of *Tūs* was added to the territories already held by him

The office of *Wazīr* was conferred upon Abī-ul-Ḥasan-i-'Abd-ullah, son of Ahmad Al-'Utbā⁴, and *Tāsh*, the *Hājib*, was made head of the army, or commander-in-chief, with the title of *Ḥisām-ud-Daulah*. *Ḳābūs*, son of *Washm-gīr*, was made *Wālī* [governor] of *Gurgān*,

⁸ Five years previous to this event, in 360 H, Maḥmūd, son of *Sıbuk-Tigīn*, was born.

⁹ The author's arrangement of his work is by no means uniform, he some times mentions the sons of rulers, and at times leaves them out altogether. This too is often the case with respect to their titles. The title of NūḤ was *Ar-Rızā*, and other authors style him NūḤ, son of Manṣūr, son of 'Abd ul *Malik*, son of NūḤ, son of Naṣr, &c

¹ From one meaning of this word, *Fāyik* appears to have been a secretary. The *Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī* calls him *Fāyik-i-Bak-Tüzün*

² His right name is Abū-l-'Abbās-i-Tāsh

³ So in all copies of the text

⁴ The author of the *Tārīkh-i-Yamīnī* was of this family. The name has been sometimes written 'Utbī. *Guzīdah*, and other most trustworthy works state that Abū 'Alī, son of 'Abd-ullah-i-Muhammad, son of Bal'amī, translator of the *Tārīkh-i-Tābarī*, was his *Wazīr*. In the preface to that translation Mansūr is styled son of NūḤ

and he and other nobles were despatched along with Tāsh into Irāk in order to carry on hostilities against Buwāh⁶ son of Al Hasan son of Buwāh. They fought a battle before the gate of Gurgān and were defeated and Tāsh, the Hājib was overthrown and had to retreat.

After some time Tāsh and Abū l Hasan i Sīmjūr both of them revolted but, after some struggles and victory⁷ over the Dīlāmāh of the family of Buwāh they both returned to their allegiance⁸ and the command of Amīr Nūh's forces after some time fell to Abī All son of Sīmjūr and Nīshapūr was made over to him and he received the title of Imād ud Daulah.

In this reign likewise Amīr Abū Mūsā i Hūrūn I lak Khān determined to attack Buḥhār⁹, and Amīr Nūh fled to Āmul¹⁰, and kept in retirement. Abī All son of Sīmjūr now began to act in a rebellious manner. I lak Khān after having succeeded in gaining possession of the country [Buḥhārā] and overthrowing the government became greatly afflicted with hemorrhoids, and determined to retire into his own territory again. He sent for Amīr Abd ul Azīz, son of Nūh son of Naṣr who was an uncle of Amīr Nūh's and presented him with a robe of honour and made over the territory to him after which he retired towards Turkistān. Amīr Nūh son of Maṣṣūr brought assistance from the Turk māns, and set out in pursuit of I lak Khān until he came up with him but I lak Khān faced about, and inflicted a defeat upon his pursuers before the gate of Samarkand and on his way back to Turkistān the Khān died.

Amīr Nūh returned again to Buḥhārā and once more

⁶ So in the original but it was against the forces of Uzūd ud Daulah, Abū Shujā i-Farā Khusrāu, the Dīlāmā that Amīr Nūh's forces were sent. The details are very long.

⁷ Our author's account here is very confused. The details would occupy more space than I can spare.

⁸ Abū l Abhās-i Tāsh, surnamed Hālm-ud Daulah, died in 379 H. at Jurjān. Some copies of the text have *uḥ* for *u*.

⁹ This is incorrect; it was Baghrā Khān ruler of Turkistān, not I lak who was his son and successor as mentioned farther on by our author himself. According to Guẓdah and other histories, Abū All i-Sīmjūr contemplated assuming independent sovereignty and sought support from Baghrā Khān to aid him in doing so. Baghrā Khān's coming was *after* Nūh and Saluk Tigin proceeded to Hīrāt to attack Abū All i-Sīmjūr. See note ⁴ to page 46.

¹⁰ In Mīzandārīn.

acquired strength, but, through the rebellion of Abū 'Alī-i-Simjūr, the affairs of Khurāsān had fallen into great disorder, and [to make matters worse] Amīr Alb-Tigīn had likewise died at Ghaznīn, and Sabuk-Tigīn¹ had succeeded him² there, and become very powerful

The people of Balkh, on account of the weak state of the Sāmānī ruler's power, implored aid from Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn from the tyranny of Fāyik-i-Khāshah, and he had marched thither. Amīr Nūh sent a sagacious person to him, and great graciousness and courtesy passed between them, and compacts were entered into. Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn came to Kash³ and Nakhshab, and Amīr Nūh came out of Bukhārā [to meet him], and they united [their forces], and afterwards marched into Khurāsān to crush Abī 'Alī-i-Simjūr⁴. When they reached the confines of Tāl-kān, the agents and instigators of the Qarāmītah and Mulāhidah schismatics had arrived in that territory, and a great number of the people of those parts had listened to and accepted their doctrine. Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn laid hands upon the whole of them, and made holy war, as by orthodox institutes prescribed, [upon them], and obtained the title of Nāsir-ud-dīn.

When Bū 'Alī-i-Simjūr became aware that Amīr Nūh and Sabuk-Tigīn had set out towards Hīrāt, he left Nishā-

¹ The only correct way of spelling his name as given with the vowel points — s followed by the short vowel *a*, silent *b* followed by the short vowel *u*, and silent *k* = *Sabuk*, *t* with the short vowel *i*, and silent *g*, the long vowel *ī*, and silent *n* = *Tigīn* — سبکتین — (*Sabuk-Tigīn*). Neither "Sébeekteim," nor "Sabak Tagīn," "Subuktugeen," "Sébeekteghin," "Subuktagi," &c.

² Sabuk-Tigīn had certainly succeeded, but between his accession and Alb-Tigīn's death sixteen years had intervened, and three other persons had administered the government.

³ "Kesh," as this place has been styled in some works, is an impossible word. The Persian is کش and by any change of the vowel points it cannot be made Kesh. It must be either Kash, Kish, or Kush, but the first is correct.

⁴ Faṣḥ-ī says, under 382 H, "Amīr Nūh, son of Mansūr, Sāmānī, and Amīr Nāsir-ud-dīn, Sabuk-Tigīn along with him, came to Hīrāt, and fought a battle with Abū 'Alī-i-Simjūr, and overthrew him." It was in the following year, 383 H, that Bughrā Khān advanced against Bukhārā. Our author has put this event *previously* to Nūh and Sabuk-Tigīn joining against Abū 'Alī-i-Simjūr, not only confusing the order of events, but also giving Bughrā Khān a wrong name. His title and name was Shihāb-ud-Daulah, Hārūn, son of Sulīmān, son of Ī-lak Khān, surnamed Bughrā Khān, the Turk, and he held the tract of territory from Kāshghar to the Jihūn. His son, Ī-lak Khān, succeeded him. In 384 H Amīr Nūh gave the government of Khurāsān to Sabuk-Tigīn.

pūr and proceeded thither. Amīr Nūḥ, on the day of the engagement between the two armies, gave up the command of the troops to Amīr Sabuk Tiġin. When their forces encountered each other before the gate of Hirāt, and during the engagement, Dārā, son of Qābūs, son of Waṣṣm-gīr who was on the side of Abū Alī deserted⁵ and went over to the other side and Abū Alī was overthrown through the misfortune of his having acceded as well as most of the chief men of that territory and his army also to the exhortations of the Qarāmīyahs and having become contaminated with that heresy. He had founded a Masjīd i Jāmi⁶ or great masjīd, at Nīshāpūr intending when it should be completely finished that the Khuṭbah should be read there for Muṣṭanṣir i Miṣrī⁷. This victory was gained by Amīr Nūḥ, son of Maṣṣūr in the middle of the month of Ramaṣān in the year 384 H.⁸ and after this success, the affairs of the province of Hirāt were arranged by Amīr Nūḥ, and he proceeded to the territory of Nīshāpūr.

Abū Alī i Sīmjūr now sought for peace but on his request not being acceded to he left Nīshāpūr and set out towards Rai and sent his son to Abū l Ḥasan son of Buwīḥ. Amīr Nūḥ was now left to return [to his capital] and Sabuk Tiġin and his son Amīr⁹ Maḥmūd, were stationed at Nīshāpūr but, as Amīr Nūḥ paused at Tūs, Sabuk Tiġin despatched his son Amīr Maḥmūd to the Court and he was nominated to the command of the troops and the title of Saif ud Daulah was conferred upon him together with the government of Nīshāpūr. Subsequently to this, Amīr Nūḥ, son of Maṣṣūr returned to Buḥārā, leaving Balkh, Hirāt, Nīshāpūr and the territory of Khurāsān¹ under the care of Amīr Sabuk Tiġin and his son Amīr Maḥmūd, the latter of whom took up his quarters at Nīshāpūr.

⁵ With a body of troops.

⁶ The great masjīd, in which the Khuṭbah is read on Fridays, is called by this name.

⁷ The rival Khatīfah, whose seat was in Miṣr and who was head of the Qarāmīyah sect at this period, was Ul Aḥz B'illah, Maṣṣūr i Nizār who died in 386 H.

⁸ Faṣīḥ i says Nūḥ defeated Abū Alī i Sīmjūr at Nīshāpūr and that Abū Alī fled.

⁹ He was not Amīr Maḥmūd then, and the author's intention here is merely to call him by the title he subsequently acquired.

¹ So in the original.

In the month of Rabī'-ul-awwal, 385 H., Abū 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr came out of Guigān, and advanced to Nīshāpūr, with the intention of compelling Mahmūd to relinquish it, and the people of the city espoused his cause. Mahmūd, after much opposition and hard fighting, was defeated, for he had but a small force with him, and retired again to Hirāt. Abū 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr again gained possession of Nīshāpūr, and continued there until Sabuk-Tigīn, with a large army, advanced towards that place. Abū 'Alī moved forward towards Tūs to oppose his advance, and there they encountered each other, and a severe and sanguinary battle ensued. Amīr Mahmūd made an attack upon the rear of Abū 'Alī's army, and broke through his ranks, and overthrew Fāyik, who was with him, and completed the defeat of Abū 'Alī's army. Fāyik retired to Bukhārā, and there was thrown into confinement, and died². Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn proceeded to Balkh, and took up his quarters there³, and Amīr Mahmūd returned again to Nīshāpūr.

At length, on Friday, the 13th of the month of Rajab, 387 H., Amīr Nūh, son of Manşūr, departed this life⁴. His reign extended over a period of twenty-one years and nine months, and in this same year Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn also died.

X MANŞŪR, SON OF NŪH, SON OF MANSŪR,

The late Amīr Nūh had nominated his son, Amīr Manşūr, as his heir and successor, and, when the former died, his son ascended his father's throne. He entrusted the command of his forces to Fāyik-i-Khāsah, and Abū Manşūr-i-'Azīz⁵, who, through fear of Amīr Mahmūd, son

² Other writers say that Fāyik, after this defeat, separated from Abū 'Alī, and feared to return to Amīr Nūh, although he had permission to do so. He went, therefore, and joined Ī-lak Khān, son of Bughrā Khān, and obtained high rank in his service.

³ Hostility arose between Amīr Nūh and Sabuk-Tigīn in 386 H.

⁴ Some state that Abū 'Alī and Fāyik sent a force of slaves and had him put to death, others, that it was supposed he was assassinated at the instigation of the Şāhib, Ibn-i-'Ubbād, the Wazīr of Fakhr-ud-Daulah, Abū-i-Hasan-i-Buwāh, by the Karāmitah schismatics. Faşih-i says, "Amīr Ar-Rāzī i-Nūh, died at Nīshāpūr, 13th of Rajab, 387 H., and, in the same year, Sabuk-Tigīn, the slave of the house of Sāmānī, also died."

⁵ He has not been mentioned before, and who or what he was, the author does not say, but Faşih-i mentions that the Wazīr, Abū Mansūr-i-'Azīz, was removed from that office in 388 H., on account of disagreement with Fāyik, the Hājib,

of Sabuk Tigīn had fled and retired to Isfanjāb⁶ was brought back again. At the time of returning he had implored help from I lak Khān soliciting that he would take vengeance upon the enemies and opponents of Amīr Maṅṣūr. When Abū Maṅṣūr son of Azīz, reached the gate of Samrkand he seized him, and at this period Fāyik i Khāṣah was at Samrkand. I lak Khān summoned Fāyik to his presence and despatched him to Buḥhārā with an army and on Amīr Maṅṣūr becoming aware of it, he left Buḥhārā, and retired to Āmul.

When Fāyik reached Buḥhārā, and approached the gate of the palace of the Sāmānī princes, he showed great emotion, and became greatly agitated and went and joined Maṅṣūr [Amīr Maṅṣūr son of Nūḥ] and asked of him why he had left the government and abandoned the capital. Maṅṣūr on this, returned to Buḥhārā again, and left the office of commander of the troops [there, as previously stated,] to Fāyik and in Khurāsān the command over the troops was given to Bak Tūzūn⁷ as Amīr Maḥmūd had proceeded to Ghaznīn, in order to take possession of the territory of his father Sabuk Tigīn [who was now dead] and he left Bak Tūzūn the command over the forces in Khurāsān⁸.

At this period Bak Tūzūn slew Abū l Kasīm i Sīmjūr and took up his residence at Nishāpūr and on this, Amīr Maḥmūd marched an army from Ghaznīn towards Khurāsān⁹.

⁶ Also written Sīfanjāb.

⁷ In every copy of our author which I have compared, except one, the first letter of this word is *se* and the other letters also differ but from other histories it is fully proved that the name of this personage is Bak Tūzūn. A similar name occurs in the history of the Dīlāmāh: and sometimes the Bak is omitted, as in the Jāmi ut Tawārikh. Guẓdah also has Bak Tūzūn. The word, Bak, (بك) is quite a distinct word from Beg (بگ). The Shams-ul Lughat describes it as written with Arabic *Bāʾ* [i. e. not *gāʾ*], and short *a*—Bak, signifying "a lord," "a great man." It is a title or surname, like Bak in Bak Taghdī, Alb in Alb-Tigīn, and Balkā in Balkā Tigīn, &c. The Tārīkh i Burhānī calls him Fāyik i Bak Tūzūn.

⁸ The command of the troops, and the government which he had held, when the late Amīr died. Other authors state that Maṅṣūr would not confirm Maḥmūd in that appointment, and that he became hostile in consequence.

⁹ A great deal of detail is wanted here to elucidate these transactions. In the month of Rabī ul Awwal, 388 H. Abū l Kāsim, the commander of the Sīmjūrī forces, was defeated by Bak Tūzūn, on which he retired to Fūghanj. Bak Tūzūn again assembled a force, and advanced to Fūghanj against Abū l Kāsim; but an agreement was arrived at between them. I have not space to give further details.

Bak-Tūzūn, being aware that he could not cope with Mahmūd, evacuated Nīshāpūr, and set off for the presence of Amīr Mansūr. The latter had left Bukhārā, and had arrived at Marw, and Fāyik was with him, but, when Bak-Tūzūn joined him, Amīr Mansūr had reached Sarakhs. Fāyik-i-Khāṣah and Bak-Tūzūn now conspired together to dethrone Amīr Mansūr, and, on the night of the 12th of the month of Safar¹, 389 H, they removed him from the sovereignty, after which they left Sarakhs, and went back to Marw again. There they agreed together to place Abū-l-Fawāris-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Nūh, on his brother's throne. This they carried out, and they deprived Amīr Abū-l-Hīrṣ²-i-Mansūr, son of Nūh, of his sight, after he had reigned one year and eight months.

XI ABŪ-L-FAWĀRIS-I-'ABD-UL-MALIK, SON OF NŪH

By the time that Fāyik-i-Khāṣah and Bak-Tūzūn had placed Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik upon the throne, Amīr Mahmūd³ had arrived at Balkh, and, on being made acquainted with this occurrence, he advanced to the gates of Marw in order to revenge the treatment which Amīr Mansūr had suffered at their hands⁴. They, however, sent an agent to negotiate with Mahmūd, and an arrangement was entered into between them and him, whereby it was agreed that Hirāt and Balkh should be held by Mahmūd, and Marw and Nīshāpūr by them. Amīr Mahmūd, after this arrangement, again retired, and this was on Tuesday, the 26th of the month of Jamādī-ul-awwal, in the year 389 H.

¹ Fasīḥ-i says, on the 8th of Safar, and that they then deprived Amīr Mansūr of his sight. His reign, according to the same authority, was one year and nine months.

² According to some, Abū-l-Hārīṣ was his title, but Abū-l-Hīrṣ is correct. The whole of the Sāmānī rulers had titles of this kind, but the author does not always give them. I have supplied them.

³ He had dethroned his own brother Ismā'īl, and had assumed the Ghaznīn throne, a short time previous to the accession of Abū-l-Fawāris-i-'Abd-ul-Malik.

⁴ Mahmūd fought a battle against 'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Nūh, who fled, along with Fāyik and Bak-Tūzūn, the two former retired to Bukhārā, and the latter to Nīshāpūr. Abū-l-Kāsim-i-Sīmjur retired to Kuhistān, and Khurāsān was left in Mahmūd's possession. About this time, Mahmūd gave the command of his troops to his brother Naṣr, and made Balkh the capital of his dominions. See notes to Mahmūd's reign.

At this period Dārā, son of Kābūs-i Washm-gīr was Wālī [governor] of Gurgān, and incited a party of the slaves* of the Sāmānī kings [who appear to have taken refuge with him] to follow the forces of Amīr Maḥmūd with the object of plundering his retinue and they set out in pursuit of them* Amīr Naṣr, son of Sabuk Tigīn, the brother of Maḥmūd had charge of the rear [column] of his brother's forces and joined battle with the body of pursuers, and also despatched a messenger to Maḥmūd to inform him of the state of affairs. Amīr Maḥmūd turned back, and proceeded to the scene of action but, previously to his reaching it, Amīr Naṣr had already defeated the assailants, and put them to the rout.

When the party of nobles, at Marw became aware that Maḥmūd had made a retrograde movement in that direction, they evacuated it and retired to Buḥḥārā. Fāyik shortly after these events took place, died in the month of *Shā'ban*, of this same year. He had deeply regretted and heartily repented of the acts he had committed but all was now of no avail and his contrition came too late and all the adherents of the Sāmānī dynasty became separated and dispersed.

After the death of Fāyik Amīr Abū l Hasan, I lak' i

* Styled nobles in following paragraph, and refer to slaves such as Alb-Tigīn and Sabuk Tigīn, who were some of the chief men in the state.

* Maḥmūd having succeeded his father in 389 H. by the dethronement of his brother Ismā'īl, appointed his brother Naṣr commander of his army in Khurāsān, and made Balḫ the capital of his dominions. At this period, Amīr Abū Ibrāhīm i Ismā'īl, son of Nūḥ, the last of the Sāmānīs, was struggling to recover the dominions of his ancestors, after having escaped from Buḥḥārā when I lak. Naṣr son of Bughrā Khān, entered it, and had, just before this period, succeeded in reaching Khwārm. At this time he had come to Buḥḥārā again, from whence he went to Abīward, and from thence to Nīshāpūr. Naṣr brother of Maḥmūd, on this, evacuated Nīshāpūr with all despatch, and retreated precipitately towards Hirāt. Subsequently Maḥmūd advanced to Nīshāpūr upon which Abū Ibrāhīm fled therefrom, and took shelter with Shams-al Ma'ālī Kābūs, son of Washm-gīr. This must have been the time, when, according to our author Amīr Naṣr had charge of the rear [column] of his brother's army but he has related these events in his usual confused manner and has not mentioned even the name of Abū Ibrāhīm i Ismā'īl. See note 1 page 52.

† Other authors state that Amīr Maḥmūd, son of Sabuk Tigīn, marched against Bak Tūzūn and Fāyik who had conspired against their sovereign, dethroned him, and deprived him of his sight, drove them out of Khurāsān, and possessed himself of that territory; and that Bak Tūzūn and Fāyik fled

Naṣr, son of 'Alī, brother of the Khān-i-Buzurg, or the Great Khān, advanced from Farghānah, and appeared before the gates of Bukhārā, in the month of Zī-Ka'dah, in the year 389 H. He pretended to the people that he had come to render aid to Amīr Abū-l-Fawāris-i-'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Nūh. Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik despatched the nobles and principal officers still remaining in his service to receive him, but, as soon as they approached, he gave orders to seize the whole of them, and, on the 10th of Zī-Ka'dah of that same year, he entered Bukhārā. Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik concealed himself, but Ī-lak-i-Naṣr asked him to return, and succeeded in getting the Sāmānī prince into his power⁸, after which he sent him to Ūrjand⁹, and the dominion of the Sāmānīs terminated¹. The dynasty,

into Māwar-un-Nahr, and once more conspired with Ī-lak Khān, who, under pretence of aiding Amīr 'Abd-ul-Malik, whom they had set up, marched out of Kāshghar, and appeared before Bukhārā.

⁸ Ī-lak, son of Bughrā Khān, took Bukhārā, 10th of Zī-Ka'dah, 389 H. The blind Amīr Maṣṣūr, 'Abd-ul-Malik, Ibrahim, and Ya'qūb, the four sons of Nūh, were made captive at the same time.

⁹ One copy has Ūzjand, but other writers give Ūzgand, and the fortress of Ūzgand, and state that there he was confined till his death, which took place in 389 H. It was the capital of Khwārazm, and the name of a province the 'Arabs called it Jurjānīah. It is the present Ūrganj.

¹ Other most trustworthy historians, some of whose works I have been quoting from, give an account of the reign, or rather struggles, of another prince of this dynasty, brother of Maṣṣūr and 'Abd-ul-Malik, which, in a condensed form, is as follows —

“ABŪ IBRĀHĪM-I-ISMA'ĪL, SON OF NŪH.

“He was known by the title of Muntasir, one of the significations of which word is ‘extricating one's self from any calamity or misfortune,’ which may have reference to the following circumstances. During the uproar and confusion which ensued upon the seizure of 'Abd-ul-Malik by Ī-lak-i-Naṣr, Abū Ismā'īl, having covered himself with the mantle of a slave-girl, succeeded, by means of that disguise, in getting out of the throng. For three days he lay concealed in the dwelling of an old woman, after which time he managed to effect his escape from the place in the dress of a common soldier, and reached the territory of Khwārazm. Some of the nobles and soldiery of the Sāmānī dynasty, on becoming aware of his escape, hastened there to join him. Muntasir by this means acquired some strength, and he began to prepare his followers to make an effort to regain the territory of his ancestors. For several years he carried on a desultory warfare on the confines of Khurāsān and Māwar-un-Nahr. He encountered the troops of Ī-lak Khān [Ī-lak-i-Naṣr], and the governor of Khurāsān, on several occasions, with various success. At length, in the month of Rabi'-ul-Awwal 395 H, while in the encampment of a

from the commencement of the reign of Ismā'īl up to this time, had continued for a period of one hundred and eight years³

The following table gives the genealogical tree of the race and dynasty of the Sāmānīs⁴ —

MĪ DĀD [ملاد] father of
 KAR KIN⁵ [کرکین and کدک and کرکیت] father of
 BAHRĀM JASH NASH [حر and حوس and حس] father of
 BAHRĀM CHÜBĪN [سوس] father of
 NÜSHAD [بوسد and نوسا and نوسید] father of
 NÜSHIR⁶ [نوسد and نوسرد] father of
 TANGHAN [طعمان and طغان] father of
 JASHMĀN [حیمان and حسان] father of
 SĀMĀN I KHADDĀT⁷ [خداة] father of
 ASAD who had four sons Nūh, Aḥmad, Yaḥyā, Ilyas.

nomad tribe, in whose tents he had sought shelter in the neighbourhood of Bukhārā, he was put to death by Māh-Rūe [moon faced], the chief of the tribe. The Muḡmal i Faṣṭḥ-i states that Māh-Rūe was 'Āmil or subordinate governor of the district in the vicinity of Ūzgand, on the part of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and that Maḥmūd put Māh-Rūe to death for his treatment of Amīr Abū Ibrāhīm. Thus ended the dynasty of the Sāmānīs, none of the race being left, after having lasted one hundred and three years, nine months, and eleven days." The account given by Abū-Sulṭmān-i Dā'ūd, Al Fanākatī, is slightly different from this.

The I. O. L. MS. No. 1952, and its prototype the R. A. S. MS. for they seem, as far as errors go, to be copies of each other give one hundred and eighty years as the period during which this dynasty continued. Gurdāh says one hundred and two years, six months, and twenty days.

³ To make it more intelligible I have reversed it, as the author begins with the last ruler. It must be also borne in mind that, as such great difference exists in all the MSS. as to the names before Sāmān, and that no vowel points are given, they cannot be *absolutely* depended upon. I give the variations within brackets, and also mention the result of my comparison with other writers.

This word of course may possibly be read Gargīn, &c. as in Persian, it may be *k* or *g*.

⁴ No doubt Nūshir is correct.

⁵ Faṣṭḥ-i gives the following names:—Sāmān i Khaddāt, son of حسان son of طغان son of نوسر son of Bahrām Chübīn, son of Bahrām Hashnugh who is said to have been stationed at Rai and Ahwāz, as Wālī of Āḡarīdījān on the part of Hurmuz, son of Nūshirwān.

NAMES OF RULERS	PERIOD OF REIG	SONS
AḤMAD, son of Asad,	Eighteen years	Naṣr, Ismā'il, Is-hāk, Mansūr, Asad, Ya'kūb, Hamīd, Yahyā, Ibrāhīm
NASR, son of Ahmad,	Eighteen years	Aḥmad, Nūh, Ilyās, Yahyā
ISMĀ'ĪL, son of Ahmad,	Eight years ⁷	Nasr, Manṣūr, Ibrāhīm, Yahyā
ABŪ NAṢR - I - AḤMAD, son of Ismā'il,	Six years and three months	Ya'kūb, Asad
NAṢR, son of Aḥmad,	Thirty years	Nūh, Ismā'il, Mansūr
NŪḤ, son of Nasr,	Twelve years and three months ⁸	'Abd-ul-Malik, Abū Ṣālih-i-Manṣūr
'ABD-UL-MALIK, son of Nūh,	Little over eight years ⁹	
ABŪ ṢĀLIḤ-I-MANṢŪR, son of Nūh,	Seventeen years, six months, and eleven days ¹	
NŪḤ, son of Abū Ṣālih-i-Manṣūr,	Twenty-one years and nine months	Mansūr, 'Abd ul Malik, Muhammad ²
MANṢŪR, son of Nūh,	One year and six months	
'ABD-UL-MALIK, son of Nūh,	Between nine and ten months	

⁷ From the period he acquired sole rule Tārīkh-i-Guzīdah gives seven years and ten months

⁸ One MS gives twelve years and nine months, another eleven years and nine months

⁹ Two copies have eight years

¹ One MS has seventeen years, another seventeen years, six months, and eleven days, two others, eighteen, but, as he assumed power in 350 H, and died in Shawwāl, 365 H, the above is correct

² There were other sons besides these See note ⁸ page 52

SECTION X.

THE DYNASTY OF THE DĪĀLAMAH MALIKS AT THE DĀR UL-KHILĀFAT OF BAGHDĀD AND IN 'IRĀQ.

THE first person of the family of the Dīālamah, who rose to power was Mākān son of Kākī, Dīlāmī¹ who was

¹ Mākān, son of Kākī, was certainly a native of Dīlām, but he was not of the same family as the Buwīlah, and belonged to an entirely different dynasty called the Āl i Ziyār.

According to the most trustworthy writers, the first of the family of Buwīlah, who attained to sovereign power was Imād ud Daulah, Abū-l Ḥasan-i Aīf who afterwards received the title of 'Imād-ud Daulah, the son of Buwīlah, son of Fāz Khuram, Dīlāmī. 'Imād-ud Daulah's father is said to have been a fisherman. Abū-l Ḥasan-i Aīf was an officer in the service of Mardāwanj as he had previously been in that of Mākān, son of Kākī, whom Mardāwanj had succeeded, when Mākān retired, and entered the service of the Sāmānīyah. Mardāwanj had conferred some territory upon Abū-l Ḥasan, who, in 321 H. considered himself sufficiently powerful to endeavour to gain possession of Isfahān and the territory of 'Irāk for himself. Abū-l Ḥasan accordingly marched against Isfahān, and defeated Muḡaffar son of Yāqūt, a slave of the Abbāsid dynasty who was governor of Fārs for the Khālīfah. Muḡaffar was defeated, and retired to Shīrāz, which was his father's head-quarters. Mardāwanj did not approve of this movement on the part of Abū-l Ḥasan, and he determined to march to Isfahān and oust him. Abū-l Ḥasan was not sufficiently strong to oppose Mardāwanj, and was advised to turn his arms against Fārs. This he acted upon; and Yāqūt, who came out of Shīrāz, the capital of Fārs, to oppose him, was overthrown. Abū-l Ḥasan took possession of it, and made it his capital. This was in 321 H.; and he now assumed sovereignty and read the Khutbah for himself, and coined money. In 323 H. on the death of Mardāwanj at Isfahān, he determined to extend his conquests and he gained possession of Isfahān, Rai, Ḥulwān, and other territories. He now made his eldest brother Abū Aīf-i Ḥasan, afterwards entitled Rukn-ud Daulah, ruler of 'Irāk, and sent the youngest, Abū-l Ḥusain-i Aḥmad, afterwards Mu'izz-ud Daulah, to Kirmān. In 326 H., 'Imād-ud Daulah, Abū-l Ḥasan-i Aīf sent an envoy to Baghdād to the Khālīfah Ar Rāḡī B.illah, and asked to be confirmed in the possession of his territory which was granted; and, in the same year 'Imād ud Daulah left his brother Mu'izz ud Daulah, as his representative at Baghdād. In 330 H. Imād ud Daulah died, after a reign of nearly seventeen years, leaving no sons. Rukn-ud Daulah, his eldest brother succeeded him at Shīrāz, while Mu'izz ud Daulah, the youngest, remained at Baghdād as previously but, in the course of that same year Mu'izz ud Daulah set out on an expedition towards Mīr and Shām. In 333 H. the Khālīfah, Al Muttakī B.illah, was blinded by Tūzūn, son of Abū-l Wafā

Wālī [sovereign] of Gurgān until the reign of Abū 'Alī², Sāmānī, who succeeded in wresting Gurgān from him, after considerable fighting. Mākān retired towards Rai, and sought shelter from Sham-gīr [Waṣṣm-gīr], son of Ayāz. Abū 'Alī went in pursuit of him, and fought an engagement with both of them, slew Mākān, son of Kākī, and became powerful in that part.

Amīr Buwīah, Dīlamī, was with Mākān's force; and he had a great number of followers and dependents, and grown-up sons, who were endowed with wisdom and valour, and great talent and ability. All of them rose to greatness and renown, and became sovereign princes, and for a considerable time they held the supreme authority and dominion at the Dār-ul-Khilāfat of Baghdād.

Notwithstanding the author made much search for information on this subject in the Tārīkh-i-Ibn Hāṣam-i-Sānī³, but little was to be found respecting them and their actions in those chronicles, on account of some confusion as to which preceded, which followed the other. The author, therefore, has written a short account of them, somewhat based on supposition and conjecture⁴. If any errors have been made, he hopes he may be excused, since it is known that no mention is made of them in the histories of 'Ajam and Khurāsān, except very briefly.

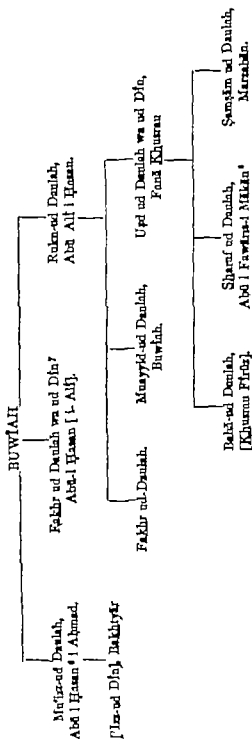
a Turk, the Amīr-ul-Umrā [see note ¹, page 58], who set up his son, Al-Mustakfī. We now come to the first ruler mentioned by our author, who, certainly appears to have had a very superficial knowledge of this dynasty. He takes little or no notice of the other two dynasties of Fārs and 'Irāk, and confines his account to those who ruled at Baghdād. It is the most meagre and incorrect notice of these princes, that I am acquainted with, and, although the dynasty only terminated in 459 H, he ends his history of them in 388 H. Ample materials for a history of this dynasty are available, and I have been obliged to burden the translation with this long note to make the author's account intelligible.

² So stated in all the copies of the work examined, but erroneously, for it refers to Abū 'Alī, son of Ilyās, Sipah-sālār, or general of the forces of Amīr Naṣr, son of Ahmad, Sāmānī, who overthrew Mākān, son of Kākī, as subsequently shown. See latter part of note ³, pages 36, 37.

³ The I O L MS, No 1952, and of course the R A S MS., have "and in Yamīnī" after the word Ṣānī, but not the other MSS. The word Sānī at this place, in four of them, is doubtful, and, in two, another word follows. I think "Ibn Hāsam i-Fīryābī" [native of Fīryāb] is the correct name of this author.

⁴ A novel way of writing history, and our author's account of this and other dynasties shows what such history is.

GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE DĪLĀMAH PRINCES OF THE DYNASTY OF BUWĪAH DĪLĀMĪ*



* The whole of the MSS compared do not contain this Tree, and, in those that do contain it, it is arranged in such a manner as to be almost unintelligible without reference to the different princes in the body of the work, besides being incorrect. The names within brackets I have added. The author mentions the names of ten out of eighteen persons, and gives an account of six only.

† His title was Imād ud Daulah.

His correct title and name was Sharaf-ud Daulah i-Shīr Zail.

I ABŪ-L-HASAN, SON OF BUWĪAH, UD-DĪLAMĪ

He bore the title of Fakhr-ud-Daulah⁹, and he, first rose to power and dominion, from the time that he was Amīr [lord] of Āhwāz, when the Turks of Baghdād, whose chief and commander was Tūzūn, seized the person of the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Muttakī B'illah, and deprived him of his sight, set him aside, and fixed a stipend for his support. Having done this, Tūzūn set up the dethroned Khalīfah's son, Al-Mustakfī B'illah, in his stead, while Tūzūn himself became Amīr-ul-Umrā¹, and assumed the direction of the whole of the affairs of the Khilāfat

Abū-l-Hasan, son of Buwīah, assembled the troops of Dilam, and marched towards Baghdād, and for a period of four months carried on hostilities with the Turks, at the expiration of which time the Turks were defeated, and put to flight. Abū-l-Hasan took possession of Baghdād, and his commands were obeyed in all matters respecting the government of the territory, and the Khilāfat. A party of spies informed him, however, that the Khalīfah, Al-Mustakfī, meditated treachery towards him, in order to get him into his power, and intended to put him to death if he succeeded in doing so. Abū-l-Hasan, however, determined to be beforehand and to anticipate his intention, and seized the person of the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Mustakfī B'illah, blinded him, and set up the Khalīfah, Al-Muṭī'u-L'llah², in his stead. According to the historian Uṭ-Ṭabṛī³, he gave himself the title of Mu'izz-ud-Daulah, and took the whole power in the State into his own hands, so

⁹ He bore no such title—it was Mu'izz-ud-Daulah. His name also, as given by our author, is not correct. It was Abū-l-Husain-i-Aḥmad. For his first rise to power see note¹, page 55. His elder brother, 'Imād-ud-Daulah, ought to have been the first mentioned here.

¹ Lord of Lords—a title adopted by the ministers, or rather tyrants, of the Khalīfahs, in the decline of their power. This title was also often conferred upon the chief commander of an army—a captain general.

² Faṣīḥ-i, among the events of the year 334 H, mentions the succession of Al-Muṭī'u-L'llah, and that he had no territory, and was agreeable to a stipend being allowed him.

³ As these events occurred in 334 H, and Muhammad, son of Jarīr-ut-Ṭabṛī, died at Baghdād, in 310 H, although some say in 311 H, our author must refer to the continuation of Ṭabṛī's Chronicle by the Wazīr, Al Bal'amī.

that Al Muṣṭa Lillah was Khālfah only in name, while he ruled the country issued his mandates, and exercised the supreme authority over the Khilāfat.

Abū l Hasan, son of Buwlah instituted many excellent regulations which he carried out, and he caused the whole of the depopulated and dilapidated parts of Baghdād to be restored and rendered habitable. He also abolished a custom whereby each quarter of the city possessed a separate prison of its own and had them all demolished. On the son of Abū l-Hayjā⁴ he conferred the fief of Mūṣil and to his brother Alī son of Buwlah he gave the title of Imād ud Daulah, and to another brother Ḥasan that of Rukn ud Daulah and day by day the sovereignty of the family of Buwlah began to prosper uninterruptedly

II AL-ḤASAN⁵ SON OF BUWLĀH, UD-DĪLĀMĪ

He was Amīr of Hamadān and Rai, and was a person of great manliness and generosity and he entertained a large number of troops in his pay and possessed great military resources. The whole of the men of Dīlam both high and low were obedient to his authority. He had several⁶ talented and warlike sons grown up the name of one of whom was Fakhr ud Daulah, Alī, son of Al Hasan, and of the second, Muayyid ud Daulah, Buwlah. Fakhr ud Daulah, Alī, was Amīr of Irāk to whom Shams-ul Maʿālī Kābūs-i Waḡm gīr went for protection and sought his assistance, and Fakhr ud Daulah accordingly marched to Niṣhāpūr for that purpose, and Muayyid ud Daulah had

⁴ Only two copies of the MSS collated are altogether free from a great blunder contained in the text here. "Imād-ud Daulah whom our author styles Fakhr ud Daulah, the first sovereign prince of the dynasty had no offspring, hence he could not have conferred the government of Mūṣil on his son, Abū l H yjā," as the R. A. S. MS. and I. O. L. MS. No. 1952 have. Other writers, very properly state that these titles were conferred by the Khālfahs. Abū l-Hayjā is a totally distinct person.

⁵ His correct name is Abū l Ḥusain-i Aḥmad, and his title was Muʿizz-ud Daulah. His elder brother was called Abū l Hasan i- Alī as previously stated.

⁶ Only two sons are mentioned by our author. The I. O. L. MS. No. 1952, and the R. A. S. MS. also, contains but one name. Uḡd-ud Daulah, Abū Shujāʾ-i Fanā Khusrān, the eldest of the sons, who was accounted "the cream" of the Buwlah family is not mentioned here. An account of his reign, however is given at page 61

several engagements with them, the events of which Sābī⁷ has mentioned in his History

III BAKHTYĀR, SON OF AL-HASAN⁸, SON OF BUWĪAH, DĪLAMĪ

On the death of his father he took possession of Baghdād, and directed the affairs of government after the manner of his father, and acquired great power and dominion

As soon as he had become firmly established in his authority, the Khalifah, Al-Muṭī'u-L'illah, preferred a request to him respecting the sedition and discord caused by the Ḳaiāmītah sect of schismatics, which had assumed great proportions throughout the empire of Islām, and urged him to assemble forces and suppress them, and uproot them utterly. Bakhtyār, however, did not pay attention to the solicitations of the Khalifah, and, consequently, enmity arose between them. Matters assumed such an aspect that Bakhtyār was not safe from the designs of Al-Muṭī'u-L'illah, and the informers of Bakhtyār warned him that the Khalifah meditated treachery towards him. Bakhtyār sought his opportunity, according to the statement contained in the History of Ibn-Haiṣam, and assembled together all the Kāzīs and 'Ulamā—judges,

⁷ The oldest MS has Zīā yī, but one of the others has Sābī, and another Ṣāfī, which is one and the same thing, and I also find Guzīdah quotes, as one of its authorities, the Kitāb-i-Nāṣirī of Ṣābī-i-Dabīr, or Ṣābī, the secretary, and, among the events recorded in Faṣḥ i in the year 365 H, is the death of Ṣābit, son of Sinān, son of Sābit, son of Ḳurrah, surnamed Abū Ḳurrah, *us-Sābī*, in the month of Zī-Ka'dah, the author of the Ṣannafah-ut-Tārikh, containing a history of events between the years 195 H, and 343 H. This, no doubt, is the author referred to by the Tārikh-i-Guzīdah, and our author

⁸ As before stated, the father of Bakhtyār was named Abū-l-Husam i-Aḥmad, son of Buwīah, and his title was Mu'izz ud-Daulah. Bakhtyār's title was 'Izz ud-Daulah, Abū Maṣṣūr-i-Bakhtyār. Mu'izz-ud-Daulah, the father of Bakhtyār, died at Baghdād, of which he was ruler on the part of his nephew, Amīr 'Uẓd-ud-Daulah, the head of the dynasty, on the 1st of Rabi'ul-Awwal, 356 H, but, according to other writers, on the 16th of that month. He was known by the name of Ikṭā', having lost his left hand, and the fingers of his right, in an affair with the Kurds of Kirmān according to the Tārikh-i-Yāfa'i, but other writers say, with the Kūch and Baluḡh, a nomad tribe [two tribes] then inhabiting a portion of Kirmān, according to the Burhān Kāfī, and from whom the present Baluḡhīs are descended. Kūch in Persian, among other meanings, signifies a nomad, and in the Afghān language, Kochney, which some persons, who know no better, imagine to be the name of an Afghān tribe, signifies "pastoral" or "nomad."

lawyers and ecclesiastics—and transferred the office of Khalīfah¹ to the son of Al Muṭṭu Lillāh whose name was Abū Bīkr : Abd ul Ḳarīm and gave him the title of Uṭ Ṭāṭu Lillāh. As soon as he was installed in the Khalīfat he gave his daughter¹ in marriage to Bakhtyār Buwlah and he became the chamberlain and lieutenant of the Khalīfat.

Soon after this dignity was conferred upon Bakhtvār, he set out for Āhwāz in order to levy the revenues and taxes. Sabuk Tigīn, Chāshni-gīr [cup-bearer or taster] who was Bakhtyār's deputy began to act insubordinately towards his master, and took the power out of his hands².

IV FANĀ KHUSRAU³ SON OF AL-ḤASAN SON OF BUWLĀH, DĪLĀMĪ.

The title borne by Fanā Khusrāu was Uṣd ud Daulah⁴ and he was a proud and haughty prince, but was at the same time, endowed with great intellect and valour.

The direction of the affairs of the country and the different forces were left under his control and the whole of the property and treasure of the dependencies of the Dār

¹ The author himself states, in his account of the Khalīfahs, Section IV that Al Muṭṭu Lillāh abdicated in favour of his son, in 363 H. on account of his infirmities. Other historians confirm it but, in Faṣṭḥ-i, it is said that he abdicated at the end of Muḥarram, 364 H., having previously been stricken with palsy and died two months afterwards. It must also be remembered that the Buwlah rulers were Shāhs, hence probably their severity towards the Khalīfahs.

² Her name was Shāh i Zamān, and she had a dowry of 100,000 dirāms.

³ See note * at page 63.

⁴ Al Fanākatī considers Fanā Khusrāu third prince of the dynasty.

⁵ In 366 H. Rukn ud Daulah, Abū Alī i-Ḥasan, son of Buwlah, brother of 'Imād-ud Daulah, the founder of the dynasty died. Some say he died in 365 H. He had succeeded his elder brother 'Imād ud Daulah, who died without issue, in the sovereignty of Fārs, the sovereign of which was, in that family considered suzerain over the other two branches, who ruled in 'Irāk and at Baghdād. Rukn-ud Daulah bequeathed his dominions in the following manner:—To his youngest brother Mu'izz-ud Daulah, Ahmad, he left Kirmān. He afterwards became Amīr ul Umrā at Baghdād. He was the father of Bakhtyār and our author calls him Al Ḥasan, and says he was the second prince of the dynasty. To Uṣd ud Daulah, Abū Shujā⁴ Fanā Khusrāu, his eldest son, he left the sovereignty of Fārs; and he became the head of the family and suzerain over all. To his second son, Muayyid-ud Daulah, Abū Naṣr he left 'Irāk and its dependencies; and to his youngest son, Fakhr ud Daulah, Alī, he bequeathed Raf, Hamadān, Ḳarwīn, and other territory in Āzarbāijān.

ul-Khilāfat came into his possession. The reason of this was, that, when Bakhtyār set out for Āhwāz, to collect the revenue due to the Bait-ul-Māl, or Khalifah's treasury⁵, Sabuk-Tigīn, the Chāshnī-gīr [cup-bearer], who was his deputy at Baghdād, assembled the Turks together, and opposed the authority of Bakhtyār, drove out the Dīlamīs, broke out into open revolt, and began to act in an overbearing and tyrannical manner. They [the Turks and Sabuk-Tigīn] commenced shedding the blood of Musalmāns, and carrying off their females. 'Izz-ud-Daulah, Bakhtyār, sent to acquaint his uncle Abū-l-Ḥasan⁶, son of Buwīah, who was ruler of Rai, with what had occurred, and to his first cousin, Fanā Khusrau-i-Abū Shujā', who held the government of Fārs, he also gave information, and solicited assistance from both of them. A large army was assembled, and Fanā Khusrau came to his aid with the troops of Fārs, and Abū-l-Ḥasan, his uncle, despatched his forces to co-operate with them.

The combined troops marched towards Baghdād, and Sabuk-Tigīn, with the Turks and other forces, moved out of Baghdād, and advanced to meet them. When Sabuk-Tigīn and his adherents reached the village of 'Ākūl', he was taken ill, and died after four days. The Turks were defeated, and they took along with them from Baghdād, the Lord of the Faithful, Ut-Tā-'u-L'illah, and marched towards Nahrwān, in order again to encounter Fanā Khusrau. They were defeated a second time, however, and retired towards Mūṣil.

Fanā Khusrau entered Baghdād, and found with respect to the affairs of his cousin, Bakhtyār, that he was in the habit of passing his time in gaiety and pleasure, and that he was no longer fit for and capable of directing the affairs of government. He therefore seized Bakhtyār, and put him in durance. The latter sent a letter of complaint to his uncle, Abū-l-Ḥasan, son of Buwīah, the father of Fanā Khusrau, ruler of Rai, saying "Your son, Fanā Khusrau, has seized me without cause or reason, and has imprisoned me."

⁵ Intended, according to the Kur'ān, "For God, His Apostle, his kindred, the orphan, the poor, and travellers."

⁶ As before stated, the name of Rukn-ud-Daulah, the uncle of Bakhtyār, was Abū 'Alī-i-Ḥasan.

⁷ A small town or village in the Mūṣil [not Mosul] territory.

The father of Fanā Khusrau issued a mandate to his son directing him to set Bakhtyār at liberty. This he did, and he [Fanā Khusrau] returned to Fārs but, when his father died, Fanā Khusrau proceeded to Baghdād again seized Bakhtyār and put him to death, after which he took possession of the territory of Baghdād, and the control of the affairs of the Khilāfat *.

He entered into a compact with the Sāmānī Amīrs for the mountain tracts, or Highlands of Irāk as far as Ṭabar istān, of which he received the tenure from them at the rate of one thousand dīnārs per day.

Fanā Khusrau ruled with vigour and energy, and, as before stated, was excessively proud but of great spirit and resolution. He had, however great dread of death, so much so that not a soul dared to mention before his throne in any way the name of the Gor i Daštī or Wild Ass, because Gor also signifies a grave, and it is stated that he commanded that all graveyards should be enclosed with lofty walls so that his eyes might not behold a grave. Of his pride and grandeur the following is a specimen. After his decease, eight thousand napkins and handkerchiefs, of great price and fineness of fabric, befitting a king, were found belonging to him of brocade, linen, and Egyptian *tīst* † threaded and embroidered with gold and ornamented with jewels, with which he was wont to wipe his mouth and nose, and which fetched the price of 50 000 dīnārs of gold.

When his end drew near he affixed his seal to mandates and decrees, which he gave into the hands of his secretary directing him to fill them up according to the best of his own ability and judgment, and to issue, and carry them into execution and not to let people know of his death. For a period of four months his decease was kept con-

* 'Izz-ud Deulah, Abū Manṣūr i Bakhtyār is said, by the author of the *Mujmal i Faṣḥ* † to have ended his days at Baghdād, in 367 H. having been put to death by his nephew Uṣd-ud Daulah, Abū Shujā i Fanā Khusrau, after he had ruled there for a period of eleven years and some months, at the age of thirty six, and Bahā ud Deulah, Khusrau Fīrūz, son of Uṣd-ud Daulah, his nephew succeeded him as ruler of Baghdād.

† The name of an expensive and fine fabric so called from being the peculiar manufacture of a town or city of that name, now in ruins. It is said to have been manufactured from flax but *tīst* is also the name of the bark of a tree like the papyrus.

ceased, and they continued to place his corpse upon the throne, so that people, from a distance, could see him, as they supposed, as usual. When his end drew near, he directed that ashes should be spread upon the floor, in which he rolled about, exclaiming, "What advantageth all my wealth and my sovereignty, since death has overcome me!" until he ceased to be.

His death took place in the month of Ramazān, in the year 372 H¹. The Almighty alone is eternal.

V AL-MARZABĀN, SON OF FANĀ KHUSRAU, DĪLAMĪ

On the decease of his father 'Uzd-ud-Daulah, the Khalīfah, Uṭ-Tā-ī'u-L'illāh, conferred upon him the title of Samsām-ud-Daulah, and raised him to his father's office².

The Khalīfah treated him with great esteem and distinction. He embarked on board a vessel on the river Dīlah [Tigris] and proceeded to the palace of Fanā Khusrau, and paid a visit of consolation and condolence to his son, Marzabān, and conferred considerable honours and dignities upon him. The Khalīfah left the administration of affairs in his hands, and showed great respect and honour towards

¹ 'Uzd-ud-Daulah died, it is said, at Shīrīz, his capital, although Guẓīdah says, at Baghdād, which is not probable, 15th of Ramazān, 372 H. He was buried in the Mashad, or sepulchre, [especially for those killed fighting for their religion] of the Khalīfah 'Alī, and his son Imām Husayn, which was one of the buildings founded by him. The same illustrious prince also founded the great hospital at Baghdād, and liberally endowed it, and the great embankment over [as the historian from whom I quote says] the river Kur, the like of which there is not in the world, called the Band-i-Amīr. This is the same structure that Mac D. Kinneir refers to in his "Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire." He says, "The *ancient* Bund-i-meer [sic] takes its name from a dyke [in Persian a *bund*] erected by the celebrated Ameer Arslan Daulah, Dilemi" [1].

him. He [Marzabān] exercised the authority at Baghdād until his brother Abū l Fawāris, rose against him⁷

VL ABŪ L-FAWĀRIS MĀKĀN⁴ SON OF FANĀ KHUSRAU
DĪLAMĪ

He was ruler of Kirmān and when he became aware of the death of his father and heard of the exalted position of his brother at the Dār ul Khilāfat, he assembled troops in Kirmān and entered Fārs and seized upon that territory. He then advanced to Āhwāz and possessed himself of that likewise having expelled from thence his brother Abī ul Hasan - Abī Shujā, son of Fanā Khusrāu and then he pushed on to Baṣrah. Having gained possession of that place he marched towards Baghdād.

When the news of his approach and his designs reached Baghdād his brother, Ṣamṣām ud Daulah, Marzabān, son of Fanā Khusrāu came out and waited on him in order to show his submission and pay him homage. Abū l Fawāris i Mākān seized his brother and deprived him of his sight⁸

Enmity and hostility now arose between the Turks and Dīlamīs, and the Turks of Baghdād overcame their opponents and of the Dīlamīs about 4000 men were slain by them. After a short time, however Abu l Fawāris overtook them, and entered Baghdād and assumed the administration of the affairs of the Dār ul Khilāfat. The Khalīfah, Uṭ Ṭā i u L illah, conferred upon him the title of Shāraf ud Daulah⁹

After him the author has not found any annals respecting the Dīlāmāh such as he could write down. What

⁷ In the year 375 H

⁴ His correct titles and name are, Shāraf-ud Daulah, Abū l Fawāris-i-Shīr Zail, son of 'Uṣd-ud Daulah. All the copies of the work have Mākān, but it is not mentioned by any other writer that I am acquainted with.

⁸ He was imprisoned in the fortress of Ummān after being blinded in 375 H.; and on the death of Shāraf-ud Daulah, who had dethroned him, he was again brought forth, blind as he was, and reinstated. After about nine months, Shams-ud Daulah, Aḥ, son of Shāraf ud Daulah, rose against him whom he defeated in 379 H. but Bahā-ud Daulah now rose against him, and civil contention continued for some time, till, in 380 H. the sons of Izz ud Daulah, Bakhtyār put him to death.

⁹ Shāraf-ud Daulah, and Zain-ul Mīlat, in 377 H. He died in the month of Jamādī-ul Ākhir 379 H. after reigning seven years over Kirmān, and six months at Baghdād.

was contained in histories, and what came to his hearing, has been entered herein, so that this work may not be without mention of those princes; and he hopes that those who may peruse it will extend pardon and indulgence to the author for any shortcomings.⁷

⁷ The dynasty of the Barīahs did not terminate until 459 H., or eighty-two years after the date of our author's account of them, when it fell before the power of the Saljūks. His great mistake throughout has been in not keeping the rulers of Fārs, 'Irāk, and Kirmān, separate from those who ruled at Baghdād. Al-Fanākāf gives a more accurate account of this dynasty, although a very abridged one. The last of the family was Abū 'Alī-Kar-khusrāu, son of 'Izz-al-Mulk, who died in 487 H. and who submitted to Alb-Arsalān, and had a small tract of territory assigned to him.

SECTION XI

THE DYNASTY OF THE YAMĪNĪAH¹ AL-MAĤMŪDĪAH SOVEREIGNS OF THE RACE OF SABUK TIGĪN

THE pages of this section² are devoted to the mention of the Maliks and Sultāns of the dynasty of Nāṣir-ud Dīn Ṣabuk Tigīn, and of Sultān Yamīn-ud Daulah, Niẓām-ud Dīn, Abū-l Ḳāsim, Maḥmūd the Conqueror and to the description of the events in their lives to an account of their lineage to the record of their justice and equity and the incidents in their reigns, to the vicissitudes and changes in the fortunes, and the dominion of the sovereigns of that family of exalted power and might, from the outset of the career of the Amīr i Ghāzī, Sabuk Tigīn, to the end of the reign of Khusrāu Malik, the last of that dynasty of kings, in an abridged and concise form in order that this Ṭabaḳāt of kings and nobles may be illumined by the mention of their lineage and their titles, and the pages of this history be adorned and ennobled by the relation of the deeds of those sovereigns of Islām, whom may the light of Almighty God illumine!

Imām Abū-l Faḍl, Al Hasan i Baihaḳī³ in his chronicle

¹ So called from Maḥmūd's title of Yamīn-ud Daulah.

² The printed edition of the ṬABAḲĀT I NĀSIRĪ, edited by Lieut. Colonel W. N. Lees, LL.D. and his *Manẓūf*, commences from this Section. It forms No. 43—50 of the BIBLIOTHECA INDICA, New Series. I have been unable to make any use of it for a very cogent reason, that not a page of it is correct. Whole sentences are often wanting, and, at times, much more and the names of persons and places are frequently wrongly spelt. The work, however appears to have been printed from the text of the MS. No. 1952 of the India Office Library and the Royal Asiatic Society's MS. to which I have before alluded, both of which are the most defective and incorrect of any I have collated. The same errors occur in each, in nearly every instance. To restore the text would be impossible without entirely reprinting the work. I may say however, that the state of most of the MSS. I have collated is such that it would be impossible to give any thing like a correct version without examining the number of copies which I have been so fortunate as to find in different Libraries, and others which have been placed at my disposal through the kindness of their owners, and of the Imperial Russian Government in particular.

So called from Baihaḳ, the name of his native town, which is also called Mīḳr in Zīwulistān. His correct name will be found in note³ page 87. The passage above quoted may have been contained in the first portion of his work; but is not to be found in what has been preserved, as far as we know.

entitled "Tārīkh-i-Nāširī," relates the following tradition told him by the august Sultān Mahmūd himself, which the latter had heard from his father, the Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn, [namely] that his [Sabuk-Tigīn's] father used to be called by the name of Ḳarā Bah-kam, and that his [proper] name was Hūk, and that Ghar-ghāū in the Turkish language is called Bah-kam, and that the meaning of Ḳarā Bah-kam would be the Black Tātar Bull⁴, and every where that the

⁴ In eight copies of the text the words قرا حکم occur, and of this number one MS says, that these *Turkish* words mean سپاه عشر علو but all the other copies differ. In the very old MS previously referred to, which copy I shall here call No 1 MS, the passage stands as follows —

No	قرا حکم	کھندی و نامش	حوق بود و عرعاؤ را ترکی	حکم حواصد و معنی	قرا حکم	سپاه عرعاؤ	باشد	No	قرا حکم	کھندی و معنی	قرا حکم	سپاه عشر علو	باشد
1	قرا حکم	کھندی و نامش	حوق بود و عرعاؤ را ترکی	حکم حواصد و معنی	قرا حکم	سپاه عرعاؤ	باشد	10	قرا حکم	کھندی و معنی	قرا حکم	سپاه عشر علو	باشد
2	"	"	حوق	"	"	سپاه عشر علو	"	11	"	"	"	سپاه عشر علو	"
*3	"	"	حوق	"	"	سپاه عشر علو	"	12	"	"	"	سپاه عشر علو	"
†4	"	"	حوق	"	"	سپاه عشر علو	"	13	"	"	"	سپاه عشر علو	"
5	"	"	حوق	"	"	سپاه عشر علو	"						
6	"	"	حوق	"	"	سپاه عشر علو	"						
7	"	"	حوق	"	"	سپاه عشر علو	"						
8	"	"	حوق	"	"	سپاه عشر علو	"						
†9	"	"	حوق	"	"	سپاه عشر علو	"						

The printed text is similar to No 7, except that it has قرا in both instances. The I O L MS No 1952, the R A S MS, and the St Petersburg MS No 572 Abb, are all alike defective here, being *minus only nine words*. I shall call them Nos 10, 11, and 12 respectively —

10 The St Petersburg Imp Bibl Pub MS is very defective here, and has lost several pages

* Paris MS 181

† Paris MS 182

‡ St. Petersburg MS No 572 Ab

Turks, in Turkistān heard his name mentioned they fled before him on account of his energy and valour

Imām Muḥammad Alī Abū l-Ḳāsim, Imādt¹, in his work, the "Tārīkh-i Majdūl," states that Amīr Sabuk

It will be noticed that four copies say his name was حرق [Ḥarq, or Ḥurq], which might possibly be read حوق [Ḥūq, or Ḥauq], as in the two best copies, whilst in two other copies the word is حوق [Jūq, or Jauq], and in another حون [Jūn]. Then comes the signification of the Turkish word, as it is called, *جنگ* [Jūng]. In five copies, it is said to mean فرار in one فرار in another فرار in a third فرار in three others فرار and in one فرار. The printed text has فرار. The Arabic words contained in two copies of the text—in one of the best and one of the most modern—would be intelligible enough, but we are told that the words, whether فرار or جنگ are Turkish, and that they signify فرار—فرار—فرار [of the printed text], فرار and فرار whichever we choose to select, and we must presume that these words are intended for the Persian equivalents of the Turkish. The word *must* be فرار—Ghaz ghālo—also written فرار—Ghaz ghā, and, at times, فرار—Ghaz ghālo and as غ in the Persian language is permutable to ه the words are, and may be respectively written, فرار—فرار—فرار or فرار signifying a *Khūtā'i bull*—the Yāk [Bos Grunniens], found in the vast mountain tracts of Central Asia, north of Hindūstān, the tail of which is fastened to the manes and necks of horses, and as an ornament to Tartar and Turkish standards [hence a Pacha of so many tails]. The author from whom I take this says, Its real name is Gāo-i Khūtā'i, the Khūtā'i bull, and is called *αῖρος* by the Rūmīs [Greeks], who say it is a *ser Aëros*. It is also called the Silk Bull, as فرار and فرار also signify silk. The word فرار or more correctly فرار is, of course, the Turkish for *black*, in Persian سیا. In Elliott's INDIA, vol. II. p. 266, the passage in question is thus translated: His [Subuktigin's] father was called *Jauk* [troop], and in Turki they call a troop *bakkam* [on whose authority I wonder?] so that the meaning of the name *Kard-bakkam* is black troop."

From this it will be seen that the translator has discarded altogether both فرار of MSS. 10 and 11 and فرار of the printed text, and has given the person a Turkish *real* name as the equivalent [the Persian equivalent, it must be supposed] of his Turkish *nick*-name; so according to this theory حوق means troop, and جنگ also means troop, but what becomes of the Persian translation سیا فرار &c. the translator sayeth not! Jauk, however is *Arabic* for a party a troop, &c. but what جنگ may mean, remains to be proved. I have an idea, however from the manner in which the word is written, in one place, in one of the MSS. viz. جنگ—Baḡ kam, that جنگ—Baḡ-kam—is an error of some early copyist [but ج and ح are interchangeable] for جنگ—Baḡ kam, a *wolf* which word is used, but not commonly in Persian, and probably is Turkish and it is not impossible that the author quoted may have been under the impression that a *Khūtā'i bull* was the same beast as جنگ—Gurg, a *wolf* and therefore, I am inclined to think that the correct interpretation is, that Sabuk Tigin's father was called in Turkish, the Black Wolf, meaning a soldier of [Māḥ being expressive of excess, &c.] excessive fierceness and daring. This reading, as I have said before, is not certain; but I do not think any thing more intelligible can be made of it without Balḥakī's work to refer to but that portion does not appear to be in existence.

¹ A few copies have حامي [Ḥamīdī], which is incorrect.

that ruler directed that aid should be afforded to him, when Is-hāk came back again to Ghaznīn, and regained possession of it After a year Is-hāk died⁶, when Balkā-

⁶ Is-hāk succeeded his father in the government in 352 H, and died in 355 H, and so ruled for about *four* years Among the events of the year 353 H, Faṣīh-i mentions that "Amīr Is-hāk, son of Alb-Tigīn, attended by Sābuk Tigīn, his father's slave—who is mentioned for the first time in that work—fled from Ghaznīn, and proceeded to Bukhārā, and obtained the investiture of the government of that province from the Sāmānī sovereign." In the following year, 354 H, the same work states that "Is-hāk, son of Alb-Tigīn, the Turk, the slave of the house of Sāmānī, returned to Ghaznīn again, and fought against Lawīk [this name is also confirmed by other writers, and there is no doubt of its correctness], who, previously, had been Wālī [sovereign or chief], of Ghaznīn, and had been ousted by Alb-Tigīn When Is hāk retired to Samrḳand, Lawīk returned to Ghaznīn, but now that Is-hāk had come back again, Lawīk again fled"

Mr Thomas, in his paper just referred to, trusting implicitly, it would seem, to the I O L MS No 1952, and the R A S copy of our author's work, calls *Amīr*, Abū Bīkr-i-Lawīk, "*the Amīk*" In those two MSS *Amīr*, Abū Bīkr, is left out altogether, but occurs in the other MSS, although some have ابو ابو and الو instead of لو yet in a note Mr Thomas says,—"*I propose with but slight hesitation a rectification of the orthography to لومغان or 'Lumghān,' the Lampagne of classical writers,*" from a personal to a local name! Into what mazes of error do not the "classical writers" draw their disciples as regards Oriental history! See note E, Elliott's INDIA, vol II, last par, which is quite to the point

On the death of Is-hāk, Balkā-Tigīn, the slave of Alb-Tigīn, succeeded to government of Ghaznīn, by order of Amīr Nūḥ, son of Naṣr, the sovereign Balkā-Tigīn died in 362 H, after being governor *eight* years Thomas, on this passage in our author, in which the latter says Balkā ruled *ten* years, remarks "Two copies [of the work], out of the three at this moment the opportunity of consulting, give *ten* instead of *two* [the former, however, is a palpable error]" I wonder on which side the lies really? This is not all In his remarks on the "coin of Maṣṣūr, Nūḥ, with the name of Balkā-Tigīn under the symbol, on the *obverse*, Thomas gives a translation of his Excellency, State Counsellor Von If the translation is correct, of which there can be but little doubt, his Excellency must have been somewhat in the dark respecting the Sāmānīs, and their connexion with Ghaznīn, which formed *Uṣmānī* dominions What I refer to is this "History mentions only Alp-Tigīn, but is *silent in regard to the rule of the Sāmānīs*" We see from our coin that Balkā, or Bulkā-Tagīn, in the year A H 324, *chief of the Sāmānī party in this city* His name appears already on Balkh coins of A H 324. Subsequently he passed over to Alp-tigīn's and became chamberlain under Abū Ishāk, and is said to have ascended the throne after the death of the latter in A H 365" This is absurd What history can it be that is silent in regard to the rule of "the Sāmānīs in Ghaznīn," when it formed an integral part of their empire? Balkā-Tigīn, 324 H, was governor of the province of which Balkh was the seat of government, hence his name on the coin referred to

Tigīn who was the chief or commander of the Turkish troops, was raised to the government. He was a just and pious man and one of the greatest warriors of his time. He exercised the authority for a period of ten years, and died. Sabuk Tigīn was in his service.

After the death of Amīr Balkā Tigīn Pīrey succeeded to the authority.⁷ He was a great villain, and a body of people wrote from Ghaznīn to Abū Allī Lawīk, and invited him to come there. Abū Allī Lawīk acceded to their request, and brought along with him the son of the Shāh, or king of Kābul to assist him. When they reached the vicinity of Charkh⁸ Sabuk Tigīn with a body of five hundred Turks, suddenly fell upon them, and defeated them, killed a great number of their followers, took them captive also and slew them. He also captured ten elephants, and brought them to Ghaznīn.

Such a great success having been gained by Sabuk Tigīn and all having become quite sated with the villainies and misdeeds of Pīrey with one accord they raised Sabuk Tigīn to the direction of affairs. On Friday, the 27th of the month of Shābān, 366 H., Amīr

⁷ Our author is quite correct as to Pīrey but gives no details or dates. I will furnish them. On the death of Balkā Tigīn, in 362 H., Pīrey the slave of Alb-Tigīn [as was his predecessor and successor also], obtained the government. In the following year 363 H., Pīrey the Wālī of Ghaznīn, with the help of Sabuk Tigīn, fought a battle with a body of infidels who had advanced out of Hind for the purpose of seizing Ghaznīn, overthrew them, and despoiled them. This event is confirmed from other annals. In the year 367 H. Pīrey was deposed from the government [as our author records], and the government passed to Sabuk Tigīn. He was confirmed by the Sāmānī ruler but soon after on the decline of their power became independent in all things, except, perhaps, in name.

The Kitāb, "or Tārīkh i Yamīnī," which is considered to be a very trustworthy and authentic history contains, judging from Reynold's version, not one word about Sabuk Tigīn having been Alb-Tigīn's slave although probably transferred as such to Balkā Tigīn, and his son Is-hāk; and makes no mention of the government of Amīr Pīrey although he ruled over the province of Ghaznīn for just few years.

⁸ A well known place situated a few miles from the right or east bank of the Lobgar river on one of the routes between Kābul and Ghaznīn. Abū l Faṣl, the secretary mentions in the Ā'in i Akbarī, that Charkh is so called after a pious man, one Maulānā i-Charkhī.

⁹ Faṣl-i says this took place in 367 H. the same year that Izz ud Daulah, Abū Mansūr i Bakhtiyār Burwīsh, was put to death at Baghidā. See page 63. In the same year Sabuk Tigīn appointed Abū l Abbās, Al Faṣl-i Ahmad son of Muḥammad, Al Isfāhānī, his Wazīr. He had acted

Sabuk-Tigīn, with a scarlet canopy held over him, and attended by a large following with standards, came down from the citadel, and proceeded to the Jāmī' Masjid, or Great Mosque, and the administration of the government and the sovereignty of that province was settled upon him.

Soon after, he put his forces in motion and marched from Ghaznīn towards the adjacent parts, and took possession of the districts of Bust, Zamīn [district] of Dāwar, the Zamīn of Kuṣdār, and Bāmiān, all Tukhārīstān, and Ghūr¹.

On the side of Hind, he overthrew Jai-pāl², with numerous elephants and a host of troops, and he rid the Sāmānī family of Bughrā Khān of Kāshghar, and marched to Balkh, and sent back the Amīr of Bukhārā to take re-possession of his throne.

During the time that Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn held the government, great deeds were performed, and he completely put an end to the iniquitous heresy of the Bāṭiniyah schismatics in Khurāsān³.

in the same office to Fāyik-i-Khāshah, and, after the latter's defeat, Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn took him under his patronage. Wazīr does not necessarily mean the minister of a sovereign prince only, and Sabuk-Tigīn was not yet independent.

¹ The mode of spelling the word by its people, and on the authority of the Burhān-i-Kāfī and other works.

² "In 369 H, Jai-pāl, 'Bādshāh' of Hind, as he is termed, marched an army towards Ghaznīn to attack Amīr Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Sabuk-Tigīn, but an accommodation was come to, and Jai-pāl again retired." This is quite a different affair from that in which Sabuk-Tigīn assisted Amīr Pīrey, mentioned in a previous note. It must be remembered too, that, at this time, the country west of the Indus, between Safid-Koh west, and the Salt-Range on the east, and Hindū-Kush, extending as far west as Kābul, was still under Hindū rule. The Afghāns had not extended northward of the river Kurmah [erroneously called the Kurum and Koorum] at this time.

³ Our author says nothing about the affair of Bust in 370 H, or of Sabuk-Tigīn's raid on the frontier districts of Hind in 376 H, when he carried off many captives and much booty. In the same year he took possession of the territory of Kuṣdār. In 378 H, Sabuk-Tigīn again encountered Jai-pāl, king of Hind, who was routed, and pursued by him. A peace was afterwards concluded, the terms being that "Jai-pāl should cede unto Sabuk-Tigīn four of the fortresses of Hind on the side of Ghaznīn, and one hundred elephants." In 380 H, an occurrence took place, which few writers have noticed, namely, the imprisonment of Maḥmūd in the fortress of Ghaznīn, by his father's orders, where he remained until the following year. In 382 H Amīr Nūḥ, son of Maṣṣūr, Sāmānī, reached Hirāt, attended by Sabuk-Tigīn, and marched against Abū 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr, whom they defeated. See page 46, and note. In 384 H Amīr Nūḥ conferred the government of Khurāsān upon Sabuk-Tigīn, and in the same year Amīr Nūḥ defeated Abū 'Alī-i-Sīmjūr at Nishāpūr. In

In the month of Shawwāl, 384 H., his son, Amīr Maḥmūd was made captain-general of the forces of Khurāsān and received the title of Saif ud Daulah, while Amīr Sabuk Tigīn himself received that of Nāṣir ud Dīn ullah. Abū l Ḥasan-i Sīmjūr they defeated and repulsed, and Khurāsān became cleared of their enemies.

Amīr Sabuk Tigīn was a man of great valour and intrepidity just and plous, faithful true to his word, not avaricious of other men's goods, kind and compassionate to his people, and a discerner between right and wrong and, in fact, every sign and indication of all such virtues and accomplishments as are desirable in kings and nobles, the Almighty had amply endowed him with. He ruled for a period of twenty years, and was fifty six years old when he died. His decease took place on the frontier of Balkh, at the village of Madrū mūl⁶ in the year 387 H.

His sons were Ismā'il⁶, Naṣr Maḥmūd, Husain Hasan and Yūsuf

II. SULTĀN UL-A'ẒAM, YAMĪN UD-DAULAH, NIZĀM UD-DĪN ABU L-KĀSIM MAḤMŪD-I-GHĀZĪ, SON OF SABUK TIGĪN⁷

Sultān Maḥmūd i Ghāzī was a great monarch, and was the first among the sovereigns of Islām, who was styled

385 H. Sabuk Tigīn defeated Abū Alī i-Sīmjūr and Fāyīk at Tūta. Among the events of the year 387 H. recorded in Faṣṭh-i, are the deaths of Amīr Nūḥ, son of Maṣṣūr Sāmānī, and Nāṣir-ud-dīn, Sabuk Tigīn, the Mawāhī, or manumitted slave of the house of Sāmānī.

⁶ From the Sāmānī sovereigns, see page 47. Abū Alī, the son of Abū Ḥasan-i-Sīmjūr was the person who was defeated; Abū l Ḥasan, the father had died previously. See pages 45 and 48.

⁷ This name is written in various ways:—Barmal-Madrūc, Madrūc, Madrūf, and, in one MS. Tirmāz. In the translation of Yamīnī, p. 201 it is said that a palace [i] was erected at the place where he died, and that it was named Sahl-ābid. Balḥāzī says his tomb is at Afghān Shāl, a place mentioned by Bāher.

⁸ Ismā'il succeeded his father; but our author ignores him as a sovereign, which is not correct, for Ismā'il was only dethroned in 389 H. two years after the decease of his father by Maḥmūd, who sent him to the fortress of Kālmajar now known as Takwārāh, according to Faṣṭh-i. The same authority states: some say Ismā'il was confined in the fortress of Jūjūnīn. Faṣṭh-i states that Maḥmūd succeeded in 388 H., and that Ismā'il was sent to a fortress in 389 H.

⁹ Balḥāzī considers Maḥmūd to be the first sovereign of this dynasty

Sultān⁸ by the Court of the Khalīfāhs of Baghdād. He was born on the night of 'Ashūrā, the 10th of the month Muharram, in the year 361 H⁹, in the seventh year of the government of Amīr Balkā-Tigīn, at Ghaznīn.

About one hour before his being ushered into the world, Sabuk-Tigīn, his father, saw in a dream, that there began to issue from the chafing-dish [used in those countries instead of having fire-places in the wall, and placed in the centre of the apartment] in his room, a tree, which began to grow to such a height that the whole world began to be overshadowed by it. When he awoke from his sleep, he began to ponder in his mind what the interpretation of this dream could be, when a bearer of good news presented himself, bringing intelligence that the Almighty had been pleased to give him a son. At this joyful announcement Sabuk-Tigīn became overjoyed, and said to the messenger "I have given him the name of Mahmūd¹."

The same night also upon which Mahmūd was born, the idol-temple of Wahand or Bihand [it may also be read Wahind, or Bahind], which was situated on the confines of Barshābūr², on the bank of the river Sind, split asunder

⁸ There is a different version given as to how and when Mahmūd became styled Sultān. When Mahmūd took the fortress of Tāk in Sijistān, by assault, and Khalaf was brought before him, the latter addressed Mahmūd by the title of Sultān. This pleased Mahmūd so much that he gave Khalaf his life. The titles bestowed upon Mahmūd by the Khalīfah, and also bestowed, according to Baihaki, upon Mas'ūd, were as follow: "The right hand of the empire, defender of orthodoxy, the guardian of the true religion and of the true believers, the regulator of the faith, the friend of the Lord of the Faithful." See note⁵, page 80.

⁹ Fasīḥ-ī says he was born on that date in 360 H.

¹ The past part. of the Arabic verb حمد used as an adjective, signifying—laudable, praised, worthy, &c.

² Out of the thirteen MSS collated, *four* agree respecting the word Barshābūr, and *three* have Parshāwar. These are meant, probably, for the present Peshāwar. *Six* copies have Nishābūr, and *six* copies say that the idol-temple in question was situated on the bank of the Sudarah [Sudharah سودره is an old name of the Chināb, see the Sadhūrā—سدھورا farther on], and a *fifth* copy has, the bank of the Ab-i-Shudah [شدء] 'Uṭbī [Uṭbā] quoted in Elliot's INDIA, vol. II pp 27 and 41, makes the "Sihūn" the Indus, and in Reynolds' version of the same work, the Indus is called the "Jihūn!" I need scarcely mention that the first is the Jaxartes, and the last the Oxus. In the last named version, also, we have "Wāmund" for "Wahind." The name of the idol-temple is written in three different ways in the various copies of the original collated وھند—which may be either Wabhind or Wabband, in *six* MSS, بھند—Bahind, or Bahand, or Bihand, in *two*, and وھند—

He was endowed with great virtues and vast ability

Wahand, or Wahind, in *two* In *several* copies, the relative *که* follows this name, but in *other* others we have *کی* instead of *که* which I have certainly seen used for *که* but very rarely. The following will show at a glance what I mean. The original sentence, in the very old MSS in my possession [which I call No. 1] stands thus:—

1	نقشه و بهند کی	(sic)	در حدود مرساور بود بر لب آب سده بسکت
2.	" و بهند که	"	مرساور " سد "
3	" " "	"	نساور " سدره "
4.	" " "	"	" " سدره "
5	" " "	"	مرساور " سدره "
6.	" و بهند که	"	نساور " سدره "
7	" بهند که	"	مرساور " سده "
8.	" بهند کی	"	مرساور " سد "
9.	" و بهند کی	"	مرساور " سد "
10.	" و بهند که	"	نساور بر لب آب سده "
11	" و بهند کی	"	مرساور بر لب آب سد "
12.	" و بهند که	"	نساور لب آب سدره "
13.	" " "	"	" " " " "

The author of the *Jāmi' ut Tawārīkh*, in his account of the river of Kābul and its tributaries, taken from Abū Rihān, Al Birūnī says, that, having passed by Lamghān, the united streams join near the fort of Darīnah, or Darīntah [the only place that can possibly be meant here is Darīn[h]ā—در دینا], and fall into the river of Un Nūr and Kīrīt, or Kārīt [نور و کریت], after which the united waters meet together *opposite* the town [city] of Barghīwar [one MS. compared has *مرسا* or *مرسا*], and become a mighty river called by the name of Lā'fir wāl. The village of Manhārah [منهاره] lies on the *east* bank of the united waters [another MS. has, instead of this sentence, the following:—

called by the name of Ma'bar signifying a ford or crossing place,] which fall into the Āb-i-Sind in front of [or near] the fort of Yūr or Yātūr [one MS. has *Shetāb*—شتاب], belonging to the town [or city] of GANDHĀR [how Gandhār—گندهار can ever be mistaken for Kandahār—کندهار is inexplicable to me], which place [موقع] is called WAHIND [or may be DAHIND]."

This place—Wahind, or Dahind, or whatever it may be *proved* to be—is that which our author refers to, no doubt, and is the same place, probably as mentioned by Balhaqi in one or two places in his History although he does not mention it as being on the bank of the river Sindh. I have never seen it written *وی هند*. The printed text, edited by Morley has *وهند* and a MS. in my possession has *وهند*. Some three years since I carefully compared the whole passage in the *Jāmi' ut Tawārīkh*, with the work of Al-Fānīkatī, the Arabic copy of a portion of the former work, in the R. A. S. Library and other works; and I am unable to agree either with Sir H. Elliot's first reading of it, in his APPENDIX p. 30, or Mr. Dawson's new reading, in Elliot's

ties; and the same predominant star was in the as-

HISTORY OF INDIA, edited by him, vol 1 pp 47 and 48, both of which differ widely from each other. Neither do I agree in the theory that Ūhand [اردند not *Olund*] so many miles above the junction of the Nīl-āb, or river of Kābul with the Abā-Sind, or Indus, is the place indicated, in face of the statement of Abū Rihān, which is perfectly plain in the passage referred to, namely, that the river in question falls into the Abā-Sind, "in front of" or *opposite* the fort of Yitūr or Wahind.

If the western bank of the Indus were the right place to search for this spot, so difficult to trace, there is Mahābān [ماہبان—not much unlike مد and مدد to look at] together with Oong, Behoh, and Rām-takht, mentioned by Abbott—although, from his mode of rendering Oriental words, it is impossible to tell what the originals may be—in his "*Gradus ad Aornon*," in the Ben As Journal for 1854, and Rājah Hodacy's castle, as well as "Ohind." There are also extensive ruins of a temple on a hill called Takht-i-Bihī, about fifteen miles north-east of the Kābul river's junction with the Landrey Sind, and some thirty miles north-east of Peshāwār, which I visited in 1849 [see my account of Peshāwar, Bom Geogr Journal, vol x, for 1851-2]. Can this be the idol-temple which fell when Maḥmūd was ushered into the world? In the same vicinity, and within a few miles of each other, are "Kāpır dı Gırı"—the Infidel's Mount, and "Pratah Minārah"—the Fallen Minār, in Pushto, which names bear a striking resemblance to Baihaḳī's fortress of "Gırı" or "Gīrī," and "Man-Minārah," but both the places I have mentioned are on the western, not the eastern bank, and the last lies above Ūhand, which latter name, in all probability, is not ancient, but one of the many new designations given to places in that vicinity by the Yūsufzī Afghāns, when they first conquered those tracts on the Indus. I have made the early history of the Afghāns my especial study for a particular purpose, and I have never met with the name of Wabhand, Wahind, Bahind, or Wahband in the histories containing the account of their conquests in those parts.

Since the above was written, I have looked over vol 11 of Elliot's INDIA, and find that the author, at page 465, when referring to Maḥmūd's fourteenth expedition into India, says that Farishtah in his work, as well as the "Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī," and "Kanzu-l-Mahpūr," which latter I have not examined, mention "the waters of Nūr and Kīrāt" as falling into the Kābul river, precisely as I had read the same words in the passage from Al-Bīrūnī; but the editor, Mr Dowson, still persists, as he says in a note to the same page, in reading them "Nurokrāt." Did he not consider that the second, in the words نور و کرات might be *and*? The *darah* of Nūr is mentioned by Bābar, and is well known still.

To return to the subject of Wahind. From the passage in the Jām'ut-Tawārikh, and our author, "the fort belonging to the town or city of Gandhār, which place is called Wahind or Bahind, on the banks of the Sind, facing the junction of the Nīl-Āb with the Abā-Sind," must be looked for east of the Indus, near Attak-Banāras, in the vicinity of which extensive ruins of an ancient city are mentioned in the account of the building of the former fortress in Akbar's reign. Apollonius of Tyana, in his "Travels," mentions a lofty temple as situated outside the walls of Taxilas, a few miles east of the Indus. [See Jour R A S, vol xvii p 76.] These ruins were again noticed in the writings of a Muḥammadan traveller towards the close of the last century. However, under any circumstances, and in whatever manner we may read these names, which want the vowel-points, and are probably incor-

endant at his birth as appeared at the dawn of Islām

rectly copied, the situation of the rivers, and the number mentioned, will not agree with actual facts. The Muhammadan traveller I refer to, states, from actual observation: The Kābul river after flowing through the *darāh* of Mandro—called by the same name as the chief town of Langhān—is joined, to the north of that place, by the Tahkri [تھکری], generally known as the river of Langhān; and near the *Asā* or mountain of Durūnthā [درونتھا] these streams are joined by the Surkh rūd [Red River], which then flow past Jalālābād on the east, and near the town of Kāmāh are joined by the Chitrār or Chitrāl [also called the Kāmāh], and thus united flow on towards Peshāwar. On issuing from the Khyber mountains at Michānī [not Mīchnī], the united streams again separate into three branches, and thus [not united] pass by Peshāwar—which is some distance from the nearest branch—for some miles, and do not unite again until just after receiving the Landāy Sind and its tributaries at Nisatāh, after which the united waters fall into the Indus a little above, and opposite Attak.” The courses of rivers may alter in the lapse of centuries, in a flat country as they have in the Panjāb, in some instances, but not in such a mountainous tract as the Kābul and its tributaries flow through, on their way to the Indus. I cannot but coincide with Abū l Faṣl, the secretary [but never minister?] of Akbar in his remarks upon the accounts of India, written by early travellers, such as Al Bīrūnī and others. He says, in the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* [I give the pith of his remarks merely], that *Fandkash, Hāfse-Abrū and others, wrote down all the nonsense that was palmed off upon them and, therefore, what they state is contrary to fact and not to be depended upon, while other writers have wilfully perverted them. How could it be otherwise, when such persons knew nothing of the languages of India, or of its people, or their customs? They could neither make investigations themselves nor could they obtain efficient interpreters, or reliable information.* See R. A. S. s Journal, vol. iv p. 356.

Farther investigation, since the above remarks were written, has, I think enabled me to throw some light upon the situation of what is called Wahind and Bahind, and as to its correct name. The *Tārīkh-i Mirāt-i Jahān Numā*, a general history by Muhammad Bakī, contains the following respecting Mahmūd's two first expeditions against Hindūstān. “In 390 H. Mahmūd set out for Hindūstān and captured the fortress of Baranjīd or Barjūmīd [برجند possibly برجد but this word is not quite certain], and again retired. In Shawwāl, 391 H. he again set out towards Hindūstān, and reached Peshāwar with 10,000 horse, and defeated Jai pāl, who, with fifteen brothers and sons, was taken captive. This took place on Saturday 8th Muḥarram, 392 H. From thence, Mahmūd advanced to the fortress of Bahindāh [بهند], which was the residence of Jai pāl; and he subdued that territory. In a history of the Rājās of Jamū, said by its author a Hindū, to have been compiled from Hindū annals, Bahindāh [بهند] is said to have been Jai-pāl's capital and place of residence, which Mahmūd captured. Mirā Mughal Beg, who, about eighty-three years since, made a survey of great part of the North-West Provinces between Dillī and the Sutlej the Panjāb, and great part of Afghānistān, and the countries on the northern slopes of Hindū-Kush, in his account of the Lakhi jungle, says: Bhatindāh [بهتند], which is also called Whajindāh [وحند] is the name of a territory with a very ancient stronghold bearing the same name, which was the capital of the Chūhīl [چھیل] tribe. Lakhi, son of Jūndharah, of the Bhaṭṭ tribe, having been converted to the Muhammadan faith, during an invasion by Sulṭān Mahmūd of Ghazna,

itself³ In the year 387 H⁴, Mahmūd proceeded to Balkh⁵, and

received the title of Rānā Lakhī, and he and his tribe were removed thither. They found there some three hundred and fifty or sixty towns and villages of considerable size, some with large and fine buildings, and began to make inroads into the tracts adjacent, against the infidels." According to traditions quoted by this author, which are also to be found in other works, there were formerly two or three considerable rivers in this now sandy tract of country. In ancient times the Ghaghar flowed past Bhatnir, and "fell into the Sind [Indus] on the confines of Jasalmīr. One of these rivers is called the Sadhūrā [see the various readings of the original at the beginning of this note], which falls into the Ghaghar, and in its neighbourhood, at about five miles west, is a sacred pond or small lake, visited by hundreds of thousands of persons, and there is no other place accounted like unto it in sanctity." There is a great deal more about this district, but I have no space for it here. I think it very probable that what has been called Wahind or Bahind is no other than Bhatindah or Whatindah, which, written without the points—بهند or وهند—are much the same in appearance as the words in the various MSS. of our author's text—بهند and وهند.

As to some confusion in the arrangement of Elliot's INDIA, tending to dis-
tract, which I have referred to above, I would mention, with respect to the
name "Wahind," that at p. 63, vol. 1, "Wahind" is said to be the capital of
Kandahār [و stands for g as well as k, and Kandahār in Afghānistān is always
with و], in a note at p. 397, the "river of Wahand or Wahind-Sāgar" is
mentioned, in vol. II p. 28, in the extract from Yamīnī, "Wahind" is said
to be a country, at p. 33, and other places, it is again called "the river of
Wahind, and at p. 444, "the river of Wahind or the Indus." Notwith-
standing all this, this identical passage in our author, after having been
"revised and sundry long gaps filled up by the Editor," is thus translated
[vol. II p. 269]—"On the same night that he [Mahmūd] was born, an
idol-temple IN INDIA, in the vicinity of Parshāwar, on the banks of the Sind,
fell down!!" There is nothing like giving a bold translation.

³ This last sentence is somewhat obscure in all the copies. It may be under-
stood also to mean that his appearance was propitious to the ascendancy of
Islām. طالع does not mean "the greatest champion."

⁴ See note ⁶, page 75, for date of accession.

⁵ Balkh has been mentioned by more than one author, as the capital of
Sabuk-Tigīn's and Mahmūd's dominions. In the same year wherein he over-
came his brother (389 H), Mahmūd, according to Faṣīḥ-i, fought a battle
against 'Abd-ul-Malik, son of Nūh, Sāmānī, and the Sāmānī dynasty termi-
nated. See page 52. His independency may be dated from that time.
In the same year, Arsalān-i-Jāzib fought an engagement with Abū l-Kāsim i
Sīmjūr, and compelled him to retire to Tabas, and Mahmūd made his brother,
Amīr Nasr, the commander of his army (see page 51, note ⁶). In that same
year, likewise, he made Balkh the capital of his dominions, and the Khalīfah,
Al-Kādir B'illah, sent him a robe of honour, with the titles of Yamīn ul-
Daulah, and Amīn ul-Millat. Mahmūd also received the submission of the
Shīr, as was the style of the rulers of Ghazistān [called by some Ghuristān],
Abū Nasr, son of the Shīr, Rāshid, and of his son, Shār, Abū Muhammad,
and the Khutbah was read for Mahmūd in that territory, and the coin im-
pressed with his name and titles. In 390 H Mahmūd made a dash upon
Nishāpūr, which he took possession of, and Bal-Tūzūn, the slave of the
Sāmānī dynasty, fled, and in the same year Bughrījak, the uncle of Mahmūd,

ascended the throne of sovereignty and donned the robe of honour which had been sent to him from the Dār-ul-Khilāfat. At this time the throne of the Khalīfahs was adorned by the Lord of the Faithful, Al Qādir Billah.

When Sulṭān Maḥmūd ascended the throne of sovereignty his illustrious deeds became manifest unto all man

was slain by Tāhir son of Khalaf son of Aḥmad, at Fūshan]. Maḥmūd marched into Sijistān against Khalaf, who fled before him, and took shelter within the walls of the fortress of Tāḳ, which Maḥmūd directed should be invested. This is a different place to Ūḳ. For farther particulars respecting Khalaf, whose doings appear so obscure [Jour. R. A. S. vol. xvii. p. 147], see notes to Section XIV. Maḥmūd does not appear to have established his power in Khurāsān, for in 391 H. Amīr Abū Ibrāhīm Al Muntaṣir—the last of the Sāmāni, who is not even mentioned by our author—aided by Shams-ul-Maʿālī Kābū, son of Waḥmīr who sent his sons Dārī [see page 51] and Manūchīhr advanced with an army to recover Rai but, having altered his plans, Abū Ibrāhīm, and his adherents, faced about, and marched on Nīshāpūr from which Naṣr Maḥmūd's brother again fled, and Abū Ibrāhīm once more gained possession of Nīshāpūr. Naṣr who had retired to Hirāt, again moved to recover it, aided by Arsalān-i Jāṣib from Tūs. Abū Ibrāhīm despatched his forces under Arsalān-i Bād and Abū-i Kāsim-i-Simjūr to oppose them; but they were overthrown, and Abū Ibrāhīm again retired from Nīshāpūr and took refuge, in Jurjān, with Kābū. Eventually he reached Sarakhs, and Amīr Naṣr marched against him and defeated him; and he fled for refuge to the tribe of Ghuz. Naṣr made prisoners of Abū-i Kāsim-i-Simjūr and Yūz Tāgh, the Hājib of Abū Ibrāhīm, who had previously put Arsalān-i Bād to death for flying from Amīr Naṣr. In the following year 392 H. Jai pīl, [which appears to be the title, not the actual name, of two or more princes], Bād shah of Hind, as he is called, was made captive by Maḥmūd. He was sold for," as the chronicler states, whose words I quote, or rather his ransom was fixed at 200,000 golden dinārs, and 150 elephants; and the necklace taken from Jai pīl was valued at another 200,000 golden dinārs. This battle took place on Thursday 8th of Maḥarram, 392 H. in sight of Burghor of Hind. Here we might have expected to find *Wahind* or *Waband* mentioned. Whether this is what is now called Peshāwar is somewhat doubtful, for up to the time of Hābar and Akbar the latter city was called generally Bagrām, and is seldom mentioned, except by more modern writers of the Farīqīyah class. The chronicler adds: Jai pīl, the Hindū, subsequently shaved his head, and mounted a funeral pyre, and died for it is customary with Hindūs, that any Badshāh of theirs, who becomes a captive to Musalmāns, should abdicate in favour of another ruler. His son Tand Pīl [MS. *تند پیل* but probably *تند پیل*—*Aṭand pīl*—is meant], succeeded him as ruler of Hind." In 393 H. the Khutbah was read for Maḥmūd in Sijistān, by Khalaf's own nobles, and his titles were impressed upon the coins. In the following year the fortress of Tāḳ was captured, and Khalaf was made prisoner. The Sulṭān kept the territory of Sijistān entirely for himself, but gave the district of Jurjānān to Khalaf, who, taking his family with him, left Sijistān altogether. Afterwards, however Sulṭān Maḥmūd gave the government of Sijistān to his own brother Naṣr and the government of that province was joined to the appointment of commander of the forces [of Khurāsān].

kind within the pale of Islām, when he converted so many thousands [!] of idol-temples into masjids, and captured so many of the cities of Hindūstān, and overthrew and subdued its Rāes Jai-pāl, who was the greatest of the Rāes of Hind, he made captive, and kept him [a prisoner] at Man-Yazīd⁶, in Khurāsān, and commanded that he might be ransomed for the sum of eighty dirāms⁷. He led an army to Nahrwālah of Gujarāt, and brought away Manāt⁸, the idol, from Somnāth, and had it broken into four parts, one of which was cast before the entrance of the great masjid at Ghaznīn, the second before the gateway of the Sultān's palace⁹, and the third and fourth were sent to Makkah and Madīnah respectively.

Concerning this victorious expedition the poet 'Unṣūrī composed a Ḳaṣīdah¹, or poem, two couplets of which are here inserted —

“When the potent sovereign made the expedition to Somnāth,
He made the working of miracles his occupation
He staked the Chess of dominion with a thousand kings
Each king he check-mated, in a separate game.”

Out of the different occasions in which the Sultān's greatness showed itself pre-eminent, one occurred during this expedition. When he retired from Somnāth, and desired to lead back the army of Islām by way of the desert², to Sindh and Maṣūrah, out of Gujarāt, he directed that guides should be procured. A Hindū presented himself,

⁶ Nearly every copy agrees in the name Man-Yazīd [من یزید] “Yazid” is not meant. One copy has من یزید.

⁷ Sic in MSS, but I fancy the word “thousand” must have been left out. If not, Mahmūd did not set much value on his captive. See amount mentioned in note³, preceding page.

⁸ One of three chief idols of the pagans of Makkah was named Manāt.

⁹ Some fragments of idols might still have been seen lying near the entrance to the Sultān's tomb a few years ago, and probably they are still there.

¹ The first two lines are corrected from 'Abd ul-Kādir's MSS. The point of these lines lies principally on the play upon the terms in chess &c.

and offered to act as guide, and that sovereign, with the army of Islām, proceeded on his way. After the army had marched all night and next day and the time had come round for the troops to halt, although search was made for water none was any where to be found. The Sultān directed that the Hindū guide should be brought before him, and inquiries made from him. This was done, when the Hindū guide replied to the Sultān, saying I have devoted my life for the idol Somnāth, and I have led you and your army into this desert, in any part of which water is not to be found, in order that you may all perish. The Sultān commanded that the Hindū should be despatched to hell, and that the troops should halt and take up their quarters for the night. He then waited until night had set in after which he left the camp and proceeded to some distance from it, aside. Then, kneeling down, and with his forehead to the ground, he prayed devoutly and fervently unto the Most High for deliverance. After a watch³ of the night had passed a mysterious light appeared in the horizon and the Sultān gave orders for the troops to be put in motion and to follow him in the direction of the light. When the day broke, the Almighty God had conducted the army of Islām to a place where there was water and all the Musalmāns were delivered safely out of this impending danger.

The Almighty had endowed that ruler with great power of performing many miraculous and wondrous acts such as He has not bestowed since upon any other sovereign, nor such vast military resources, so large a number of troops, and unbounded wealth. Sultān Maḥmūd possessed two thousand five hundred elephants and his court was guarded by four thousand Turkish slave youths⁴ who on days of public audience, were stationed on the right and left of the throne, —two thousand of them with caps⁵ ornamented with four feathers, bearing golden maces, on the right hand and the

³ A period of three hours.

⁴ The words used are *قائم و راس* *Washāḥ* signifies a good-looking slave, and a beardless youth; and has sometimes been used to signify a slave-girl. As these youths attained unto man's estate and their beards began to grow they were attached to a separate corps, and placed occasionally under the command of rulers of provinces.

⁵ *Ḥ* signifying a Tartar cap, a sort of mitre or tiara made from leather or cloth or such like fabric, and covered with brocade or cloth of gold.

other two thousand, with caps adorned with two feathers, bearing silver maces, on the left

This monarch, by his manliness, his bravery and intrepidity, his wisdom and foresight, and his prudent counsels and wise measures, considerably extended the Muhammadan conquests in the east, and greatly increased the dominion of Islām in that quarter. The whole of 'Ajam⁶, Khurāsān and Khwārazm, Tabaristān, 'Irāk, the territory of Nīmroz, Fārs, the mountain districts of Ghūr⁷, Tukhār-istān—all came under the control of his officers. The Maliks, or rulers, of Turkistān paid him obedience and acknowledged his superiority⁸. He threw a bridge over the Jihūn, and marched his forces into Tūrān, and Kadr Khān had an interview with him, as had the Khāns of the Turks likewise, and the Khākāns of Turkistān came and presented themselves before him, and tendered him their allegiance⁹.

⁶ That Maḥmūd ruled "the whole" of 'Ajam, and Tabaristān, is an exaggeration. Not one word is mentioned, by other writers of any authority, as to his holding any part of Fārs, and in 'Irāk his sway was but partial over a portion

⁷ The only notice of this contained in Faṣīḥ-i, during the whole period of Maḥmūd's reign, is in the following words—"400 H Death of the son of Sūrī, Malīk of Ghūr, who was taken prisoner in an encounter fought by Sulṭān Maḥmūd, in Ghūr. He sucked poison from a ring he had, and destroyed himself. Some say it occurred in 401 H"

⁸ In the year 387 H, the same in which Sabuk-Tigīn died, and two years before Maḥmūd became ruler, Māmūn, son of Muhammad Al-Fariḡhūnī, the Wālī, or ruler, of Jurjānīah [also written Gurgānīah], of Khwārazm died, and was succeeded by his son 'Alī, and, in this same year, 'Alī was married to a daughter of Maḥmūd. 'Alī, however, died in 390 H, and was succeeded by his brother, Abū-l-'Abbās, son of Māmūn. He, in the following year, sent an envoy—supposed to be the authōr so much depended upon by Sir H Elliot, and others, for his geographical knowledge of India—Abū Rihān, Al-Bīrūnī, to Maḥmūd, asking permission to marry the lady, his brother's widow. This was sanctioned by Maḥmūd, and Abū-l-'Abbās married her.

⁹ In 396 H, Sulṭān Maḥmūd sent an envoy to Ī-lak Khān, the Turk, son of Bughrā Khān [for now the last of the Sāmānīs had been put to death, as already related], proposing that they should enter into an alliance, and that all the territory this side [on the left bank] of the Āmūīah [Ōvus] should belong to him, Maḥmūd, together with Khwārazm, and that all on the other side should appertain to Ī-lak Khān, and that they should not interfere with or molest each other's territories. Baihaḳī says, writing in 451 H, that Kadr Khān at that period was called Bughrā Khān. It was in this same year that Maḥmūd undertook the expedition into Hindūstān, against Bhīrā Rāe [also written Bajīrā in Faṣīḥ-i, Bīhrāe بحرایی—in Mirāt-i-Jahān numā, بحر—Bīhrā by Yahyā Khān in his History, and راجه بحرایی Rājah Bahārīe by

At their request, the son of Saljūk through whose activity, and boldness too the whole of the *Khakāns* of the Turks were reduced to a state of helplessness, was permitted to

Sanjan Rāc in his work. He was doubtless chief of the tribe of *Bilār*—, See also Elliot, APPENDIX to vol. II. pages 34 and 439, wherein great confusion appears to exist]. *Bilār* Rāc was slain, and the fortress of *Bhāṣāh* near [i.e. not far distant from] Multān was taken. After this, the Sultān returned to *Ghaznī*, but in the same year he undertook an expedition against the Wālī of Multān, Abū l-Fatḥ, who fled from that territory. Whilst Maḥmūd was absent in Hindūstān, in 397 H. I lak Khān broke the newly made treaty of alliance, and invaded *Khurāsān*. This made Maḥmūd return to *Ghaznī* to make arrangements for marching against him, for I lak Khān had penetrated as far as *Hirāt*, which he took; but, in the following year Maḥmūd encountered him at *Balkh*, and compelled him to retire. Khalaf, the late ruler of *Sijistān*, it was found, had been intriguing with him during Maḥmūd's absence, and had advised this invasion. On this account Khalaf was immured in the fortress of *Jumlek* of *Kūhistān*. In 401 H. Maḥmūd again advanced into Hindūstān against the fortress of *Bhīm* [also called *Bhīm nagar*], the chief of which was *Bhīm Narāyan*. There is no mention of any expedition under taken in that quarter in *Faṣṣḥ*, as contained in the *Jāmi' ut Tawarīkh*, against *Nārdīn*; but, in some works, an expedition against *Nandānah*, in 404 H. is mentioned. In 407 H. Maḥmūd's son-in-law Abū l-Abbās i Māmūn, Farīghūnī, ruler of *Jurjānshāh* of *Khwārazm*, was murdered by some of his troops. Maḥmūd went in person into *Khwārazm*, defeated the insurgents, and put *Nūl Tigin* [called *Alb-Tigin* by *Balḥāḥī*], the ringleader and the murderers, to the sword, reduced that territory under his sway and *Altūn Tāgh*, the great chamberlain, was entrusted with its government. I lak Khān had died in *Māwar un Nahr* in 403 H.; and in 408 H. Maḥmūd sought from her uncle, *Tughān Khān*, who had succeeded him, the hand of I lak's daughter in marriage for his son Maḥmūd, whom he nominated as his heir and successor. *Tughān Khān* himself died in the same year and was succeeded by his brother *Bughār Tigin*, entitled *Arslān Khān*. On that lady's arrival shortly after at *Balkh*, the capital was illuminated; and soon after Maḥmūd made over the government of *Khurāsān* to Maḥmūd, with *Hirāt* as the seat of government, having previously assembled the whole of his *Uṭṭa*, or tribe, together to take oath of fealty to his son. [According to *Balḥāḥī*, however this lady had been betrothed to Muḥammad, Maḥmūd's brother but the former having been immured in a fortress by the latter, when he ascended the throne, Muḥammad could not marry her and Maḥmūd did, with the consent of her brother but this was several years subsequent to the events above mentioned.]

After having disposed of these affairs, Maḥmūd had leisure again to turn his attention to Hindūstān; and I will here mention, as briefly as possible, his next expedition into that country because the narrative will greatly differ from the accounts of other writers. In the year 409 H. [see Elliot, vol. II. p. 460], Sultān Maḥmūd undertook another expedition against the infidels of Hind, and overcame *Hardab* [مرداب—the *Hardat* of *Abd-ul-Kādir i Dūdānī*, the *Hīrdat* of *Matharāh* of the *Jāmi' ut Tawarīkh*] in that region, at which place—[my authority so styles *Hardab*, but must mean his capital, *Matharāh*—] there were nearly a thousand palaces [مصر] of stone, and an idol-temple of such extent and size, that if a thousand times a thousand thousand *dinars* should be expended, and builders and workmen of the greatest

pass the Jihūn with all his kindred and dependents, and cross over into Khurāsān. The wisest and most sagacious men of that time considered the granting of this permission

activity and energy should be employed for two hundred years, they could not complete the like." Within this great temple were five idols of gold, five gaz or ell in height, and the eyes of one of them were formed of two rubies [Jāmi'-ut Tawārikh—"of a dark red colour"], which were valued at 50,000 *dir̄ārs* of gold. The eyes of another were formed of two sapphires, of the weight of four hundred *miskāls*! [600 *miskāls* = 1 *ser* = 1 lb 13 oz] the immense value of which could not be computed. From the lower extremities of one of the idols, pure gold of the weight of 4400 *miskāls* was obtained. Besides these great idols, there were two hundred others of silver, in the temple, the whole of which were broken up, and the temple itself was overthrown, and set on fire [Compare with Elliot, vol. II pp. 44, 45]. After this Kinnawj on the Gangi, and other places, were captured, the details of which events are too long for insertion here, but among them is mentioned Nārdīn, the fortress of "Brāmah" [perhaps the place called Bhāwan or Bahāwan by some authors] called Manj, Āstī, and other places. From the idol-temple of the first named, a stone tablet was brought, on which was written that the temple had been founded forty thousand years before. Jai pāl of Kinnawj fled across the Gangi, on the bank of which were ten thousand idol-temples in seven fortresses. At the capture of Āstī, Chand pāl Bhūd, the sovereign of that part, was slain. In 410 H. Mahmed again entered Hindūstān, "*and was engaged [detained] therein for a period of four years*" [چهار سال مکت وافع شد] during which time many conquests were made. In 411 H. Maḥmūd became greatly incensed against his brother Amīl Naṣr, who had been acting improperly and carelessly in his duty in command of his troops, being constantly engaged in wine bibbing and pleasure, and, by his conduct, causing relaxation in discipline, "for, when the forces were about to march, his followers were generally found to be in the bīzār, in need of present at their posts, and great excesses were committed by them." Maḥmūd sent Khwājah 'Amīd, Abū Naṣr-i Miṣhkān, Al-Zawzani, to him about this misconduct. Naṣr's reply was so becoming that Maḥmūd passed it over, at the same time saying to the Khwājah "My brother Naṣr is a very prudent and sagacious man." In 412 H., Tasdar نادر [Naro نرو] Jai pāl, ruler of Hind [see Elliot, vol. II, p. 12], was slain, and Bhīm-pāl, his son, succeeded.

a grave error in the Sulṭān's policy, for they perceived therein danger to the empire of his sons and descendants.

Sulṭān Maḥmūd entered Irāk and subdued that territory and purposed proceeding to the Court of Baghdād to pay his respects¹ but on the receipt of a mandate to the contrary from the Lord of the Faithful, he retired, and

that a portion of Māwar-un-Nahr should be held by Maḥmūd, and some be incorporated with Kadr Khān's dominions and a fresh treaty was written out upon these terms, and duly signed. On his way back, Maḥmūd granted an audience unto Isrā'īl, son of Beghū, son of Saljūk, son of Luḡmān, and brought him along with him. After a time Isrā'īl was immured within the fortress of Kāllinjar also called Talwārah, where he died. In 420 H. Maḥmūd slew [slain in battle with Maḥmūd] Majd-ud-Daulah, Bawlah, and acquired sway over Irāk [a portion], and overthrew that branch of the Buwlah dynasty and Irāk was added to the dominions previously conferred upon Mas'ūd. On Thursday the 14th of Rabī' us-sānī, 421 H. [A.D. 1030, about the middle of April], Sulṭān Maḥmūd died, and was buried in the Firdās Bāgh, or garden, of Ghāmīn, after he had reigned thirty-three years. Some say he died in 420 H.² These extracts were taken originally from the work entitled

Maḥmūd of the Amīd Abū Naṣr "written by the Amīd [أحمد—*not* Ahmad] Abū-l-Faṣl, Al-Baḥāḳī, so called from Baḥāḳ his birth place, a small town in Zīwulistān, also called Muḳjir

There are many materials for a complete history of this reign which, as regards India, is the most important one. Our author's account is, to use the words of Sir H. Elliot, 'too curt'; and I have been compelled to make these notes much longer than I liked. Another reason, for my comparative minuteness, was, that the accounts of this reign, in most authors, are confused and erroneous, particularly in writers of modern times. As in other cases, the classical writers, and the old geographers, referred to by Abū-l-Faṣl, appear to have led their votaries astray and the names of persons and places are as diverse and different as the authors and translators themselves. Elliot's work contains a large amount of most valuable materials, but the mode of arrangement tends rather to confuse, as I have previously pointed out. Names of persons and places have been introduced from modern translations of works, instead of from the originals, where possible. Who would think of appealing to Dow or the like for the correct reading of proper names? For example: In note at page 19, vol. II. wherein S. de Sacy is quoted, who says that Dow has Abistagi, and Subuktagi for *Alptekin* and *Schektigin*,³ his own blunder is far worse than Dow's, for neither of the words contains any gh in it. See note¹ page 58. In the extract from 'Uḫā, page 20, where mention is made of the fountain in one of the ravines of a very lofty mountain called the Ukba Ghadrak ['Uḫbah—*أوكبا*—means *a pass*], into which if any *gh* is thrown storms arise," which is quite correct, Dow in his *Hindustan*,⁴ page 27 interprets it, 'if a small quantity of a *certain drug* should be thrown,' &c. Reynolds, in his version of the Kitāb-l Yamīnī, has made terrible work of the proper names, which are written all sorts of ways. He has Simjournī, Sinjūr and Simjūr for *one* person Bastī and Bastī Muwīd-Addowlat and Muwayyad Addowlat, and the like, in scores of places.

¹ Not mentioned in other authors, and very doubtful.

returned to Ghaznīn, where he died at the age of sixty-one, after a reign of thirty-three years, in 421 H²

His sons were Muhammad, Naṣr, Mas'ūd, Sulīmān³, Ismā'il, 'Abd-ur-Raṣhīd, styled 'Izz-ud-Daulah, Amīr of Ghaznīn, and Ibrāhīm, which latter had a son named Sulīmān

III AMĪR MUHAMMAD⁴, SON OF MAḤMŪD

Jalāl-ud-Daulah wa-ud-Dīn⁵, Muhammad, was a learned and virtuous-minded prince, and they recite [upon his authority⁶] a great number of poems in the Arabic language

When his father, Sultān Maḥmūd, died, his brother, Mas'ūd, was in 'Irāk⁷, and the great nobles and chiefs of

² For the precise date of his decease, see note ², preceding page. Among the different coins struck in Maḥmūd's reign one bore the following inscription — "The right hand of the empire, Maḥmūd Sultān, son of Nāsir-ud Dīn, Sabuk Tiḡīn, Breaker of Idols" This coin appears to have been struck at Lāhor, in the seventh year of his reign. The following territories are said to have been included in his empire — Ghaznīn, Zābulistān, Khurāsān, Khwarāzm, Chaghānīān, Tabaristān, Sipahān [Iṣfahān], Kābul as far as Ḳinnauy [sic in MSS], the country around Kālinjar, Multān as far as Nahrwālah of Gujarāt, Somnāth, the territory lying on the sea coast of 'Ummān, Kusdār, Sind as far as Sīwastān bordering on Kirmān, Kij, and Makrān. His authority in a good many of these must have been *very* nominal.

³ In two MSS the name of Maḥmūd occurs in place of Sulīmān, but the latter seems to be correct

⁴ Most authors place Mas'ūd before his brother Muḥammad, and only consider the latter's reign to have commenced *after* Mas'ūd had been dethroned and imprisoned in 432 H

⁵ Other writers state that his title was Jalāl-ud-Daulah and Jalāl-ul-Millat. Guzīdah says 'Imād-ud-Daulah was his title. His coins have Jalāl-ud-Daulah, and Jamāl-ul-Millat

⁶ He was an authority with respect to the text of several Arabic poems. In poems like the Mu'allaqāt, for example, the texts furnished by various philologists differ considerably from each other. The original words are
اروى اشعار عربيت روايت بسيار كند

⁷ Mas'ūd was, of course, in 'Irāk, as he held the government of all the western parts of his father's empire. He appears to have been at Hamadān—but one author, at least, says at Iṣfahān—when his father's death took place. See note ⁹ at page 87. Immediately on the decease of Maḥmūd, the Hājib, 'Alī Khwheshāwand, who was a relative of the late Sultān, and the Hājib, Bak-Taghdī, who was commander of the Māmlūks of the palace, entered into a compact "that they would act in concert with, and do nothing contrary to each other, but act in harmony in whatever might occur, and carefully hold the *dargah* or palace until such time as one of the late Sultān's sons should ascend

the late Sulṭān's court, by mutual accord raised Sulṭān Muḥammad to the throne of Ghaznīn in the year 421 H. He was, however a man of mild and unaspiring temperament and possessed neither sufficient resolution of heart, nor decision of character, to govern the kingdom. A party who were favourably inclined towards Mas'ūd sent communications to him in Irāk* upon which he assembled the troops of Irāk and Khurāsān with the determination of proceeding to Ghaznīn and he marched from Irāk in that direction.

When the news of his coming and his intentions, reached Ghaznīn, Muḥammad caused his forces to be got in readiness, and set out with the purpose of resisting his brother, and Alī Kurbat* was the Hājib-i Buzurg [Great Chamberlain], and the commander of his army.

When the forces reached Tigin ābād information of the advance of Mas'ūd having reached the camp of Muḥammad,

the throne, when they would deliver it up, with the country [sic], into his hands." This compact was entered into by those officers, in the presence of, and with the advice, approval, and concurrence of the Amīr [sic] Alḥmad"] Abū Naṣr i Miḥlākin, the minister of the late Sulṭān.

* Faṣṭāḥī says, that in the same year 421 H. through the endeavours and efforts of the Hājib, Alī Khweshāwand, and Yūsuf, son of Sabuk Tigin, brother of the late Sulṭān, Muḥammad was confined within the walls of the citadel of Tigin-ābād, and they awaited the arrival of Sulṭān Mas'ūd. The Taṣḫīrat-ul-Mulūk calls the first mentioned person Alī, son of I yal-Armalān, a relative of the late Sulṭān Maḥmūd; and says that Muḥammad made his uncle [cousin?] Ya'qūb, son of Yūsuf, commander of his forces, and Khwājah Abū Saḥl [not

Suhal"], his minister but, that a strong party were inclined to his brother Mas'ūd. Accordingly Amīr Iyās, with the Ghulāms, or slaves—the regular troops or guards as they may be termed—combined to espouse his cause, entered the royal stables, mounted the best horses therein, and set out to join Mas'ūd, who was then at Isfahān. They joined him at Nīshāpūr on his advance towards Ghaznīn by way of Hīrūt. On this Muḥammad, with all his followers, set out towards Hīrūt in order to submit to his brother. Other writers differ greatly from our author on very good grounds, in their accounts of his reign. Mas'ūd is said to have written to his brother to say that he had no intention or desire to interfere with his sovereignty over the dominions—the eastern parts of the empire—left him by their father's will, but that it was absolutely necessary that his, Mas'ūd's, name should be first in the Khutbah. Muḥammad replied in a surly manner. Mas'ūd's partisans then seized Muḥammad, as above related and it is farther asserted that Muḥammad had not, as yet, been blinded by them, but that he was deprived of his sight by order of Mas'ūd.

* Alī Kurbat and Alī Khweshāwand refer to one and the same person. Kurbat signifies "kindred, affinity" and Khweshāwand, a kinsman, a relative." This is the Alī Karīb of Balḥāḥ.

they seized his person, deprived him of his sight, and placed him in confinement. After this act 'Alī Ḳurbat marched the troops towards Hirāt, in order to meet Sultān Mas'ūd, and, having arrived within one stage of that place, he proceeded to present himself before the Sultān. Mas'ūd gave orders to seize him, and Muhammad's whole army was plundered¹ and despoiled.

On this occasion his reign extended to a period of seven months. Subsequently, when Sultān Mas'ūd, the Martyr, became the victim of misfortune at Mārīgalah², Sultān Muhammad, although he had been deprived of his sight, was brought forth and placed upon the throne, and he brought the army from thence back towards Ghaznīn.

Sultān Mawdūd, the son of Mas'ūd, marched out of Ghaznīn³, with the determination to take revenge upon his uncle for his father's death, overthrew him in the battle [which ensued], and put to death his uncle Muhammad with all his offspring⁴. Muhammad, on the second occasion, exercised sovereignty for a period of four months. His martyrdom⁵ took place in the year 432 H, and his age was forty-five years.

¹ In Elliot's "HISTORY OF INDIA," edited by Professor Dowson of the Staff College, the latter is rather bitter [vol. II, pref. ix], against the *bad* translation of extracts from our author, made for Sir H. Elliot, for his work, and, in several places, cries out against this kind of assistance. I doubt very much, however, whether any "officer," with even a *practical* smattering of Persian or 'Urdū, would have translated *حمله لشکر او را عارت کردند*—"Ordered his whole force to be destroyed." *غارت کردن* does not mean "to destroy." Mr. Dowson also translates this passage *سلطان مسعود شهید در مارنگله صاحب واقع شد*—"When Mas'ūd was killed at Mārīkala," but, as in the case above, *صاحب واقع* does not mean "killed." His own words disprove his own translation, for, two pages farther on, comes the passage, "but in Mārīkala his Turkī and Hindī slaves revolted, took him prisoner," &c.

² See note 4 at page 95.

³ See note 2 at page 96.

⁴ The *Tazkīrat-ul-Mulūk* states that all were put to death by Mawdūd, except one son, 'Abd ur-Rahīm by name. "Amīr Mawdūd forbade that he should be injured, because he had been informed that, at the time of the murder of his father, Mas'ūd, one of 'Abd ur-Rahīm's brothers, out of insolence, had plucked the diadem which Mas'ūd wore from that gallant prince's head, but 'Abd ur-Rahīm took it from his brother, and replaced it on the brow of Mas'ūd again, and severely rebuked his brother for what he had done."

⁵ For particulars see reign of Mawdūd, and notes. His reign is said to have extended over a period of *nine* months. The word *شهید* signifying martyr, also means one who dies for a cause which he thinks just, and any Muhammadan killed in battle is so called.

His sons were Abd ur Raḥman Abd ur Raḥīm, and Aḥmad.

IV SULṬĀN NĀṢIR ŪD DĪN ULLAH⁶ MAS ŪD THE MARTYR.

Sulṭān Mas ūd the Martyr bore the title of Nāṣir ud Dīn U'llah, and his surname was Abū Maṣ ūd. His birth, and that of his brother Sulṭān Muḥammad, took place on the same day⁷ Sulṭān Mas ūd assumed the sovereignty in the year 422 H.⁸ He was generous and munificent to so great a degree that they called him a second *Khalīfah* 'Alī—may God reward him!—and in valour and prowess he was a second Rustam. No man could lift his mace⁹ with one hand from the ground, and no iron target used to stay his arrow¹ His father the Sulṭān, used to be envious of him, and constantly treated him with harshness and severity² to such degree that he preferred a request to the court of Baghdād, that the name and title of Muḥammad should have precedence in the *Khuṭbah* over those of his brother Mas ūd.

⁶ Other writers style him Nāṣir ud Daulah, and Nāṣir ud Dīn. The *Jāmi'* ut Tawārīkh gives him the title of Nāṣir-ud-dīn U'llah, wa Mu'ta-i *Khalīfah* U'llah; but Baihaqī, his biographer styles him Shihāb-ud Daulah, and Kutb-ul Millat Abī Sa'īd i Mas'ūd.

⁷ It does not follow that they were twins.

⁸ He ascended the throne of Ghaznī, at Hīrāt, on the 1st of Jamādī ul Awwal, 422 H. soon after which he gave orders to put the Hājib, Alī Khweshāwand, and his brother Mangīrāk, to death, and confiscated all their property. The *Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh* agrees in this statement, and adds farther that Alī Khweshāwand, the Hājib, had taken an active part in raising Muḥammad to the throne, and had subsequently acted perfidiously towards him.

⁹ Mr E. Thomas, in his numismatic *Chronicles of the Pathān kings of Delhi*, asserts [p. 79], with respect to a coin of the Turkish slave-king, I yal timish, that the mace is the *special* weapon of the great Mahmūd. The statement is erroneous, as shown in the text. The mace was, by no means, an uncommon weapon in those days. See also under reign of Sulṭān Tughril, son of Arsalān Shāh, last reign of Section XII.

¹ Mr Dowson translates this passage [in the original—و لیراد بر قیج دل آهی—]—“and even an elephant could not stand before him.” The word here used signifies a plate of iron placed on a post used for tilting at, and as a butt for arrows.

² Mas'ūd, on one occasion, when writing to his envoy in Turkistān, mentions his father's having once ordered him back from Hīrāt, when there as governor and sent him to Multān, where he was kept in durance, but that he was never considered in any other light than his father's heir.

Khwājah Abū Naṣr-i-Miṣhkān³ says "When the [Kha-līfah's] letters patent were being read out in the audience hall of Sultān Maḥmūd, a weight came over the hearts of the great nobles and chiefs, as well as my own, because the marks of majesty and nobility of mind were more prominently impressed upon the brow of Mas'ūd. When Sultān Mas'ūd came out from his father's presence, I, Abū Naṣr-i-Miṣhkān, went out after him, and I said 'O Prince, a heavy load has overcome the hearts of us, your servants, on account of the reversal of your august title in the mandate of the Khalīfah' Mas'ūd replied 'Do not you be grieved. Have you not heard that "the sword is a truer authority than any writing?"' and commanded me to go back again.

By the time that I returned to the audience-chamber informants had already, without loss of time, acquainted the Sultān of this obsequiousness of mine, and he summoned me before him. When I came into the presence of Sultān Maḥmūd, he demanded, saying, 'Wherefore didst thou go out after Mas'ūd, and what wast thou speaking about?' I related all that occurred without withholding any thing, for, had I concealed any thing, my life would have been in danger. The Sultān said 'I am aware that, in every respect, Mas'ūd excels Muhammad, and that after my time the sovereignty will fall into the possession of Mas'ūd', and I use so much ceremony now that this poor Muhammad may, during my lifetime, experience a little honour and

³ Mas'ūd, as soon as he assumed the sovereignty, appointed this same person—whose proper name is Khwājah-i-'Amīd, Abū Naṣr-i-Miṣhkān, Al-Zawzanī—his confidant and secretary, which was the same office as he had held under the late Sultān Maḥmūd, and Tāhīr, the Dabīr [secretary], who had previously held that office, was removed. In 423 H, Hasnak, who bore the title of Shaikh-ul-Khaṭīr [great, honourable, &c.], who had been Wazīr to Sultān Maḥmūd, and had also held the same office under Muhammad, was gibbeted by order of Mas'ūd, because he had been the most active in depriving him of the throne. He had, in all probability, influenced Maḥmūd in his harsh treatment of Mas'ūd. In 426 H Mas'ūd ordered Khwājah-i-Fāzil, Aḥmad, son of Ḥasan, Al-Maimandī [from his native place, Maimand, a small town of Ghaznīn], who had been long kept in prison by his late father, to be set at liberty, after which Mas'ūd made him his Wazīr. It was on this occasion that he drew up his celebrated Mūāṣafat, or stipulations on his duties, to be observed between his sovereign and himself, and which each of them swore to observe.

⁴ Our author does not appear to have known that Maḥmūd, his father, had declared Mas'ūd his heir, and made the whole of his *ulūs* or tribe swear allegiance to him in 408 H. See note ², p. 85.

gratification which, after I am gone, will not be left to him. The mercy of God be upon them!"

The Khawājah, Abū Naṣr i Miḥkān, says, "In this occurrence two things astonished me: one was the answer of Mas'ūd to me, spoken with such wisdom and discernment, and the second the greatness of mind and the perfect supervision of Maḥmūd, that such a trivial act of attachment could not escape him."

When Maḥmūd subdued Irāk he bestowed the throne of that territory upon Mas'ūd and, previous to that event, the city of Hirāt, and Khurāsān had been ruled in Mas'ūd's name⁶. When he ascended the throne of Ṣafahān⁷ he seized the territory of Rai Ḳazwīn and Hamadān, and the country of Ṭāram⁸ all which he conquered, and he likewise overcame the Dīlamān⁹. On several occasions he donned robes of honour conferred upon him by the Court of the Khālifs. After the decease of his father Maḥmūd he came to Ghaznīn and took the government of his father's dominions into his own hands. Several times he led armies into Hindūstān¹⁰ and carried on holy wars as by law enjoined. On another occasion¹ he marched into Ṭabaristān

⁶ See note ⁵ p. 85.

⁷ Ṣafahān or Ṣafahān.

⁸ Ṭāram is in Lār or Lāristān, a province of Persia.

⁹ Mas'ūd, in 424 H., wrested Kirmān from the Buwīsh dynasty who had long since declined; and sent Aḥmad, son of Aḥī, son of Nūḥ Tighī, thither as governor. This, however, could have been temporary only for in 433 H., after Mas'ūd's death Ḳarī Arsalān Beg, son of Jaghar Beg, wrested Kirmān out of the hands of Bahrām, son of Aḥī, the governor on the part of the Dīlamah sovereign, Abū Kālīnjār, son of Sulṭān-ud Daulah, son of Bāḥī-ud Daulah, son of Iz-ud Daulah, son of Rukn-ud Daulah. See note ⁷ to page 66. After this, eleven princes of the race of Saljūq reigned in Kirmān.

¹⁰ In the year 772 H., Sulṭān Fīrūz, Tughlāk, was encamped near a place named Zafar-ābād, on his return from Bangāl. This was before he gave orders to found Jūnpūr [vul. Jounpoor]. At this place were the ruins of several idol-temples, destroyed by Sulṭān Mas'ūd, the Victorious, during one of his campaigns in Hindūstān. A fort there still retains [i. e. when the author from whom the extract is taken, wrote] the name of Karār koṭ, from Karār Bīr a demon killed by Rājā Rām Chānd, in the Tretā Yug. If it had not been stated that Mas'ūd destroyed these temples, I should be inclined to think this must refer to Mas'ūd-i Karīm, only he sent his Ḥājib, and did not make a campaign in India in person, that I am aware of. Balḥāḳī mentions nothing more than the expedition against Hānsī, in his work. Our author does not mention his authority for the statement that Mas'ūd led armies into India upon several occasions.

¹ Not twice."

and Māzandarān, and, at the end of his reign, the Saljūks rose against him². On three several occasions he overthrew them in battle within the confines of Marw and Sarakhs, but, in the end, since it was the Divine will that the country of Khurāsān should pass unto the race of Saljūk, he encountered them in battle in Dāe-kān [Tāl-kān]³, and for

² Isrā'īl-i-Beghū, son of Sulīmān, son of Saljūk, who had been immured within the walls of the fortress of Kālnjar, died there in 426 H. In the same year, Jaghar Beg, or Jagharī Beg, as he is also called [جغرى بك]—a name which most oriental writers, and all English writers but one, have, most erroneously, supposed to be “Ja’far” Beg—son of Abū Sulīmān-i-Dāūd, son of Mikā'il, son of Saljūk, son of Luqmān, rose, and took up his quarters at Marw. In the following year, Mas'ūd made all those persons who had received grants or presents from his brother, Muḥammad, refund them. This was done quite against the urgent remonstrances of his Wazīr. The sum produced is said to have amounted to eighty times a thousand thousand of *dirans*. In 429 H., Tughril Beg, son of Mikā'il, son of Saljūk, assumed sovereignty at Nīshāpūr, and from that date their dynasty commenced.

³ This battle was fought in 431 H., but some writers differ as to 430, 431, and 432 H. The scene of the encounter is said to have been “the desert tract between Marw and Sarakhs, three marches from the former, near the fort of Dāndankād of Marw,” which name is sometimes written Dāndankān, Dīdankān, and in other ways. It occurs, with a slight variation, in the Masālik wa Mamālik in one place, but it is correctly called Tāl-kān in another, and also occurs in Ibn Haukal, in Baihaqī, Yāfa'i, Guzidah, Jāmi'-ut-Tawārikh, Lubbut Tawārikh, and the works of some other writers who copy from them, the only difference in writing the words being داندانگان—داندانگان—دادانگان—دادانگان—and the like. It is the “Dandanehan” of Abū'l-Fidā [Geo. Reiske, p. 345], who describes it as a small town of Khurāsān celebrated for its cotton manufactures.

These names are however mere errors for Tāl-kān, which famous place, and Tāe-kān of Tukhārīstān, are commonly mistaken the one for the other, as done by our author in the text above, or rather some scribe for him, because, at page 46, and other places, and in the last Section, the name is correctly given, and also an account of the siege of Naṣīr Koh of Tāl-kān by the Chingiz Khān. In carelessly written MSS, scribes make very little difference between the letter *z* [here] without the points, and *l*—thus *ل* and *ز*. The way in which the error of Dāe-kān arose can thus be accounted for. Some early scribe read the letter *l*—*z*—as the two letters *د*—*dā*—and the *l* was mistaken for *z* [here]. The other words mentioned above evidently arose in the same way, through some scribe, writing carelessly or quickly, prefixing two letters—*د*—one without points, which was subsequently read by some for *z*—and by others for *l*—or through writing *dā*—the first syllable of *داندان*—twice over, or putting one letter before the other.

Mr. Dowson [Elliot's INDIA, Vol. II, page 273], who appears to have implicitly followed the printed text, has “Tālikān.” This incorrect name, sometimes varied to “Tālikhān,” is generally applied by European writers to Tāe-kān of Tukhārīstān, without being aware of the existence of Tāl-kān of Khurāsān, or at least, without being aware of the difference between the names of the two places.

three successive days he assailed and struggled with them, and on the third day which was Friday the Sultān was defeated, and retreated to Ghaznīn by the way of Gharjistān.

Through the great dread which had now overcome him he collected his treasures together and came towards Hindūstān and at Mārīgalah⁴ his Turkish and Hindū slaves revolted against him, seized his person, and [again] set up his brother Muḥammad upon the throne, and sent Mas'ūd to the fortress of Gīrl⁵, and in 432 H. he was martyred⁶. His age was forty five years and the period of his reign was nine years, and a little over. His sons were Maudūd Majdūd⁷, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, Izīd yār Farrukh-zād Shujā Mardān Shāh, and 'Alī

V SHIHĀB-UD-DAULAH, MAUDŪD SON OF MAS'ŪD

Shihāb ud Daulah Abū Sa d i Maudūd⁸ son of Nāṣir ud-dīn U'llah, Mas'ūd when the tidings of his father's murder reached him⁹, ascended the throne of his father's dominions.

⁴ A pass, in ancient times somewhat difficult, situated between Rāwal Pindī and Attak, a few miles east of Ḥasan Abdāl. The hills around used to be infested with robbers, who generally chose this pass for attacking travellers and caravans of traders, hence the name "Mārī-galah. The emperor Akbar had a good road carried through the pass for about two miles. I have noticed it in my paper—Diary of a March with the Bombay Column of the Army of the Panjāb,"—contained in the Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society for 1850-51.

⁵ Balhāḥī writes it Gīrl [کری] and others write it Gīrl [کری] and Gīrl [کری].

⁶ He was not murdered until the 11th of Jamādī ul Awwal of the following year 433 H., at which time, his nephew Aḥmad, son of the blind Muḥammad, pretending it was his father's command, put Mas'ūd to death, after a reign of a few days over eleven years, not nine as our author states, because he ascended the throne on the 1st of Jamādī ul Awwal, 422 H. and was murdered in the very same month of the year 433 H. but he had certainly been in confinement since the previous year. Muḥammad is said to have lamented this act, and greatly reproached the murderers.

⁷ Appointed governor of the territory east of the Indus, with his headquarters at Lāhor in Zī Rā dah, 427 H. Balhāḥī mentions two others, but merely gives the title of one—Amīr-i-Sa'īd—to whom Mas'ūd was much attached, and whom he proposed to make his heir but he died at Ghaznīn in 429 H. The other was named Abd-ur Razāḳ.

⁸ Styled by some authors Shihāb-ud Daulah, and Kūṭb-ul Millat, Abd ul-Faiṣ-i Maudūd, and Maudūd-i-Ghāzī. According to Balhāḥī, Mas'ūd's title was Shihāb-ud Daulah and Kūṭb-ul-Millat.

⁹ Maudūd was at Balh, when the tidings of his father's imprisonment and murder reached him. He set out for Ghaznīn without delay. See note⁸ p. 96.

At the period that Sultān Mas'ūd was about to proceed into Hindūstān, he had established Maudūd as his lieutenant over the territory of Ghaznīn, and its dependencies. Maudūd assumed the throne in 432 H, and assembled an army, in order to revenge his father, and commenced his march towards Hindūstān¹

Sultān Muhammad, son of Mahmūd, who was Maudūd's uncle, had been brought forth from his place of confinement, by the rebellious retinue [of Mas'ūd], and had been raised to the throne by them, who, with their loins girded, stood before him [to do his behests]. The great nobles of Hindūstān submitted to him, and the Turkish slaves of Mahmūd and of Mas'ūd, who had acted so perfidiously and with such hostility towards the latter, all had gone over to Muhammad, and espoused his cause. After he had been made sovereign by them four months, an encounter took place between Maudūd and his uncle, and, by the will of the Most High, the victory was bestowed upon Maudūd, within the limits of Nagrahār [Nangrahār²], and Muham-

¹ Guzīdah differs in the account of this affair. "When hostilities arose between Mas'ūd, and the Saljūks, and Mas'ūd had been defeated, he had to retreat to Ghaznīn. He then determined to retire into Hindūstān [which in nearly every case should be understood to mean the Panjāb, except in the case of occasional expeditions beyond]. After Mas'ūd had passed the Jīlam [جیلام] his troops mutined against him, and carried away the blind Muhammad from him, after which they placed a throne upon the back of an elephant, and seated Muhammad thereon. They then conducted him through the whole army, and Mas'ūd was seized and brought before his sightless brother." The Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, while confirming this, with the exception of mentioning the Ab-i-Sind, instead of the Jīlam, adds that Muhammad gave up the direction of the affairs of government to his son, Ahmad, and that Muhammad only imprisoned his brother Mas'ūd, but Ahmad directed that he should be put to death. This statement is confirmed by most other historians. Mas'ūd's object in proceeding into India, or rather his territory on the Indus and in the Panjāb, was to raise a fresh army in order to take vengeance upon the Saljūks.

² Maudūd, on hearing of his father's murder, advanced with his troops towards Ghaznīn to secure the capital, and Muhammad, who was on the confines of Sind [i. e. on the Indus, in the Sind Sāgar Do āb], also hastened towards Ghaznīn for a similar purpose. Every copy of the work I have seen has the name Nagrahār as plainly written as it is possible to write, yet Mr Dowson translates it by the impossible name of "*Takarhdrid*," and makes the error worse, by adding, in a note [Elliot, vol. II p. 274]—"or 'Bakrahā,' perhaps Bakhrāla [Firishṭa's text says 'Depūr,' not 'Duntoor,' as in Briggs' translation]." Why "*Bakhrāla*" is fixed upon thus at hap-hazard, it would be highly interesting to know. Was it because there is a place east of the Mārgalah Pass called باقره—Bak-rālah, which happened to be not far off

ad was taken prisoner together with his children and dependents. Sultān Maudūd wreaked vengeance upon him for his father's fall and the murderers of his father, both Turk and Tāzik, he put to death, and thereby gained fame and great distinction. Whoever were implicated in the shedding of his father's blood the whole of them he put to death.

He returned again to Ghaznīn, and took possession of the different parts of his father's dominions. He reigned for a period of nine years and died, and his age was thirty nine years²

His sons were Maṣṣūr Muḥammad, and Maḥmūd, and the latter had a son named Sūlmān.

VI. ALĪ, SON OF MAS'ŪD AND MUḤAMMAD SON OF MAUDŪD IN ASSOCIATION⁴

These two princes, uncle and nephew were raised to the

towards the Jihām [چہلم] ? Which is the most natural—one force marching from Ghaznīn, and another marching towards it from the Mīrgalah Pass—that they should meet about half way or at Bak rālah? A glance at a map would show at once where those places lie. Maudūd founded a Bāzār or emporium, at the place where he gained this victory which Rashīd calls Dīnār and named it Faṭḥ-ābād, which, in the advance to Kābul, in 1842, was occupied by the troops under the command of Gen. Sir R. Sale, G. C. B. The name has been incorrectly spelt, as usual, Futtehabad. Maudūd gained this battle 434 H.

² Our author has omitted to mention some of the chief events of his reign, as well as the date of his death. Both Guzdah and Faṣḥ-i, as well as several other writers, state that Maudūd died in the month of Rajab, 441 H. of colic, when on his way to meet Jaghar Beg, his father's old foe, whose daughter he had married. The capital of Jaghar Beg, at this time, was Marw.

⁴ A very unlikely arrangement, to say the least of it. Our author here, is at variance with all works of undoubted authority. Yāfā'i, Faṣḥ-i the Nisām-ut Tawārīkh of Balgawī, Guzdah, Jahān-Arā, Lubb-ut Tawārīkh, Fanākaṭī, and several others state, generally that on the death of Maudūd, his son Mas'ūd, in accordance with his father's will, was raised to the throne, and that his mother the daughter of Jaghar Beg, Saljūki, began to administer the government in his name, he being a child of three years of age. After he had been one month on the throne—some say ten days—with his mother's consent and approbation, the great nobles and grandees, by mutual agreement, set the child aside, and raised his uncle, Bahā-ud Dīn, Alī, to the throne. No writer that I am acquainted with says one word about two rulers in joint occupation of the throne, except our author who also makes a great blunder in calling Maudūd's infant son, Mas'ūd, by the name of Muḥammad. A very good reason is given in Guzdah for the child's being set aside. Bahā ud Daulah, Alī, married his brother Maudūd's widow on which she, probably did not much mind her infant son being set aside for her new husband.

throne by the Turks and the chief men of the kingdom. Each and every person took possession of some office or other. As the two princes possessed neither capacity nor ability, and neither authority nor control, the utmost disorder and detriment continued to arise in the affairs of the country, the condition of the soldiery, and of the people in general. After two months⁶ they raised Sultān 'Abd-ur-Rashīd to the throne, and sent the two princes back to a fortress again.

VII 'ABD-UR-RASHĪD, SON OF MAHMŪD

Sultān 'Izz-ud-Daulah-i-'Abd-ur-Rashīd ascended the throne in 441 H.⁶ He was an enlightened and intelligent man, and was a depository of the oral traditions, which he was wont to narrate⁷, but he did not possess much strength of mind or intrepidity.

Seeing the repeated and successive changes and revolutions in the sovereignty, the Saljūks on the side of Khurāsān coveted the throne of Ghaznīn⁸. The sovereignty of

⁵ Fanākatī and Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī say 'Alī reigned two years, after which, on 'Abd-ur-Rashīd rebelling, he fled from Ghaznīn. Guzīdah agrees as to the number of years that 'Alī reigned, but says that his reign terminated in 443 H., and calls 'Abd-ur-Rashīd *his uncle*.

⁶ Under the events of the year 443 H., Fasiḥ-i notices—"a battle between Majd-ud-Daulah, Abū Maṣṣūr-i-'Abd-ur-Rashīd, son of Maḥmūd-i-Ghāzī, and Bāhā-ud-Daulah, 'Alī, son of Maṣ'ūd, and the overthrow of 'Alī after a reign, at Ghaznīn, of one year, and the accession of Majd-ud-Daulah before mentioned." Other authors also call him Majd-ud-Daulah. Yāfā'i says that 'Abd-ur-Rashīd, who had for years been imprisoned in a fortress, escaped, raised forces, overthrew 'Alī, and ascended the throne.

⁷ Translated by Mr. Dowson—"used to listen to chronicles and write his *story*!" The original is احار سماع داشت و روايت كردى.

⁸ A much more probable cause is given for the advance of the Saljūks in other histories, which is as follows—"After 'Abd-ur-Rashīd had reigned one year, the daughter of Jaghar Beg, in order to revenge the loss of her second husband, 'Alī, brought an army of Saljūks against him." It is farther stated that among the slaves of the Maḥmūdī dynasty was one named Tughrl, who was Amīr-ul-Umrā, who went and joined the Saljūks, conspired with them, fought a battle against 'Abd-ur-Rashīd, and took him prisoner. The daughter of Jaghar Beg, widow of Maḥmūd and 'Alī, made 'Abd-ur-Rashīd over to Tughrl, and returned herself to Khurāsān. Tughrl imprisoned him in a fortress in the district of Maidān [near Kābul]. 'Abd-ur-Rashīd was of such weak intellect that on one occasion, when Tughrl was playing at Changān there, 'Abd-ur-Rashīd came forth to see the sport, and applauded Tughrl. After a time 'Abd-ur-Rashīd was put to death, at which period nine of the

Khurāsān had passed to Dā'ūd, and Alb-Arsalān his son, having become the commander of his forces they determined to advance against Ghaznīn. Alb-Arsalān entered [the country] by way of Tukhārīstān, with a numerous army, and his father Dā'ūd, advanced upon Bust, by way of Sīstān.

Sulṭān Abd ur Rashīd caused his forces to be got ready and made Tughrīl, who was one of the slaves of Maḥmūd, and a man of consummate valour general over them, and sent him against Alb-Arsalān. In front of the *darah*¹ of Khūmār he inflicted a defeat upon Alb-Arsalān and from thence pushed on towards Bust, and arrived there with the utmost expedition. When he came up with Dā'ūd the latter retired before him, and Tughrīl pursued him into Sīstān, and overthrew Beghū the uncle of Dā'ūd.

Tughrīl having gained two or three such like successes, returned to Ghaznīn, seized Sulṭān Abd ur Rashīd and put him to death, after which he ascended the throne himself.

Abd ur Rashīd's reign was two years and a half, and his age was thirty years¹

VIII. TUGHRIL, AL-MAL'ŪN OR THE EXECRATED²

Tughrīl was one of Maḥmūd's slaves, and was endowed

grandsons of Maḥmūd were still living. Yāsa'ī states that Abd-ur Rashīd reigned nearly seven years, and died 450 H. No mention of Tughrīl is made; and the author passes immediately on to Ibrāhīm, without any notice of Farukh shāh; but that work only contains a brief notice of the Ghaznawī rulers after Mas'ūd the Martyr. The Taṣkīrat-ul Mulūk states that he reigned four years. Faṣḥ-i states, and the Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh agrees, that Abd ur Rashīd succeeded in 443 H. was *imprisoned* in 444 H. by Tughrīl, who was put to death the same year and that Farukh shāh succeeded but makes no mention of Abd-ur Rashīd's death. Faṣīḥ says he died 450 H., and then makes a sudden jump from Abd-ur Rashīd to Sulṭān Ibrāhīm. Balṭawī, in the Niḡām-ut Tawārīkh, makes no mention of Tughrīl or the reign of Farukh shāh, and says that Abd-ur Rashīd reigned seven years, and died in 445 H. and yet states that his successor Ibrāhīm, reigned from 450 H. to 492 H.

¹ A "Darrah" signifies a valley between two hills, through which a stream flows, and a pass between two mountains.

² Abd-ur Rashīd was present with his brother Mas'ūd at the battle of Dandānkūd, or Dāc-ḡhān.

Authors of any authority do not give Tughrīl a place among the sovereigns, because he was an usurper of forty days.

with great intrepidity and valour. During the reign of Sultān Maudūd, he left Ghaznīn, and went into Khurāsān, and entered the service of the Saljūks. He remained there for a considerable time, and made himself acquainted with their mode of warfare, and returned to Ghaznīn again in the reign of 'Abd-ur-Rashīd. He seized 'Abd-ur-Rashīd, and slew him, along with eleven other princes, and usurped the throne of Ghaznīn, and reigned over the country for a period of forty days, during which he practised great injustice and tyranny.

They inquired of him, saying "Whence didst thou acquire ambition to reign?" He replied "At the time that 'Abd-ur-Rashīd was sending me forth to do battle against Alb-Arsalān and Dā'ūd, and was giving me my instructions, and had placed his hand in mine³, terror had overcome him to that degree, that I could hear his very bones rattling from the state of trembling he was in. I knew that this pusillanimous man was incapable of sovereignty, and the ambition of reigning entered my heart."

After forty days of his rule had expired, a Turk named Nūsh-Tigīn, a Silāh-dār, or armour-bearer, who happened to be standing behind Tughrīl, entered into an agreement with another, his friend, and they slew Tughrīl upon the throne itself, after which they brought out his head, and fixed it upon a pole, and had it paraded round the city, so that the people became free from anxiety and care⁴.

IX FARRUKH-ZĀD, SON OF MAS'ŪD⁵

At the time that Almighty God brought down upon Tughrīl the just reward of his crimes, and delivered the

³ The mode of making a compact—giving one's right hand

⁴ After Tughrīl had put all the princes he could lay his hands on to death, he compelled a daughter of the late Sultān Mas'ūd to become his wife. Soon after he made a great entertainment, when a number of champions, filled with loyalty to the Mahmūdī dynasty, attacked him, and cut him to pieces.

⁵ Guzīdah, Faṣīḥ-i, and Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, strange to say, call Farrukh zād son of 'Abd-ur-Rashīd. His title was Jamāl-ud-Daulah, but, in the Muntakh ab-ut-Tawārīkh, he is styled 'Imād-ud-Daulah, son of Mas'ūd. Baiḥrī, in commencing one of the chapters of his work, states that he "began it in Zi Hijjah, 450 H, in the reign of the Sultān-i Muazzam, Abū Shujā'-i Farrukh zād."

people from his unbearable tyranny and unlimited oppression, two⁶ princes of the Masūdī family remained alive immured within the fortress of Bar ghund⁷—one Ibrāhīm, the other Farrukh zād

The accursed Tughril had despatched a party to that fortress for the purpose of putting them to death, but the seneschal, who was stationed therein had taken one day to consider the matter and had kept the party in question without the gates, under the agreement that they should be admitted on the following day to carry out that wicked mandate. Suddenly carrier pigeons⁸ arrived there, bearing the news of Tughril the Accursed having been killed

After that execrable [man] was slain at Ghaznīn by the hand of Nūsh Tigin, the chief men of the empire, and the Maliks, and Hājibs, sought for a sovereign. It was found that two princes still remained, immured within the walls of the fortress of Bar ghund so all of them set out towards that fortress, and desired to raise Ibrāhīm to the throne but his august frame had become overpowered by infirmity and as delay was impossible, they brought forth Farrukh zād, and congratulated him on his accession to the sovereignty on Saturday the 9th of the month Zīl Kādah 344 H.

Sulṭān Farrukh zād was a man of mild and amiable disposition and just As soon as he ascended the throne, he

⁶ Gurdah says three—Ibrāhīm, Farrukh zād, and Shujā

⁷ The same fortress is mentioned in Balhākī Gurdah says Ghünd [غند]. Bar [ر] in the Afghān language signifies on, upon, &c. and ghund [غند] round, "circular" and the like, as a mound, a bluff, a detached hill," &c. A few copies have Bus-Ghund.

⁸ Every copy of the work collated has [with two exceptions, which have برمان] the word برمان signifying birds, &c. as plainly written as it is possible to write; but in the printed text برمان has been substituted, and Mr Dawson, of course, follows the printed text. That carrier pigeons, or rather doves, were in use long before, for transmitting news speedily see note⁹ at p 37 When the Crusaders under Godfrey were passing through the narrow defiles of Judea, a white dove, with a letter tied under its wing, from one Muslimīn Amīr to his superior gave information to the Crusaders of the foe's designs. This was but a short time previous to Farrukh zād's reign. Salāh-ud Dīn, subsequently to this, also established pigeon posts¹⁰ for the conveyance of news; and, in the latter part of A.D. 1179, when defeated by the Crusaders under Baldwin IV the Count of Tripoli, the Grand Master of the Hospitalers, and the Templars, near Jerusalem, a victory was proclaimed at Cairo [Kāhīrah], and pigeons spread the triumphant news over Egypt, to quiet the spirits of the public," by Salāh-ud Dīn's desire.

remitted the revenue of the territory of Zāwulistān, which had become ruined through [the levying of] heavy contributions in taxes and supplies², so that it became prosperous again¹. He brought under his control the frontier provinces of the empire, and governed his people with benevolence. He reigned seven years², when, suddenly, he was carried off by colic³, in the year 451 H., at the age of thirty-four years⁴.

X. SULTĀN IBRĀHĪM, SAYYID-US-SALĀṬĪN⁵

Sultān Zahīr-ud-Daulah, Naṣīr-ul-Millat, Razzī-ud-Dīn,

¹ The original text is عوارض و موات — *Awāriz-wa-mūnāt* [not “mūtān”] which Mr Dowson renders—“*disease and murrain*,” and adds, in a note—“*Awāriz-o-mūnāt*. The former words [sic] mean literally diseases, but it [sic] is also used for those diseases of the body politic, extraordinary imposts.” Does “*mūnāt*” also mean “*murrain*” in the body politic?

² The *Taḏkirat-ul-Mulūk* mentions that, soon after the accession of Farrukh-zād, the Saljūks advanced towards Ghaznīn in great force, and were encountered by Farrukh-zād and his forces. The Saljūks were defeated and numbers slain, and some made prisoners. Subsequently, Alb-Arsalān advanced against Ghaznīn, fought a battle, and gained a victory, in which most of the Maḥmūdī chiefs were made captive, and carried away into Khurāsān. At last an accommodation was come to, and some of the captives were set free.

³ Farrukh-zād, according to Guzīdah, reigned six years, in which several other authors agree, but the former gives the year 450 H., as that of his death, and says he bequeathed his sovereignty to his cousin, Ibrāhīm. Faṣīḥ-i agrees in this, and also as to the year, but states that he reigned seven years, which is apparently correct, he having ascended the throne in the eleventh month of the year 443 H., and died in 450 H. According to Baihaqī, just quoted, we find he was alive in the last month of 450 H., but, as he died suddenly, he might have died in that same month. The *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, however, says he began to reign Saturday, 9th of Zī-Ḳa'dah, 444 H., and died, in Ṣafar, 451 H. Yāfa'i agrees with Faṣīḥ-i, and states that Ibrāhīm succeeded in 450 H. In the latter part of the year preceding Farrukh-zād's death, Alb-Arsalān, who had succeeded his father, Jaghar Beg, over the territory of Khurāsān, ousted his great uncle, Beghū, from Hirāt, and had the *Khutbah* read there for himself.

⁴ The word used for colic is قولج and described as a pain in the bowels and in the side, but I suspect it must be some type of cholera or inflammation, as it seems to have carried off several of this dynasty.

⁵ Among the Wazīrs or Ministers of Farrukh-zād was Khwājah Abū Bīkr 1-Ṣāliḥ, who had previously held the government of Hindūstān. Among the celebrated personages who died during his reign was Abū-Najm-1-Iyāz, Uī māḳ or Ī-māḳ, the slave of Sultān Maḥmūd, famous under the name of Iyāz. He died in the month of Rabī'ul-Awwal, 449 H.

⁶ Sayyid here means “lord,” “prince,” “chief of,” &c. His correct title, as given by most authors, is Zahīr-ud-Daulah, Abū Muḡaffar-1-Ibrāhīm. The

Ibrāhīm, son of Masūd the Martyr was a great and illustrious monarch, learned and accomplished just and God fearing, benevolent and compassionate, the friend of the learned and supporter of religion.

After Farrukh zād had ascended the throne, Ibrāhīm had been removed from the fortress of Bar ghund to the fortress of Nāe⁶, and, when Farrukh zād died all hearts decided upon the sovereignty of Ibrāhīm. The Sarhang⁷, Ḥasan proceeded to his presence, and, accompanied by the chief persons in the state, conducted him from the fortress, and, on a Monday at an auspicious conjunction of the planets in the high vault above, he ascended the throne. The day after he performed the customary mourning ceremonies for the Amīr i Hamīd—the Laudable Amīr—Farrukh-zād, his brother and paid a visit to his tomb and to the tombs of his ancestors and all the great nobles, ministers and most distinguished personages accompanied him on foot, for he did not show [particular] favour or familiarity towards any person soever and, on this account awe of his authority was implanted in the hearts of all people⁸.

When the intelligence of his accession to the throne reached Dāūd, the Saljūq⁹, he sent an embassy into Khurāsān, and entered into a treaty of peace with him. After Dāūd [died] his son Alb-Arsalān, continued to abide by it and Ibrāhīm brought under his entire control the

other titles, given by our author are not mentioned by other writers. He was abstemious and continent, and renowned for his tact and excellent judgment. He wrote a beautiful hand and every year sent a copy of the Kur'ān, written by himself, to Makkah, with other valuable offerings. Gurīdah says the Saljūqī monarchs used to style him "father," and, when they addressed a communication to him, used to write his titles at the top of it.

This fortress was situated in the district of Wajhrisān.

⁷ The meaning assigned to this word generally is— A comamary a serjeant, a commander a superior officer " &c. but, in the Burhān-i-Ḥīqī¹⁰ and other works of authority in these matters, it seems, more correctly an officer who marched in front of the troops bearing the standard—equivalent to the Italian *gonfalonier*.

⁸ Mr. Dowson translates this: He bestowed no favours upon any one, and hence *apprehensions about his rule took possession of the hearts of the people.*" The original is بدین سبب حیاتی از سلطنت او مردل خان متکبر شد.

⁹ Dāūd died, according to most authorities, in Rajab, 451 H. though one says it took place in 452 H. and another in 453 H. Faṣḥ-i says, In the year succeeding that in which Ibrāhīm ascended the throne, Jaghar Beg died. At all events he died a considerable time before Tughril, his brother

dominions of his ancestors¹ The troubles and disorders which had fallen upon that empire, through the vicissitudes of the times, and continual warfare, were all, during his reign, remedied and rectified, and the affairs of the empire of the great Mahmūd assumed fresh vigour The ruinous places in the country were again repaired and restored, and he founded several towns², such as Jatr-ābād (?) Khair-ābād, Aḥmin-ābād, and others in different parts

During his reign many astonishing and uncommon occurrences took place, and Dā'ūd, the Saljūk, whose ravages, inroads, conflicts, and conquests might vie with the flashing lightning, died

The birth of Ibrāhīm took place in the year of the conquest of Gurgān, in 424 H, in the province of Hīrāt, and that monarch had forty daughters and thirty-six sons All the daughters were given in marriage to illustrious Sayyids, and dignified 'Ulamā³, and one of those princesses was married to the great-great-grandfather of [the author] Mīn-hāj-i-Sarāj, and this was the cause of the removal of the writer's ancestors from Jūrjān Imām 'Abd-ul-Khālīk, Jūrjānī, who lies asleep within the Sarāe of Tāhīr-ābād of Ghaznīn, saw in a dream, whilst dwelling in Jūrjān, in his youthful years, that an angel said unto him in the vision "Arise, and proceed to Ghaznīn, and seek a wife" When he awoke, he imagined that this dream might have been prompted by the devil, but, having dreamt the same dream three times successively, as therein commanded, he came to Ghaznīn, and one of those daughters was bestowed in marriage upon him⁴ That princess bore him a son, whom he named

¹ This is not correct, because the Saljūks held a very considerable portion of them

² In Elliot's INDIA, vol II p 277, this passage is translated—"Several fortified places and towns were founded," &c, but *kasbah* does not mean fortified places, and, even were "kaṣr" read for it by mistake, it would not mean "fortified places" All authors agree that Ibrāhīm, during his reign, founded naught but masjids, colleges, buildings for the accommodation of travellers, and works of public utility, and that he built *nothing* for himself

³ Here Sayyid is the title of the chiefs of the family of Muḥammad, descended from 'Alī, and his daughter Fāṭimah 'Ulamā signifies the learned—theologians, ecclesiastics, doctors of law Mr Dowson translates the sentence, "nobles or learned men of repute"

⁴ Our author is so much taken up with his ancestor's grand alliance that he leaves out most of the principal events of the reign of Ibrāhīm After he

Ibrāhīm — Maulānā, Minhāj ud Dīn Uṣmān : Ibrāhīm — upon whom be the mercy of the Almighty! He was the father of Maulānā Minhāj ud Dīn, who was the father of Maulānā Sarāj ud Dīn Ujūbah uz zamān [the Wonder of his Age!] and he was the father of [the author] Minhāj i Sarāj

Sulṭān Ibrāhīm was a monarch of felicitous and prosperous career and his reign extended over a period of forty two years, and his age [at his death] was sixty years. He died in the year 492 H.¹

His sons were Maḥmūd² Is-hāk, Yūsuf Naṣr Alī Bihzād Khūrshēd Malik³ Khūb-ḥīhr Azād Malik Malik-Chīhr⁴ Tughān Shāh, Azād Mīhr Daulat Shāh Azād-Chīhr Amīr Shāh, Nih Fīrūzah⁵ Tahamtan Shāh Turān Shāh, Malik Zād Malik Dād Shams-ul Mulk, Malik Sher Sher Malik, Mas'ūd Irān Malik Kaihān Shāh

arranged matters with the Saljūqs, by marrying his son, Mas'ūd, to a Saljūq princess, daughter of Malik Shāh, and sister of Sulṭān Sanjar and had no cause for farther anxiety respecting them, he carried his arms into Hind upon several occasions, and reduced many strongholds, and other places, among which is said to have been a populous city inhabited by Khurāsānīs, whose ancestors had been expelled from their native country by Afrāsiyāh. There was a large ḥawz, or reservoir there, said to have been half a league in diameter 100,000 persons were made captive, and taken away to Ghaznīn, and booty in proportion, was captured. During the reign of Ibrāhīm, in 470 H. Abū-Faṣl i Muḥammad, son of Husain [not Hasain], Al Balhaktī who had been secretary in the "Dīwān-i Inshā," of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sabuk Tigin, but, as the Deputy of the Khwājah-i Amīd, Abū Naṣr i Mīshkān, Al Zawwānī, and a pupil and disciple of that great man, died. Abū-i Faṣl was the author of the work entitled the "Maḥamāt-ul Amīd i Abū Naṣr-i Mīshkān," and the "Tārīkh i Āl-i-Sabuk Tigin," in twelve books or volumes, [called by our author the "Tārīkh i Nāṣirī," entitled "Tārīkh-i Yamīnī" The first portion of the work, containing the reigns of Sabuk Tigin and Maḥmūd does not exist, and appears to have been lost for some centuries.

¹ On the 5th of the month of Shawwāl. One author says in Rajab, but gives no date. Faṣḥ i mentions the taking of Jerusalem by the Christians [August 15th, but some say 15th July A.D. 1099] in this same year and the slaughter of 80,000 Mussalmān. The year 492 H. began 27th of November, A.D. 1098.

In 471 H. S. Iḡān Ibrāhīm was apprized that his son, Salf ud Daulah, Maḥmūd, meditated flying to Sulṭān Malik Shāh, the Saljūq, and accordingly confined him within the citadel of Ghaznīn, and his partisans were sent to other fortresses.

² One MS. has Munawwar Shāh.

³ Malik Mīhr

⁴ So in two MSS but doubtful. The whole number forty I expect the text should be, He had forty sons and thirty-six daughters."

Jahān Shāh, Fīrūz Shāh, Mīān Shāh, Yaghān¹ Shāh, Turkān Shāh, Arsalān Shāh, Tughrīl Shāh, Kutlugh Shāh, Muayyid Shāh, Sultān Shāh, Malik Shāh, Khusrau Shāh, Farrukh Shāh, and Bahrām Shāh

XI 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN² MAS'ŪD, AL-KARĪM, OR THE BENEFICENT,
SON OF IBRĀHĪM

Mas'ūd, son of Ibrāhīm, who bore the title of Karīm, or the Beneficent, was a monarch of excellent disposition [and temperament], blessed with many virtues, just and equitable, and of auspicious reign

He ascended the throne during the Khilāfat of the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Mustazhar B'illah [Abū-l-'Abbās], i-Ahmad, son of Al-Muktadī³ Bī-amr-ullah. He was endowed with humility and beneficence to an extraordinary degree, and he suppressed all the oppressive usages which, before his time, had been established. The contingent taxes, which were exorbitant, he abolished throughout the Mahmūdī dominions and in Zāwulistān, and likewise remitted all tolls and imposts throughout the whole empire

All the great chiefs and nobles and grandees of the country were left in undisturbed possession of the [offices and possessions] which they had held during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm⁴, and he adopted the most beneficial regulations for the government of his dominions. Amīr 'Uzd-ud-Daulah wa ud-Dīn⁵ was continued in the government of Hindūstān

¹ Tughān, in one copy

² The proper title of this monarch appears to be 'Alā-ud-Daulah

³ Every copy of the work [and the printed text also], with one exception, perpetrates the great blunder of calling this Khālīfah "son of Muktadī," instead of Muktadī. In Section IV, on the Khālīfahs, our author gives the correct name.

Under the occurrences of the year 493 H, Faṣīḥ-ī mentions an important matter, from which it would appear that the chiefs of Ghūr were not, at the time in question, such great or powerful personages as Minhāj i Sarāj would lead us to believe. It says "Husam, son of Sām, by command of 'Alā ud Daulah, Mas'ūd, son of Ibrāhīm, obtained the government of Ghūr." I shall have more remarks to offer on this subject when I reach Section XVII

⁴ Mr Dowson renders this passage in the following manner "He restored to the princes, nobles, and grandees, their possessions," &c. They must have been *dispossessed* of them in order to have them *restored*, but برقراری ملکدست does not happen to mean "*restored*"

⁵ From the word "Amīr" I should imagine this personage must have been either a brother or uncle of Mas'ūd's

[as before] and, during Mas'ūd's reign the Hājib-i Buzarg [Great Chamberlain] died, and the Hājib Tughā Tigīn crossed the river Gang in order to carry on holy war in Hindūstān and penetrated to a place where, except Sultān Maḥmūd, no one had reached so far with an army before.

During the sovereignty of Mas'ūd all the affairs of the state were conducted with perfect order and regularity and no heart had any cause of care from any quarter. He was born at Ghaznī in 453 H., reigned seventeen years, and died in 509 H., at the age of fifty seven. The sister of Sultān Sanjar Saljūqī, who was styled the Maḥd-i Irāk⁶ [or the Irākī spouse], was wedded to him.

His sons were Bahā ud Dīn, Muḥammad, who had a son named Khaṭīr ud Dīn, Muḥammad Sherzād⁷ Malik Arsalān Farrukh zād, who had three sons, Alī, Irān Malik and Shah zād Alī Bahrām Shāh Malik Chūhr Malik zād Maḥmūd Sultān Malik, who had three sons, Arsalān Malik, Al Ḥasan, and Mīr Nuk and Jamshēd Malik, who had two sons, Khūrshēd and Tūrān Malik.

XII. MALIK ARSALĀN SON OF MAS'ŪD

Malik Arsalān-i Abd ul Mulūk⁸ son of Sultān Mas'ūd ascended the throne in the year 509 H. at Garmsīr itself⁹,

⁶ In Elliot's INDIA, vol. II. p. 278, "Maḥd-i Irāk" is translated "Cradle of Irāk." One of the meanings of *maḥd* [ماحد] is certainly a *cradle*, and also a seat for the back of an elephant or camel; but another is *making a bed*, and here *maḥd* has the metaphorical meaning of a wife, hence the meaning is the Irākī wife. Balḥakī, in his History makes constant use of the word in this sense.

⁷ Our author, like some others, has left out one sovereign. Faṣīḥ-i says that Alī ud Daulah, Mas'ūd, son of Ibrāhīm, died in 508 H. after a reign of sixteen years and that he was succeeded by KAMĀL-UD DAULAH, SHER ZĀD his son, in the same year; and in the following year Sherzād died, after reigning about one year when Arsalān Shāh succeeded. Gurdāh confirms this succession of Kamāl-ud Daulah, Sherzād, but says that he succeeded to the throne according to his father's will, and ruled for about a year when his brother Arsalān Shāh, rose against him, and put him to death, in 509 H. Other writers of authority likewise confirm the accession of Sherzād, who was the second son of Mas'ūd, while Arsalān was the third. Yāsa'ī and Fanākatī also state that Mas'ūd reigned sixteen years, and Balḥawī confirms it.

⁸ His correct title is Sultān ud Daulah, Arsalān Shāh, son of Mas'ūd, son of Ibrāhīm; and, according to the Tārīkh-i Yāsa'ī he succeeded to the throne in accordance with his father's will. Some call him Abū-l Mulūk.

⁹ The original is مرخود کرمسر. The passage is translated in Elliot's INDIA, vol. II. p. 278, thus: "Malik Arsalān Abū-l malik [sic] ascended the throne

and assumed the sovereignty of the empire of Ghaznīn Bahrām Shāh, his brother¹, fled from him, and proceeded into Khurāsān, to the court of Sultān Sanjar

During the reign of Malīk Arsalān some remarkable events occurred, one of which was that fire, accompanied by a thunderbolt, fell from the heavens, so that by that fire all the bāzārs of Ghaznīn were consumed² Other untoward events and occurrences likewise took place during his sovereignty, so that people held his rule in detestation³ He was possessed of great nobility of mind, energy, courage, and valour

When he came to the throne he treated his step-mother⁴, who was [styled] Mahd-i-'Irāk, with indignity⁵, and on that

A H 509 [A D 1115], and brought Garmsīr and the kingdom of Ghaznī under his rule" I wonder what throne he ascended if it was not that of the kingdom of Ghaznīn?

¹ Some copies say "his uncle," but this is an error, for Bahrām was his brother, as the names of the sons of Mas'ūd confirm

² The I H L MS, No 1952, and R A S MS are both very defective with regard to this reign In those copies Bahrām is said to be *uncle* of Arsalān, and in the sentence referring to the destruction of the bāzārs of Ghaznīn they have the word دق—people—which is totally meaningless

³ These matters are not alluded to in the works I have been quoting, and seem to have been taken from our author by more modern writers

⁴ ادرسی means a step-mother

⁵ He is said to have requested her to dance before him, for his amusement This may have been one reason why Sultān Sanjar took up the insult to his sister, and the cause of his nephew, Bahrām When Arsalān came to the throne, he imprisoned the whole of his brothers except Bahrām, who succeeded in reaching his uncle's court. Fanākātī makes a mistake in this matter He says Sanjar was the son of Bahrām's maternal uncle, but, as Mas'ūd, Bahrām's father, married the daughter of Malīk Shāh, she was Sanjar's sister [as our author also states], he being Malīk Shāh's son According to Guzīdah, Faṣīḥ ī, and others, in 509 H, Sultān Sanjar, finding Arsalān Shāh deaf to all the expostulations which he had made in behalf of Bahrām, set out along with the latter for Ghaznīn, attended by a numerous army Arsalān came forth to meet them with 30,000 horse, but, after an obstinate engagement, was defeated and retired to Lāhor Having placed Bahrām on the throne, and fixed a yearly tribute, Sanjar returned to his own dominions, but, in the same year [509 H], Arsalān returned with an army, and defeated Bahrām, who again took shelter in Sanjar's dominions It was only in the following year that Sanjar became sole monarch of the Saljūqs, after the death of his brother Muḥammad, and had only a few months before acquired sway over 'Irāk and Khurāsān, his dominions before that having been but a portion of the latter territory It was only in 511 H, that Bahrām, having obtained the aid of an army from his uncle, who did not accompany him the second time, was able to move against his brother Arsalān again In the encounter which ensued, Arsalān was taken captive, and thrown into confinement Bahrām's reign really commenced in

account Sanjar became his foe and gave assistance to Bahrām Shāh. Sanjar came against Ghaznīn and Malik Arsalān fought a battle with him and was defeated and retired towards Hindūstān where he fell into misery and wretchedness. He died * in the year 511 H after a reign of two years, at the age of thirty five years.

XIII MU IZZ-UD-DAULAH WA UD DIN ' BAHRĀM SHĀH

Mu izz ud Daulah Bahrām Shāh was a person of handsome exterior manly munificent just, and the sustainer and protector of his subjects. At the outset of his career when Malik Arsalān ascended the throne, after the decease of their father Sulṭān Mas ud the Beneficent Bahrām Shāh proceeded into Khurāsān the throne of which country was adorned by the great and inestimable sovereign the august[†] the martyr Sulṭān Sanjar and Bahrām Shāh resided at his court for a considerable time. Sulṭān Sanjar led an army towards Ghaznīn and Malik Arsalān after an engagement, was defeated and Bahrām Shāh ascended the throne. Sanjar treated him with great honour and Sayyid Hasan a celebrated poet of Ghaznīn recited this ode [on that occasion] in the Audience Hall, in the presence of Sulṭān Sanjar on whom be the mercy and the pardon of the Almighty ! One quatrain[‡] of the ode in question is here inserted —

Of the eloquent of the world what is the strain,
That shall ever on earth be proclaimed?—
A hoot emanated from the seven heavens,
That Bahrām Shāh is of the universe king

511 H. In the following year Arsalān was released, but, being again found plotting, was put to death.

* At Shāh al-Bīd in Shawwāl, 511 H

† Faṣīḥ[§] states that his title was Yamīn-ud Daulah, in which Gurfīdah and other writers agree but there are others also, but chiefly modern authors, who agree with the title in the text.

The word Sa'īd—august—is not a proper name here. As Sanjar died a natural death it is difficult to conceive how he was a martyr

‡ It is the commencement of the poem. As Bahrām was a patron of learning and literature, a number of authors flourished in his reign, and numerous works, both poetry and prose, were written. The celebrated work, known as *Kalīlah and Damnah*, was translated from the Arabic [كَلِيلُ دَمْنَاهُ] into Persian by Naṣr-ullah, son of Muḥammad, son of Abd ul Majīd, [called Ḥamīd by Eastwick], in his reign, and was dedicated to Bahrām Shāh. Subsequently the same work was translated in the reign of Sulṭān Husām, of the race of Taimūr by Mullā Hasan-i-Wāṭiṣ ul Kāshifī, and entitled *Anwār-i-Suhafī*

Sultān Sanjar returned to Khurāsān again, and Bahrām Shāh assumed the government of the country¹ He carried on holy wars in the direction of Hindūstān, and, on the 28th of Ramazān, in the year 512 H, he took Muhammad Bahlīm prisoner, and put him into confinement, but at last released him, and made over the whole of Hindūstān to him Again he rebelled, and founded the fortress of Nāghawr, in the territory of Siwālīkh, in the neighbourhood of Bīrah, and he had likewise numerous sons and followers and dependents Bahrām Shāh, with the determination of extirpating him, advanced into Hindūstān against his stronghold, and Bahlīm² moved forward towards the confines of Multān, and fought an engagement with Bahrām Shāh The Almighty rewarded Muhammad Bahlīm for his base ingratitude, and he, with his ten sons³, together with their horses and arms, on the day of the battle, sank in a morass⁴, so that no trace of him and them remained

Bahrām Shāh returned to Ghaznīn again, and between him and the Malīks, or chiefs of Ghūr, hostilities arose, and an engagement took place between them, in which Daulat Shāh, a son of Bahrām, was slain⁵ During that one campaign Bahrām Shāh sustained three defeats from Sultān

¹ One of Bahrām's coins struck at Lāhor in 548 H, contained in a work on the subject, bears the following inscription Obverse—"Coin of the Dār us-Sultānāt-i-Lāhor, in the fifth year of his prosperous and happy reign" Reverse—"A proclamation issued from the seven heavens, that Bahrām Shāh is of the universe king' Anno 514." This inscription, it will be noticed, constitutes the two last lines of the quatrain given by our author, who, in another place, states that the coin of Bahrām was stamped in Sanjar's name See under his reign, next Section

² Two MSS have حلم and حلم in place of باهر but either of them is a strange name for a Musalmān

³ A few copies have "two" sons, but, as he is said before to have had "numerous" sons, ten is the more probable number

⁴ Mr Dowson, Elliot's INDIA, vol II p 280, says, with reference to the passage, "The text has some *unintelligible* words, which vary in different MSS," and then quotes "Briggs" The words are برسی or برسی and are quite plain and intelligible برسی which is also sometimes written برسی signifies a ditch, a marsh, a place where water stagnates, and برسی is the

Alā ud Dīn Ghūrī, and Ghaznīn fell into the hands of the Ghūrīāns. They set fire to it, and destroyed the whole [?] city Bahrām Shāh retired into Hindūstān at this time, but, on the withdrawal of the Ghūrī forces, he returned to Ghaznīn again, and there died after a reign of forty-one years.*

His sons were Jalāl ud-Daulah, Daulat Shāh slain in battle with the Ghūrīāns Alā ud Daulah, Dā'ūd' Shāh, Bahā ud Daulah Sultān Shāh, Fakhr ud Daulah, Alī Shāh Izz ud Daulah Muḥammad Shāh Samā ud Daulah, Mas'ūd Shāh Shihāb-ud Daulah, Manṣūr Shāh Mu'ayyan ud Daulah Shāhan Shāh, Mu'izz ud Daulah, Khusrau Shāh, and Sayyid ud Daulah Farrukh Shāh.

XIV KHUSRAU SHĀH, SÓN OF BAHRĀM SHĀH.

Sultān Mu'ayyan-ud Daulah wa ud Dīn* but according to some statements, Tāj ud Daulah Khusrau Shāh ascended the throne in the year 552 H.

As the Malīks and Sultāns* of Ghūr had shaken the empire of the house of Maḥmūd to its very foundations, and had wrested Ghaznīn, Bust, Zamīn i Dāwar and Tigin' ābād out of their hands, and had ravaged and desolated them, feebleness had come upon its government, and its glory and splendour had passed away. When Khusrau Shāh ascended the throne he was weak and powerless and was unable to maintain his rule over the country.

A horde of the tribe of Ghuzz†, who had acquired dominion and power in Khurāsān in the reign of the august Sultān Sanjar who had now passed away‡ marched an army against Ghaznīn. Khusrau Shāh was unable to resist

* Great discrepancy exists with respect to the dates of Bahrām Shāh's death, and the accession and death of his son Khusrau Shāh, and also of Khusrau Malik, the last of the dynasty. For farther notice of this, see note next page.

† In one copy Zāwul Shāh.

‡ In a few copies he is styled Yamīn-ud Daulah only; but the title above agrees with the statements of several other authors.

§ That is, who were Malīks and also Sultāns from the text.

¶ Some lexicographers spell the word Ghuzz, and some Ghuz.

‡ Sultān Sanjar died on the 16th of Rabi' ul-awwal, 552 H. but a few writers say in 553 H. The former is correct.

them, and he accordingly retired into Hindūstān³, and Ghaznīn was lost to him, and fell into the hands of the Ghuzz. They retained possession of that territory for a period of twelve years, until the august Sultān, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn Muhammad, Sām, led an army from Ghūr to Ghaznīn, overthrew Burāk⁴, the Ghuzz chief, retook Ghaznīn, and established [his brother] Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Muhammad, Sām, the martyr, upon the Ghaznīn throne. Khusrau Shāh had retired to Lahor, of Hindūstān. His reign extended to a period of seven years, after which he died⁵.

³ The *Tazkīrat ul-Mulūk* contains a very good account of the reign of Khusrau Shāh, which I here make an extract from. "He succeeded his father, and as 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Hasan, Ghūrī, was in full march upon Ghaznīn, he, being unable to resist him with hopes of success, retired into Hindūstān [here signifying the Panjāb] and took up his residence at Lāhor. He turned his attention to the government of the western portion of his father's dominions, which were now left to him, but, when 'Alā-ud-Dīn retired, after the plunder of Ghaznīn, Khusrau Shāh returned to Ghaznīn, and again took up his quarters there. Soon after, when the Ghuzz tribe took Sultān Sanjar, his great uncle, captive, and were advancing towards Ghaznīn, Khusrau Shāh, who, probably, while Sultān Sanjar was in power, might have expected aid from him in some shape or other, now that he was a prisoner, was totally unable to resist them, and he again retired to Lāhor, and died there in 555 H, after reigning eight years."

• ⁴ In one copy *Turāk*.

⁵ Great discrepancy prevails among authors respecting the latter part of Bahrām Shāh's reign, and the reigns of Khusrau Shāh, and Khusrau Malik, which I will notice as briefly as possible.

The first events noticed in *Faṣīḥ ī*, under the year 523 H, are, "the return of Bahrām Shāh to Ghaznīn, his encountering Saif-ud-dīn, Ghūrī, and the capture of the latter." He was placed upon a bullock—not "*a cow*"—and paraded through the streets of that city, and afterwards put to death. 'Alā ud-Dīn, his brother, determined to revenge him, and marched towards Ghaznīn with a numerous army, but Bahrām died before his arrival, in that same year [523 H]. An account of the plunder of the city, and massacre of the people then follows, and it is farther stated therein, that 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jahān-soz, made over the sovereignty of Ghaznīn to his nephews, the brothers Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz ud-Dīn, and that "Khusrau Shāh, who succeeded his father, Bahrām, was inveigled by them, *that same year*, and immured within the citadel of Ghaznīn, and the dynasty of the race of Maḥmūd, son of Sabuk-Tigīn, ended"—that is, terminated over the Ghaznīn territory.

Yāfa'ī, Kāzī Baizawī, Guzīdah, *Tārīkh-i-Alfī*, and some others agree with the above statement, except as to the year of Bahrām's death, and the termination of the dynasty. These four works also mention 'Alā ud-Dīn as the *first* of the Malik's—here, doubtless, signifying *independent rulers*—of Ghūr, and they, correctly, it appears to me, account those previous to him to have been mere subordinate chieftains, for, if we consider the small extent of territory they could only have possibly possessed, their statements are to be relied upon.

His sons were Mahmūd, Khusrau Malik, and Kai Khusrau.

Guzdāh says Bahrām died in 544 H. after a reign of thirty-two years, while Fanākatī asserts that he reigned twenty years, and died in 532 H. The Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, which is generally most particular and correct as regards dates, agrees with Guzdāh as to the year but confirms the statement of Yāsaʿī Fa īh-ī and the Niḡām-ut Tawārīkh, as to Khusrau Shāh having reigned but *one* year after which the tribe of Ghuzz came against Ghaznīn, and he, being unable to cope with them, retired into Hind, and took up his residence at Lāhor where he died in 545 H. The Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh however adds, that, in the Ratrat ut-Ṣafī, the year 555 H. is given. Guzdāh also says this event occurred in 555 H. and in this Kāṣī Baiḡawī agrees. Among more modern works, the Taṣḫīrat ul Mulūk and Tārīkh i Aḡlī state that Bahrām died in 547 H. after reigning thirty five years, and Khusrau Shāh in 555 H. and in this the Tabakāt i Akbarī, Budāʿunī, and Firīhtāh, and other modern writers agree.

Our author states that Bahrām ascended the throne in 511 H. and died in 552 H. after a reign of forty-one years; and that Khusrau Shāh his son succeeded, and reigned seven years, but does not give the date of his decease but, by his statement, it would have been in 559 H., after which date his son, Khusrau Malik, succeeded. Their coins, mentioned farther on tend to show the contrary.

As to Alī ud Dīn's making over the government of Ghaznīn to his nephews, there is not so much discrepancy in the earlier writers, with the exception of our author who expressly states that they were detained within the walls of a fortress by him and were only set at liberty by his son and successor as mentioned in Section XVII which see. This was the year after Salī ud Dīn's death, who, according to Faṣīḥ-ī, was slain in a battle with the Ghuzz near Balkh, in which same year his nephew Ghiyāṡ-ud Dīn, succeeded him, and inflicted a defeat upon the Ghuzz, with considerable slaughter and imposed tribute on them.

After Khusrau Shāh comes his son Khusrau Malik, or Malik Khusrau, as he is also styled. Yāsaʿī, Baiḡawī, Guzdāh, and Fanākatī say the dynasty terminated with Khusrau Shāh, and make no mention of his son, as his successor. Perhaps they considered him as ruler of the Panjāb only. The Taṣḫīrat ul Mulūk states that Khusrau Malik succeeded his father as ruler of the Panjāb in 555 H. and was put to death in 583 H. after reigning twenty eight years, while the Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, which agrees in the date of his accession, says that he was immured in a fortress in Gharjūstān in 583 H., and in 588 H. was murdered along with his son Bahrām Shāh, and the whole of the remainder of the Ghamawī family then left. Ramṣat ut-Ṣafī, Habīb-us-Sayr, Firīhtāh, and others say this occurred in 582 H. and Budāʿunī, who merely gives this ruler a place because the author of the Tabakāt i Akbarī does so, as he remarks, says 583 H. Our author states that the Ghūrīs first appeared before Lāhor in 577 H. and gained possession of it in 583 H. thus agreeing with some of the above statements, but mentions the year 598 H. as the year in which Khusrau Malik and all his family were murdered.

Faṣīḥ-ī mentions the Ghūrīs as powerful in Ghaznīn and Hind in 566 H. that Ghiyāṡ-ud Dīn took that capital from the Ghuzz tribe [What an excellent opportunity this would be, to the comparative or rather *superlative* philologist, to have derived the name of Ghaznīn from the Ghuzz tribe.] in 569 H. and made it over to his brother Muʿizz, as Wāḡ. After referring to

XV KHUSRAU MALIK, SON OF KHUSRAU SHĪĀH, THE LAST OF THE MAHMŪDĪ DYNASTY

Tāj-ud-Daulah, Sultān-i-Ḥalīm, or the Mild Sultān, Khusrau Malik, ascended the throne at Lahor

He was a monarch of excessive mildness and beneficence, unassuming, and endowed with many good qualities, but addicted to pleasure. As he came at the close of the sovereignty of his family, no prepossessing memento of him has survived, and the sovereignty of that dynasty terminated in him. Anarchy and disorder at last showed itself in the affairs of his government, and all the Amīrs and lesser officials of the country, both the Turks and the free-born [natives], all became too powerful for him to deal with, and the servants of the state and governors of provinces and districts exercised independent power, whilst their sovereign abandoned himself wholly to pleasure

the defeat, by him, of a horde of the Sanḡarān, a sept of the Ghuzz tribe [not "*a mountain*" or "*a town*"] in 571 H, and his expedition against Nahr-wālah in 575 H, the same work states, under the occurrences of the year 581 H — "In this year an engagement took place between Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Muḡammad, son of Sām, son of Husain, son of Sām, the Wālī of Ghaznī, and Khusrau Malik, at Lohor, in Hind. Khusrau was taken captive by stratagem, and the Sipāh sālār, 'Alī Karmākḡh, who was Wālī of Multān, previously, was left at Lohor as Wālī, but some writers say this took place in 582 H "

In Mr Thomas's paper on the Ghaznī Coins there is, unfortunately, no notice of the last two monarchs of the house of Sabuk-Tigīn, and there are no coins of theirs, or the dates above referred to might have been tested, but a work I have by me supplies some information on the subject, and confirms the statements of Faḡh-i, and the older writers. A coin of Khusrau Shāh's therein noticed, contains the following inscription, which I translate literally — Obverse—"Struck in the city of Lohor, in the universe, with magnificence and grandeur, the great Bādshāh Khusrau Shāh "

Reverse—"Struck in the city of Lohor, A. H. 552, the first of his reign "

Another coin of his son, Khusrau Malik, also struck in the Panjāb, contains the following inscription —

Obverse—"Zahīr-ud Daulah wa ud-Dīn, Sultān Khusrau Malik "

Reverse—"Struck in the city of Lohor, A. H. 555, the first of the reign "

All writers agree as to the deceitful and treacherous conduct of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, towards Khusrau Malik. After he had inveigled that unfortunate prince by his oaths and promises, he broke them, and sent him and the whole of the family then remaining to his brother Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, to be immured in a fortress in Ghūr. Subsequently, when these very pious and model Sultāns, as our author considers them, found those unfortunates in the way, they massacred the whole of them

Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn Muḥammad, Sām used to advance every year from Ghaznīn, and to possess himself of portions of Hind and Sīnd, until in the year 577 H., when he appeared before the gate of Lahor and extorted a son and an elephant from Khusrāu Malik and then retired. Thus matters went on until the year 583 H. when he brought an army against Lahor and reduced it. Khusrāu Malik was induced under the faith of a treaty to come out upon which he was taken and sent off to Ghaznīn and from thence was removed to the capital Firūz koh which was the seat of government of the elder Sulṭān Ghuyāṣ-ud Dīn Muḥammad Sām. That sovereign gave orders that Khusrāu Malik should be immured within the fortress of Balarwān⁶ in Ghazjistān.

When the affair⁷ of Sulṭān Shāh occurred in Khurāsān and the two Sulṭāns turned their attention to that important enterprize, they put Sulṭān Khusrāu Malik to death in the year 598 H., and the latter's son Bahrām Shāh who was confined within the fortress of Saifrūd of Ghūr was also murdered and the dominion and dynasty of Nāṣir ud Dīn Sabuk Tigin, became obliterated, and the sovereignty of Irān the throne of Hindūstān and the territory of Khurāsān came under the sway of the Malik and Sulṭans of the house of Shānsabānī.

Khusrāu Malik's sons were Bahrām Shāh Maḥmūd Shāh, Jahān Shāh Mas'ūd Shāh Malik Shāh and Khusrāu Shāh.

⁶ In the greater number of places where this name occurs in the different MSS. بلراو is given; but it is also written Balarwān, Badwān, and in various other ways. Saifrūd is also written Sanḡarān in some copies. See note to Mu'izz ud Dīn's reign, Section XIX.

⁷ See under Section XVII.

SECTION XII

THE DYNASTY OF THE SALJŪKĪAH

THE author of the *Tārīkh-i-Sānī*¹, who was Ibn Ḥaṣṣam, has thus related that when the victorious Sultān, Maḥmūd-i-Sabuk-Tigīn, crossed the Jihūn, and the territory of Māwar-un-Nahr was left clear in his hands, Kadr Khān, who was the brother of the late Ī-lak [Khān], and of the Afrāsiyābī dynasty, entered into negotiation with the Sultān. Between the two potentates treaties of alliance and amity were entered into, and confirmed and cemented, and an interview took place between them².

After Kadr Khān had been received by the Sultān, the latter commanded, after the public reception, that the privy apartment should be cleared, and they held private conference together, and consulted confidentially on all the affairs of Irān and Tūrān. Kadr Khān preferred many requests to the Sultān, one of which was that he would remove the son of Saljūk³, the Turkmān, with his followers

¹ At Section VII page 11, the author calls the work *Kaṣaṣ i-Sānī*, but the signification is the same. See also note ³, page 56.

² This interview took place in 419 H. They entered into a treaty of friendship and alliance, the principal stipulation in which was, that a portion of Māwar-un-Nahr should remain in the possession of the Sultān, and that some should belong to Kadr Khān, who is styled Bādshāh of Māwar-un-Nahr. The Khwājah i 'Amīd, Abū Naṣr i Miṣḥkān, Al-Zawzanī, relates that at that time the forces along with Sultān Maḥmūd were so numerous, that no monarch had ever so many under his standard before.

³ With respect to the Saljūks and their rise to power, Oriental historians differ considerably, but space will not permit my noticing their discrepancies, except very briefly. Several authors altogether deny that Sultān Maḥmūd suffered the Saljūks to enter Khurāsān, and assigned them lands therein—among whom is the author of the *Rauzat-us Safā*—and contend that the two brothers, Dā'ūd-i-Jaghār Beg and Tughril Beg [but our author states they were altogether separate from those under Yagh-mū or Yagh-mūr, still his statement is so confused as to be scarcely reliable], with their dependents did not cross the Jihūn into Khurāsān, until the reign of Mas'ūd, when they appropriated Nisā and Abīward, but, at the same time, sent to tender their allegiance to that monarch. See note ³, p. 120. In the *Tārīkh* of Abū l 'Alā i-Aḥwāl, or the "Squinter,"

and dependents, from the country of Māwar un Nahr and Turkistān into Khurāsān. These followers and dependents

Saljūk is said to have been a descendant of Afrāsiyāh, and had four sons—Iṣṭāḥ, Mīkā'il, Mūsā i Beghū [i.e. son of Beghū], and Yūnas. The Jāmi' at Tawārikh says he had *five* and that the name of the fourth son was Yūṣaf and the fifth Yūnas. Finding the lands they occupied too circumscribed, they were compelled, in 375 H. to leave their native pastures in Turkistān—one author says the Dasht-i Khurz—and entered Māwar un Nahr and took up their quarters in the Nūr of Dukhārā, and the Sugd of Samrḳand, making the former their winter and the latter their summer quarters. Maḥmūd, according to the "Squinter" was on friendly terms with them [see under his reign] and Iṣṭā'il came and waited upon him, when that monarch entered Māwar-un-Nahr and was treated with great distinction. This was the occasion when Iṣṭā'il told the Sulṭān the effect which the sending of his two arrows and his bow would have, so well known as not to require relation here. [Gibson incorrectly calls him *Ismail*]. The Sulṭān, it is stated, became suspicious of the Saljūks on this, and had Iṣṭā'il seized, when in a state of intoxication, and sent to the fortress of Kālinjar in Hind; but a few authors, including our own, say "to the fortress of Multān. The former statement I think the most reliable. Iṣṭā'il remained in durance till his decease seven years after; but, previous to his death, he sent messengers to his brothers, sons, and kinsmen, and incited them to rebel. They sent to a k. Maḥmūd a leave to cross over the Jihūn into Khurāsān; but Arslān the Hāshimī, who was governor of that province, refused to grant it, and strongly advised the Sulṭān to refuse permission. Contrary to Arslān's advice he gave them permission and they passed the Jihūn, and took up their quarters in the pasture land about Nid and Aitwān. Mīkā'il had two sons, Tughril, and Dā'ud Jaghar Beg, who, from their talents and superior accomplishments, became the leaders of the tribe.

Other writers, however say that Saljūk had four sons, Iṣṭā'il, Mīkā'il, Mūsā and Yūnas; and that Beghū was the son of Mūsā. Mīkā'il having been slain in one of the battles of that period leaving two sons, Saljūk named those two grandsons, Dā'ud i Jaghar Beg and Tughril Beg, rulers of the tribe after his decease. When Maḥmūd of Ghaznī subdued the territories of Māwar un Nahr among other chiefs, Dā'ud and Tughril, who had fought several battles with the rulers of Turkistān, and had acquired fame for valour waited on Maḥmūd and solicited that some portion of territory should be assigned to their tribe as grazing grounds for their flock and herds.

Faḡlī i states that, previous to Maḥmūd crossing the Jihūn and entering Māwar-un-Nahr as early as 416 H. Dā'ud i Jaghar Beg, son of Tughril Beg son of Mīkā'il, son of Saljūk—by this account Dā'ud i Jaghar Beg was Mīkā'il's grandson—had risen and entered into the Khwārazm territory thus in a measure confirming a part of our author's statement. The same authority mentions that it was in 419 H. on the Sulṭān's return from Māwar un Nahr that Iṣṭā'il son of Beghū son of Saljūk son of Luḳmān had the interview with the Sulṭān who brought him along with him; but soon after on some account or other Iṣṭā'il was seized and sent to the fortress of Kālinjar For Fanākatī's statement on this subject see note 2 p. 106.

The above notice of the Saljūks has been taken from the Tārīkh-i Abū i Allā Gūzidāh the Lubb-ut Tawārikh Jāmi' at Tawārikh Abū i Faḡlī Ballakī Tārīkh i Aḥf Muḡamī' ul-Khiyār Jahān Arā and the Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh, and others. Yāsa i differs considerably from these works and

of Saljūk and his son were a tribe whose dwelling-place was the Nūr¹ of Bukhārā, and they were all subject and obedient to the Sāmānī dynasty

At the period in question the son of Saljūk had attained to man's estate, and, on account of his prowess and valour, his arrow and his sword, all the Maliks of Turkistān and the Afrāsiyābī rulers were continually in fear. Not a bird in the air nor a deer of the plain escaped his arrow, and, like a whirlwind and a thunder-cloud, he was wont to enter the chase or the conflict, and used to vanquish every man who entered into a personal contest with him. Upon this occasion when Ẹadr Khān joined and accompanied Sultān Mahmūd, and all were in attendance at his stirrup, and proceeding towards the Sultān's own tents, the son of Saljūk continued to ride on before them all, a Turkmān cap placed jauntily on one side of his head, and bestriding a horse like the spur of a mountain, galloping about like a roaring lion, or the flickering lightning, in such wise that the forces of Turān and Irān were amazed at his agility and horsemanship.

As Ẹadı Khān had requested of the Sultān, so it was carried out, and, at the very time that Kadr Khān set out on his return [to his own territory], they brought a mandate [from the Sultān] to the son of Saljūk to remain in his tent, and gave orders that his followers, with his and their effects, should cross the river Jihūn into the confines of Khurāsān in company with the Mahmūdī forces. Agents were directed to take care of them, and look after them, and, when they reached the bank of the Jihūn, they crossed the river along with servants of the Sultān.

At the time the command was issued that the son of Saljūk, along with his followers and dependents, should embark on boats, and pass over the Jihūn with their property and effects, the Hājib, Arsalān Khān¹, who was

the Amīr [Governor] of Khurāsān, and the greatest of the retainers of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, made a representation to that monarch saying "This which your Majesty has commanded is far from the cautious counsel of your servant, for, with your own hand you have placed power in the hands of the enemies of your country over the dominion of your descendants and in the end by this tribe disorder and tumult will be brought upon the empire. The Sulṭān in reply said "What is your opinion in this matter?" The Hājib Arsalān, answered "My advice is this, that the whole of them be commanded to re-embark on board the boats, and then to sink them in the river or otherwise to have their thumbs cut off" so as to render them incapable of discharging arrows in future. Sulṭān Maḥmūd answered

Arsalān, thou art a hard hearted man indeed! To break one's promise, and slay the helpless, are not acts becoming a sovereign who possesses any feelings of honour or a man who has any magnanimity in his nature and moreover destiny cannot be averted by perfidy any more than by valour. However after the son of Saljūq had been conveyed across the Jihūn, it was commanded that he should be brought to Multān while his kinsmen and his other followers and dependents were assigned pasture lands for their flocks and cattle in the territory of Khurāsān such as Nisā Nishāpūr Bāward⁷ and other tracts in Upper Khurāsān.

As the Almighty had willed that, subsequently this race should become great and powerful and that from their posterity should spring puissant and mighty monarchs and rulers, notwithstanding Sulṭān Maḥmūd afterwards regretted what he had done, still regret was of no avail for regret cannot avert destiny

Imām Abū l Faḥl i Bahāqī states in his Tārīkh i Nāṣiri⁸

⁶ So in the text; but it must be presumed that the author meant the thumb of the *right hand* of all the males.

⁷ Also called Abward; but, correctly speaking, Abward is the name of the town, and Bāward the name of the district. Gusfāh states that the people of Khurāsān, in the parts where the Saljūqs were located, became attached to the brothers Tughril Beg and Jaghar Beg.

⁸ This portion of Bahāqī's work has not come down to us. He mentions the names of these chiefs in one or two places in the part relating to the life of Mas'ūd and says that the people who entered Khurāsān under Yagh mūr and other chiefs were Turkmāns and he always makes a difference between them and the Saljūqs.

that, at the time that Sultān Mahmūd carried across the Jihūn four thousand Saljūk families, their Mihtars, or chiefs, were four persons, Yagh-mūr⁹, Būkah, Kūk-tāsh, and Qazil, and in different parts of Khurāsān pasture-lands were assigned to them, and they were made over to [the guardianship of] the great nobles of Khurāsān, and instructions were given to them that the Saljūks should, in no way, and on no account, be permitted to carry arms Their chief¹, who was the eldest son of Saljūk, and famous for his manhood, was sent to Multān, along with two of his sons² likewise, and at Multān, after some time had passed away, they also died³ The remainder of the Saljūk tribe, who had remained behind in Māwar-un-Nahr, were in the habit every year of migrating from Nūr of Bukhārā to Darghān⁴ of Khawārazm, to the pasture-lands therein They entertained innate enmity towards the Malīk [chief] of Jund, whose name was Shāh, and, in the reign of Sultān Mas'ūd, the Martyr, the Amīr [Governor] of Khawārazm, the son of Altūn-Tāsh⁵, rebelled against the Sultān's authority The

⁹ Also written Yagh mur

¹ It will be doubtless noticed here that our author stated just a few lines above, quoting Baihaqī, as he says, that the Saljūks, who crossed the Jihūn into Khurāsān, had *four* chiefs, and immediately after says, "their chief, who was Saljūk's son," died at Multān He evidently confounds those of the tribe who entered Khurāsān with the remainder who stayed behind See p 121 Yāfa'i states that their place of abode was twenty farsakhs, or leagues, distant from Bukhārā

² All the copies of the work do not contain this last sentence about the sons

³ Faṣīh-ī, Buṣrawī, and other authorities, mention the death of Isrā'īl, son of Beḡhū, son of Sulīmān, son of Saljūk, at Kālnjar, in 426 H His son had come with a party of followers from Māwar-un-Nahr to effect his release and carry him off They had succeeded in getting him out of the fortress, but missed the road, were pursued, and overtaken When his pursuers were in the act of securing him, he cried out to his son "I shall never be released, do you seek to acquire territory" That same year Dā'ūd-i Jaghar Beg broke out into open rebellion, and took up his quarters at Marw

⁴ Considered generally as belonging to Samrkand

⁵ Altūn-Tāsh, the Hājib, was appointed viceroy of Khawārazm by Sultān Mahmūd in 407 H, after he [Mahmūd] had proceeded thither in person, and had defeated the rebels, who had slain his son in-law, Māmūn, son of Māmūn, and had put Nīāl-Tigīn to death, as related in the events of Mahmūd's reign When the Sultān returned to Balḡh, after his raid upon the Afghāns, Altūn-Tāsh-i-Khawārazm Shāh, as he is styled, was sent for He came and remained at Court three months He then obtained permission to return, and, in the presence of Khawājah Alunad-i Hasan, Maimandī, the Wazīr, and the Khawājah al-Amīd, Abū Naṣr-i Miṣḡkān, gave his word, and swore, that he would never

Saljūks joined him in that outbreak and, in the year 425 H., he bestowed upon them a tract of country belonging to the territory of Khawārazm which they call Rabāṭ i Māṣah, as grazing ground for their flocks and herds. The chief of Jund, having received information as to their situation, made a raid upon them and slew about eight thousand of the males, and but few of them remained, and they became totally at a loss as to what they should do in this state of affairs.

The Governor of Khawārazm Hārūn, the rebel, the son of Altūn Tāsh [with whom the Saljūks had sided, as before stated] had [lately] been killed, and they found it impossible to continue to dwell in the territory of Khawārazm and through fear of the sons of Alī Tigin the late ruler of Bukhārā, who was one of the Afrāsiyābi Khāns or chieftains, they were unable to enter that territory. Out of necessity therefore, they moved towards Nisā and Marw—in all about seven hundred horsemen—with their property and their families and dependents.

Yagh mūr who was one of their chiefs had died previously to this and a son of his remained and, when that portion of the tribe [who had escaped the sword of the Malīk of Jund] came towards Nisā and Marw from Khawārazm the son of Yagh mūr⁶ was unable to cope with them for although they were weak in numbers themselves, other tribes, such as the Nīlīs⁷ and others, had joined them. The son of Yagh mūr [with his tribe, who had first crossed the Jihūn] retired before them, and entered Irāk and seized upon Rai, and the Saljūks took up their residence in the

act contrary to the Sulṭān's wishes and commands; and he left two sons Saibī [?] and Yūsuf at Court. In 422 H. after the accession of Mas'ūd the Martyr Altūn Tāsh presented himself at Court, and was soon allowed to return. After he had departed, a number of the Sulṭān's advisers worked on the mind of the Sulṭān so much about it that he regretted he had allowed him to leave. A message was sent for him to return but he made excuses and did not do so. It was thought he had penetrated into the design against him; but subsequently he became satisfied, after receiving kind messages from the Sulṭān. No mention is made in Faṣṭh⁸ respecting this grant of lands by the son of Altūn-Tāsh," to the Saljūks.

⁶ Here again our author says the son of Yagh mūr but does not give any name. This is his constant failing.

⁷ The Nīlīs refer to the adherents of Nīl Tigin, viceroy of the Panjāb, who had rebelled, and had been removed. See Balhakt.

grazing lands on the border of the desert [in the districts of Nisā and Marw]

The Almighty gave them strength and power, so that they possessed themselves of the territories of Khurāsān, and the east, and the west, and whatever the dominions of Islām were, wholly and completely came under the sway of their descendants, in such wise that their fame will remain upon the records of time unto the judgment day⁸

I TUGHRIL, SON OF MĪKĀ'IL⁹

The author of the Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī¹, Imām Abū-l-Fazl-i-Baihakī, relates after this manner that, at this period when the Saljūks entered the skirt of the desert of Khurāsān, and the son of Yagh-mūr retired discomfited² before them, their Mihtars [chiefs] were three persons—Tughril and Dā'ūd, two brothers, the sons of Mīkā'il, and their uncle Beghū, and all three in accord determined to tender their services to Sultān Mas'ūd, and despatched a confidential agent to the Sultān's presence—he, at that time, having come to Nīshāpūr from Gurgān—and solicited that the districts of Nisā, Farāwah, and certain places at the head of the desert might be assigned to them in fief³ In the missive

⁸ The commencement of the outbreak of the Saljūks was in 423 H, and, in the same year, Qadr Khān, the Turk, ruler of Māwar-un-Nahr, died Jaghar Beg, son of Abū Sulīmān, seized Marw, and took up his quarters there in 426 H. The Saljūks made an attempt upon Hīrāt in 428 H, but were repulsed, and forced to retire. They returned however in the following year, and compelled the place to capitulate, and the territory was annexed in the name of Sultān Tughril Beg, but Sultān Mas'ūd subsequently gained re-possession of Hīrāt, and severely punished those who had, as he considered, so tamely capitulated to the Saljūks. See note³, p. 129

⁹ His correct name is Abū Tālib, Muḥammad, and his title, Rukn-ud-dīn, Tughril Beg, Yamīn-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn, or "The Right Hand of the Lord of the Faithful"

¹ This work is styled Tārīkh-i-Muḥaddasī-i-Nāṣirī in two copies of the text at this place

² The word here used is "*munhazim*," signifying routed, put to flight, discomfited in battle, dispersed, &c

³ As from other writers, our author has not quoted Baihakī correctly. The text states that *they sent* a trustworthy agent *to the* Sultān. The following is condensed from what Baihakī says in this matter. Soon after Mas'ūd arrived at Gurgān, a despatch reached his minister from Bū-Faḍl, Sūrī, Dīwān of Nīshāpūr, which had been brought by horsemen in two days and a half from that city, intimating an irruption of Saljūks and Nīālīs from Marw, who had

in question they had written their own names in the following manner —“Tughril and Beghū and Dāūd who

proceeded to Nisā, where they had joined the Turkmāns [see note * page 119] there, and that they had been reinforced by other Saljūks and Khwārazmīs; and further that he, Bū Faḡl, enclosed therewith a communication addressed to him by Beghū, Tughril, and Dāūd, in order that the Sulṭān might give such orders upon it as he might deem fit. The communication began thus: To his Excellency the Shāikh, the Illustrious Lord, the Sayyid Maulānā Abī-ul-Faḡl i Sūfī from his servants, Beghū [it will be noticed that the uncle here takes precedence of the nephews], Tughril, and Dāūd, the Mawālī or lieges of the Amīr-ul-Mūminīn and began, “We, your servants.” They went on to state that they found it impossible to dwell in Māwar un Naḥr and Bukhārā since the death of Alī Tigin, who had been kind and friendly towards them as his affairs were now administered by his two sons inexperienced boys, who were hostile towards them. On account of the distracted state of Khwārazm, through Hārūn, its ruler having being killed they found it impossible likewise to remove thither; and therefore they had come to put themselves under the protection of the Sovereign of the World and Lord of Beneficence the great Sulṭān. They hoped the Khwājah [Abī-ul-Faḡl] would aid them at this juncture and write on their behalf to the Khwājah, Abū Naṣr [the Warīr], and advocate their cause as they were known to him. They farther solicited that as through that minister’s good offices [Khwājah Abū Naṣr i Ahmad had previously been Warīr to Hārūn and his father], the late Hārūn, Khwārazm Shāh, used to allow them to remove with their families and flocks into his territory in winter he would assist them now. If the Sulṭān, they said, would accept their vassalage one of them would constantly attend at Court [as a pledge of good faith], and the other two would serve him in such manner as he might command and they would rest under his great shadow. They asked that the territories of Nisā and Farāwah which lay on the edge of the Desert [between the mountains bounding Khurāsān on the north-east, and the Jihūn or Oxus], should be conferred upon them, in return for which they promised they would undertake to prevent any rebel from raising his head in Rākhīn Koh, Dihistān, the direction of Khwārazm, or the Jihūn; and would avail the Irākīs [the Turkmāns under Yagh-mūr’s son are here referred to] and drive them out. Their request was couched in civil words, to all appearance, but concluded as follows: but if, which God forbid, the Sulṭān would not grant their request, and should refuse his permission they did not know what the state of affairs might become, because they had no place on earth, and none remained to them. Not having the boldness to venture to address such an august person [as the Sulṭān’s Warīr], they had addressed the Khwājah [Abī-ul-Faḡl] to solicit him, Please God! to bring their request to a favourable issue.

Sulṭān Mas’ūd wished to move at once against them, so wrath was he at this insolent demand; and bitterly complained of the injury and trouble his father had entailed upon the empire and upon him, through allowing any of those camel-drivers, as he styled the Saljūks, to pass the Jihūn, in the first instance. The Warīr and some others counselled the acceptance of the allegiance of the Saljūk chiefs; but another party at the Court advised the Sulṭān not to think of marching against them himself, or at the present time as they would have it that the cattle of his army after the late expedition, required rest. They advised that a reply should be sent to Abī ul Faḡl, telling

are the Mawālī [lieges] of the Lord of the Faithful, represent unto your presence," &c The Almighty had been pleased to fill their hearts with much arrogance and contumacy, and, when the purport of their request was made known to the Sultān, he at once commanded that they should have a reply couched in courteous words, but a force of about 15,000 horse, under the command of the Sālār [general], Bak-Taghdī, was told off in the year 420 H⁴, to proceed against them

When that force reached the Saljūks, it fought a stubborn battle with them, and the Sultān's army sustained a defeat, and the Sultān, out of necessity, had to come to

him to acquaint the Saljūk chiefs, in reply to their demand, "to be under no concern, as they had come to their own homes [as it were], and that they were in his dominions, and under his protection," and to pretend that he was going to march to Rai, but instead to proceed to Nīshāpūr, and get a force ready to send against them unawares The Sultān was induced to follow this advice, and the upshot was the despatch of 15,000 horse to Nīsā, under the Hājib, Bak-Taghdī He, on first coming upon the Saljūks near Sarakhs, defeated and routed them, but, soon after, his troops, who were already encumbered with baggage and women, having taken to plunder, he was himself overthrown, by the Saljūks, who had again rallied and attacked him This took place in Sha'bān, 427 H, not in 420 H, as our author relates, and as is written in the ten copies of his work collated After this affair, Mas'ūd had to agree to their demands, they being *the first* however to open negotiations, and Farāwah was given to Beghū, Nīsā to Tughril, and Dihistān to Dā'ūd Having obtained their demands, they became more insolent than ever

⁴ Several other writers differ here, not only from our author, but also from Baihaqī, who is very particular respecting dates In the beginning of 426 H, the Khāsah Khādīm, Nūsh-Tigīn, routed a body of Turkmāns near Marw, and in the same year, a force of 17,000 horse, under the Sālār, Bak-Taghdī, was sent against them He was at first successful, but, the enemy having drawn him into the desert, where water was not procurable, and his troops being careless and over confident, he sustained a complete defeat in the eighth month of that year In the following year, a force of 10,000 horse and 5000 foot was prepared to operate against the Saljūks, under the command of the Hājib-i-Buzarg, Subāshī In the first month of 429 H, in fulfilment of a vow made during illness, Mas'ūd undertook an expedition against Hānsī, captured it in the third month of that year, and in the fourth returned to Ghaznī In the same year, Mas'ūd, being unable from the state of affairs to proceed against the Saljūks as he was desirous of doing, despatched orders to the Hājib to expel them from Khurāsān Subāshī sent a reply to the effect that they were far more than he could cope with. Mas'ūd imagined the Hājib was enhancing, or desirous of enhancing, his services, and sent him orders to march against them without farther delay He did so, and his meeting them, and his defeat followed The Hājib is styled Surbāshī, and Surpāshī by Guzidah, Sanbāshī in the Tārīkh-i-Alfī, and Subāshī by our author The name mentioned by Baihaqī is no doubt correct

an accommodation with them. He bestowed Nisā upon Tughril, and the Dihistān on Dāūd, and gave Farāwah to Beghū. The Sultān then proceeded towards Balkh, and conferred the government of Hindūstān upon his son Maudūd⁶.

In 429 H. the Saljūks possessed themselves of the towns on the skirt of the desert, such as Marw Sarakhs, and other places besides, and solicited that Khurāsān should be made over to them. The Sultān thereupon despatched the Hājib, Subāsī with a large army to expel them. An engagement took place between the Sultān's forces and the Saljūks, and the Sultān's troops were defeated⁷ and the Saljūks acquired power over the territory of Khurāsān. They sent Ibrāhīm Nīllah⁸ to seize upon Nishāpūr and subsequently Tughril himself followed him thither. At Nishāpūr he ascended the throne and became a sovereign, and the Khuṭbah was read in his name⁹. He despatched Dāūd to Sarakhs and nominated Beghū to proceed to Marw and they took possession of Khurasan and one half¹⁰ of that territory passed from the sway of the servants of the Mas'ūdī dynasty¹.

⁶ Not so: Majdūd was viceroy of the Indian provinces, Maudūd was left at the capital; and subsequently when Mas'ūd retired into the Panjāb, the latter was sent to Balkh, and he was with his father in the battle of Dandānkān.

⁷ Farther on, our author when mentioning the council held by the Saljūks when they thought of leaving Mas'ūd's dominions, says, "They are said to have been defeated by the Sultān's troops several times." See p. 130.

⁸ Ibrāhīm son of Nīl was Tughril's mother's brother.

⁹ Tughril Beg assumed sovereignty over a portion of Khurāsān, and ascended the throne at Nishāpūr in 429 H. and the Saljūki dynasty is considered by several authors to have commenced from that year. Others, however with very good reason say that the Saljūks only assumed *independent* sovereignty after the defeat of Sultān Mas'ūd at Dānkān or Dandānkān [Dandānkān], as stated by our author farther on. He acquired sway over a large portion of Western Asia, Khwārazm Dihistān, Tabbas, Rai, Kārwīn &c. in 447 H. in which same year the Khalīfah, Al Kā'im, summoned Tughril to Baghdād and ordered his name to be entered in the Khuṭbah, and impressed upon the coin. Fanākatī states that the Khalīfah sent a commission with a robe of honour to Tughril.

¹⁰ A paradox of our author's.

¹ Tughril Beg died at Turusht [طرس] near Rai, Friday 8th of Ramaṣān, 455 H. at the age of seventy. His reign is variously computed: Fanākatī states that he died in 442 H., after a reign of *few* years! From 429 H. to 455 H. however is a period of twenty six.

II MALIK DÂ'ÜD-I-JAGHAR BEG², SON OF MİKÂ'İL.

When Dâ'üd, after leaving the presence of his brother Tughril, came for the purpose of taking possession of Marw and Sarakhs, Sultân Mas'üd was at Balkh, and he sent an agent to him [Dâ'üd] to see whether or not an accommodation could be brought about³

At that time Dâ'üd was in the neighbourhood of Marw, with his forces, and it was he who was the mover in all this boldness and audacity. He advanced to the gate of Marw. It was at the dawn of the morning, and the Mu'azzin from the top of a Minārah was proclaiming this verse — "O Dâ'üd, verily we have made thee a sovereign prince on earth judge therefore between men with truth"⁴ Dâ'üd, hearing his own name, inquired of a learned person what was the meaning of this. The signification was explained to him, upon which he again drew his sword, and pressed forward after the troops of the Sultân, which were in Marw, and put the whole of them to the sword⁵

At this period, when the Sultân's envoy from Balkh presented himself before him, a Mu'azzin at Marw was repeating this verse — "Thou givest dominion unto whom Thou wilt, and Thou takest away dominion from whom Thou wilt"⁶

² Also written Jagharî Beg. Guzîdah has both Jaghar and Chaghar Beg. His title is Amîr 'Imād-ud-Daulah, 'Abû Sulimân-ı Dâ'üd-ı Jaghar Beg. Guzîdah, Fasîh-î, Fanâkatî, and several others, do not consider Dâ'üd as a sovereign, and Alb-Arsalân is, by them, very properly, accounted the second monarch of the Saljûkî dynasty, having succeeded his uncle Tughril. Dâ'üd had died some years before. Fanâkatî likewise says that on the death of Isrâ'îl, at Kâlnjar, his son, Tughril, broke out into rebellion in 432 H, in the reign of Sultân Mas'üd. This would imply that Tughril and the Saljûks had been quiet up to this time, but such is not the case, and Isrâ'îl died in 426 H. See note ³, p. 120

³ This is not correct. A person was sent, according to Baihaqî, to sound the Saljûks, and, as if coming as a friend to them, to induce them to open negotiations. They appeared quite willing to do so, and at once sent an agent to the Wazîr. It was on this occasion that Mas'üd gave them the territory mentioned in note ³, page 122-3. The author makes great repetition through mixing up the events of Tughril's reign with Dâ'üd's affairs.

⁴ Kur'ân, chap. xxxviii

⁵ The above sounds all very well, and *may* be true, but it is not contained in Baihaqî or any other historian with whom I am acquainted. The last sentence here, it would require the author himself to explain.

⁶ A portion of the 25th verse of chap. iii of the Kur'ân

The envoy of Sulṭān Mas ūd perceived Dā ūd who had spread his felt saddle cloth under him seated on the ground, with his saddle placed on one side of him. Sometimes he would rest his head upon the saddle and stretch himself out [on the felt] on the ground and then again he would sit up and support himself resting on his elbow. His quiver of arrows was placed near him and at times he would draw forth an arrow from the quiver and he would sharpen the head of the arrow and then again he would smooth out the feathers of it. The envoy of the Sulṭān having concluded his message, asked for an answer. Dā ūd replied — "What was this Mu azzin calling out about. Thou givest. Thou givest? Write that down. A scribe accordingly wrote down this verse on paper — Possessor of all power Thou givest dominion unto whom Thou wilt, and Thou takest away dominion from whom Thou wilt. Thou exaltest whom Thou wilt, and Thou humblest whom Thou wilt," &c., and gave it to the envoy.⁷ When the envoy reached the presence of Sulṭān Mas ūd and made known to him the condition and mode of life of Dā ūd and placed before him the verse in reply to his message, he understood that the period of the sovereignty of the Mahmūdī dynasty over the territory of Ḥurāsān had come to an end and in his heart he relinquished all hope of holding it.⁸

The Saljūks having acquired Sarāḥs and Marw and being left in undisturbed possession of the whole of those districts, Dā ūd determined to attack Upper Ḥurāsān. Manifesting the utmost daring and boldness on that occasion he again assembled together a force of 11 000 horse,⁹ and pushed on to the gates of Balḥ where the Sulṭān was at the time, with all his great nobles and his forces. An elephant was tied up in a place in the outskirts of the city and an elephant-driver had fallen asleep upon the animal's back. Dā ūd¹ came during the night, unfastened

⁷ It is strange that all this is neither to be found in Balḥakī nor in the other authors I have been quoting.

⁸ The author here contradicts himself, as is not unusual; for the battle of Dē ūn [Dandānqād] had not yet been fought, even by his own account.

⁹ Most copies of the work have *he came with seven horsemen* which is absurd.

¹ Our author does not quote Balḥakī correctly here, as the following extract, which I have made from the original, a good MS. copy in my pos-

the elephant, and drove it off, and, by the time the driver had awakened from his slumbers, the elephant had been

sion, and the printed edition of his work edited by Morley, will show. It will be found *rather* different to the translation given in Elliot, vol. II p. 142, "The Amīr halted to celebrate the festival of No-roz, on Wednesday, the 8th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir. On Friday, the 10th of the same month, other news arrived [the sentence following and part of next is not in my MS.] that Dā'ūd had come to Tāe-kān [Morley has Tāl-kān] with a strong force, and well prepared. On Thursday, the 16th of the month, farther information was received that he had reached Pār-yāb [Fār-yāb is equally correct—*p* and *f* are interchangeable], and that from thence he would speedily advance to Shīwar-kān [Shaburghān of course is meant—the name is spelt both ways and our author, as well as Baihakī, is perfectly correct as to the name, notwithstanding the efforts of editors to make out otherwise. In the Persian, *b* is often interchanged for *f*, and *k* for *g*, and so, in reality, both ways of writing may be, and were adopted, but never with *s* for *sh*, except through an error of a copyist. The Burhān-i-Kāfī says, Shaburghān, in ancient times, was the name of the city of Balkh, but now it is the name of a *lashak* near it. Compare Elliot's INDIA, vol. II p. 142], and that wherever they appeared [Dā'ūd and his troops] there plunder and slaughter followed. On Saturday [here the quotation which our author states he had taken from Baihakī follows], the 18th of this month, at night, ten Turkmān [no such mode of spelling as Turkoman will be found in any lexicographical work. the derivation is from Turk, and mīnind—Turk-like = Turk-mān] horsemen came by stealth, close to the Bāgh-i-Sultān [the Sultān's garden—the garden in which the Sultān's palace was situated], and slew four Hindū foot soldiers. From thence they pushed on near the Kubānduz [citadel], and there the elephants were kept. They espied one elephant, and on it a youth who had fallen asleep behind the neck of the animal [any one who has seen elephants and their drivers will know what is meant by this]. These Turkmāns came up and began to drive the elephant, the youth being [still] asleep. The Turkmāns passed on a *farsang* [or league] from the city, and then they woke the youth, and said, 'Drive the elephant faster, otherwise we will kill thee.' He replied, 'I am obedient to your commands,' and began to urge the animal on, the horsemen following close behind, urging it onwards, and goading it with their lances. By the time day broke, they had gone a considerable distance, and they brought the elephant to Shabūrgān. Dā'ūd gave a present to the horsemen, and directed them to take it to Nishāpūr. From this the troops [of Mas'ūd] acquired a very bad name, for people said, 'Among these men such neglect exists, that enemies are able to carry off an elephant from them.' The next day the Amīr heard of it, and became very much irritated thereat, and reproved the elephant-drivers severely, and commanded that 100,000 *dirams* should be deducted from them, for the price of the elephant, and several of them were castigated [there is no mention of 'Hindū elephant riders' in the MS., although Hindū soldiers are mentioned in the printed text, but even then it would not follow that they were Hindūs in faith].

"On Monday, the 20th of this month, Ālī Sākmīn, the Hujīb [Chamberlain] of Dā'ūd, with 2000 horse, came up to the [very] gate of Balkh, and took up a position at a place called the Band-i-Kāfirīn, or the Infidels' Dyke, and plundered two villages. When the news reached the city, the Amīr became very angry because the horsemen in the Darah-i-Gaz, &c. There is not any word

taken away some five leagues, and the driver dared not utter a word.

Dā ūd [then] advanced with his forces from Shasūrkhān to Alī ābād of Balkh and fought an engagement with the Sultān, but, notwithstanding all the efforts and endeavours of Dā ūd he was defeated.

In the month of Shawwāl of the year 429 H the whole of the Saljūks assembled together Tughril Beghū and Dā ūd and also the Nīlīs and the Mas ūdī and Maḥmūdī Turks³ some of whom had joined the Saljūks. The Sultān marched from Balkh with his forces and led them towards Marw and Sarakhs⁴ and in the desert of Sarakhs an engagement ensued, which was contested from day dawn until the time of afternoon prayer when the Saljūks were overthrown⁴.

about Dā ūd's coming up to the gates of Balkh, for Sakmān was driven off in the afternoon by one of the Hājibs with a small body of troops, and some under the Sipah-sālār and the Turkmāns retired to Alī-ābād again, where they remained that night. He reported what had happened to Dā ūd, who then advanced to Alī-ābād from Shahburghān. As soon as Amīr Mas'ūd heard of his movements, he moved out to the Puli-kirwān until troops arrived; and, on the 9th of Rajab, routed Dā ūd and his troops as soon as they reached Alī-ābād from the direction of the desert.

Several partial engagements took place up to the 5th of Shawwāl; and, whenever the Sultān's troops could get at the Turkmāns, they overthrew them, and scattered them like thin clouds before a Biscay gale but the difficulty was to bring them to close quarters: they would not stand. At last, the Wazīr contrived to come to an accommodation with the Saljūks, who appeared as willing as he was for that course, and tracts about Nīl, Bīward, and Fardwah, were assigned to them; but Mas ūd agreed to it, fully determined to attack them next year. He then returned to Hīrāt. Our author as on many other occasions, has misplaced events, putting those first which happened last, and *over reversed* as Balḥāḥī's history shows; and in some cases, as in the following page, has mentioned the same events twice over.

³ The Turkish slaves who had been first entertained by Maḥmūd and others, and since taken into pay by Mas ūd are here referred to. They may have been in some way kinsmen of the Saljūks. Some of them had deserted some time previously.

⁴ The Sultān marched against them by way of Hīrāt because the Saljūks after having been compelled to withdraw from that place in 428 H. as already stated, had returned in the following year and had compelled the defenders to surrender it, and the Khusbah had been read there for Tughril Sultān Mas'ūd took the opportunity on this occasion, when marching against the Saljūks, to punish the Hīrātīs for surrendering so easily. He reached Hīrāt in Zī ḥā dah, 430 H. and proceeded by way of Mīthanah [میتانہ or میتانہ it is spelt both ways: European writers have transformed it into Malmanah].

⁴ The author here is quite confused; he makes out a second engagement, but no other engagement took place than is mentioned in the preceding note.⁴

The Sultān, after this, returned to Hirāt, and the Saljūks, becoming aware of it, again sought an accommodation, and, as a matter of necessity [on the part of the Sultān], once more a peace was concluded. However, Sultān Mas'ūd summoned troops, with all requisite stores and war-material, from Ghaznī, but, when those reinforcements reached him, famine prevailed in Khurāsān, and there was a great scarcity of food. The forces of the Sultān had become quite powerless and ineffective, and the horses and camel had grown weak and emaciated. The Sultān, with his whole army, advanced towards Tūs, and Tughril retired from Nīshāpūr, and fell back upon Sarīsh.

All the Saljūks now met together, and came to the unanimous conclusion, that they had no longer any power to oppose Sultān Mas'ūd and his forces; and, as they had been defeated several times, that it was advisable to make terms with the Sultān, or otherwise to move towards the territory of 'Irāk, and abandon Khurāsān altogether. The lion-hearted Amīr Dā'ūd, who had no completer in loftiness of spirit and energy, said—"Confidence is necessary in making conquests", even though it were necessary to devote [one's] life a thousand times over. I have no means ^{never} appliances to depend upon save war, so—Sovereignty or ^{one} annihilation!—Victory or death!" When the Saljūk chief-
 meant by upheld this bold and intrepid bearing on the part of the youth ^{league} coincided with him with one accord. Having
 elephant faster, ^δ determination, they sent away all their fami-
 your commands, ^δ tents, and effects, into the desert, while the
 close behind, ^δ ungumme and unincumbered, took up a position on the
 dry broke, they ^δ desert, at Dāe-kān, prepared for war and conflict
 elephant to ^δ Shah.
 them to take it to ^δ the accommodation is also referred to, but it took place before
 had name, for ^δ return to Hirāt

are able to ^δ description here, the reader would scarcely understand that the Sultān
 of it, and became the meantime from Hirāt to Nīshāpūr. See note 7, next page.
 drivers severely, copies of the text have the words—"should not have confi-
 from them, for the ^δ but I read it as above, and the context proves the correctness
 [There is no mention

I Ilbāns are mentioned of this kind in Bahakī. What Dā'ūd said was to the
 that they were Hindūs. If the tribe made a great mistake in imagining that they
 "On Monday, the 20th territory so easily in 'Irāk and farther west, and, that
 Jam] of Dā'ūd, with 2000 step out of Khurāsān, Sultān Mas'ūd would not allow
 up a position at a place ^δ of the earth, and would raise up powerful enemies
 plundered two villages. When He ended by saying that, at least, they should try
 angry because the horses were ^δ went before deciding upon abandoning Khurāsān.

When the Sulṭān reached the spot, the battle commenced and for three days, from morning's dawn to the setting of the sun the conflict went on until on Friday the 9th of the month of Ramaṣān in the year 431 H. the troops of Sulṭān Mas'ūd became hard pressed and his own Turkish troops even began to give way legion after legion. Sulṭān Mas'ūd was defeated⁷, and the Saljūks gained the victory and assumed independent sovereignty.

⁷ This was Mas'ūd's second expedition in person against the Saljūks, although his officers had previously encountered them upon several occasions. He had passed the winter of 430-31 H. at Nīshāpūr with his forces encamped in and about Baihaḳ [not Baihaḳ's native place], Khowāf, Bākhur, Isfand, Tūs, and other places facing the desert. The utmost scarcity prevailed, and grain had to be brought from a great distance. On the 28th of Jamādī ul-Akhir of 431 H. was the vernal equinox [about the end of March, 1039 A.D.], and Mas'ūd prepared for a fresh campaign. He had really made no preparation for it; but the Saljūks had issued from the Bākhān mountains and the desert, and were assembled around Sarakhs. The scarcity was so great that the force could hardly be prevented from melting away; yet the Sulṭān determined to advance to Marw notwithstanding his Wazīr and nobles advised him against it [but Abū Na'r-i Miškān the only one who could venture to speak his mind and expostulate effectually was dead], as the greater part of his men had lost their horses, and had to march on foot. The animals that remained also were nearly useless whilst the Saljūks were in possession of Marw and were well supplied with all things. He moved from Sarakhs on the 19th of Shā'wān toward Marw. The Turkmāns soon appeared, and among them were many rebel who had deserted from the Turkish troops in India, and others; and according to their usual mode of fighting, continued to harass Mas'ūd's troops, who wanted for every thing. The details are far too long for insertion; but I may mention that Mas'ūd and his troops fought under the greatest disadvantages, for the enemy had either emptied or filled up the few wells which the desert tract contained while they themselves wetted their clothes bef rehand, and carried water along with them. Mas'ūd's men and their cattle suffered from heat and extreme thirst; and some of his Ghulāms [Turkish slaves], who, on the march had been obliged to ride on camels, in the confusion that ensued made all the Tāzik horsemen they met dismount and give up their horses to them after which a large body of them deserted to the enemy. Mas'ūd's forces became separated and confused; order was at an end; and leaders became separated from their men. The Turkish troops, says Baihaḳī, who was present, went one way and the Hindū [i. e. *saṭras* of Hind, whatever their creed] another and neither Kurds nor Arabs could be distinguished. A few Khowāfīs or body guards, who remained near the Sulṭān, made several and repeated charges upon the enemy and Mas'ūd himself, who carried a poisoned halberd or short spear in his hand, slew every one that came within arm's length of him—man and horse. I saw Mawdūd [the son of Mas'ūd] myself, who was galloping his horse here and there endeavouring to rally men around him, but no one gave ear to him, for every one was for himself. This occurred on the 9th of Ramaṣān, 431 H. beyond the river Marw ar Rūd, two stages from Marw i Shāh-i Jahān.

After the battle was over, a throne⁸ was set up upon the battle-field itself, and 'Tughrīl became sovereign⁹ Beghū proceeded to Marw, and Amīr Dā'ūd led a force towards Tukhārīstān and Balkh, and subdued the territories of that region. Subsequently, Tughrīl and Dā'ūd marched into Khwārazm, and secured that country, and some time after they had brought those countries under subjection, Tughrīl died, and Dā'ūd entered into a treaty with the Mahmūdīs and the Sultāns of Ghaznīn, and became sovereign of Khurāsān and the territories of 'Ajam, and the universe was given up to him¹

He reigned for a period of above twenty years, and died in the year 451 H, and the throne of sovereignty became adorned by the victorious Sultān, Alb-Arsalān.

III SULTĀN ALB-ARSALĀN-I-GHĀZĪ, SON OF DĀ'ŪD-I-JAGHAR BEG

He ascended the throne of Khurāsān after Dā'ūd, in the year 451 H², and the territories of Khurāsān, 'Ajam, with

⁸ Baihaḡī does not say any thing about a throne.

⁹ Yāfa'ī says that great discrepancy exists among chroniclers respecting the date of the first assumption of sovereignty by the Saljūks, and differs much from them. Guzīdah, Faṣīḥ-ī, and other writers of authority, state that Tughrīl Beg assumed independent sovereignty over the greater part of Khurāsān, at Nīshāpūr, in 428 H, while some few writers say, in 429 H. In 431 H, after the defeat of Sultān Mas'ūd, and his retreat to Ghaznīn, all Khurāsān fell into the hands of the Saljūks, and the two brothers, and Beghū, their uncle, divided the territory between them. In 432 H, Tughrīl, who had acquired territory farther west, in 'Irāk-i-'Ajam, obtained the Khalīfah's consent to his assuming sovereignty, and the title of Sultān. He made Rai his capital, and chose 'Irāk-i-'Ajam, with its dependencies, as his portion. Khurāsān was reserved for the elder brother, Jaghar Beg-i-Dā'ūd, who made Marw [some say Balkh] his capital, and Beghū, the uncle, obtained Kirmān, Tabas, Harī [Hirāt], Bust, and as much of the territory of Hind as he could lay hands upon and filch from the Ghaznīn rulers. [See page 99, in which his and Dā'ūd's defeat by Tughrīl, the slave of 'ABD-UR-RASHĪD, is mentioned by our author *only*.] He has made a complete muddle of Tughrīl's reign, as well as Dā'ūd's proceedings, and it is difficult to separate them, without a much longer note than space will permit.

¹ This is a good specimen of our author's *random* mode of writing history. Tughrīl, who was considered the head of the family, *survived* Dā'ūd some years, and died in 455 H, as previously stated. Guzīdah says he died in 453 H, Faṣīḥ-ī 451 H, and some say 452 H. In nearly every copy of the text he is styled Alb-Arsalān-i-Tughrīl Beg, a blunder sufficiently apparent. His name was not Tughrīl.

² Alb-Arsalān ascended the throne of 'Irāk and Khurāsān in Ramaḡān 455 H,

the whole of Irāk, Khwārazm Tabaristān, Kirmān Fārs, and Sistān he brought under his sway.² He also led an army into Turkistān and Tūrān and the Maliks of Turkistān, and the Afrāsiyābi Amirs, submitted to his authority.

The vastness of his forces the immensity of his war material and the military resources of his empire, attained to such extent that the intellect of the geometrician would remain in the labyrinth of helplessness, in an attempt to compute the quantity as a poet—in all probability the Hakīm Sanā'ī—who after Alb-Arsalān's decease, composed a dirge, says of him in the following strophe.—

Thou sawest the head of Alb-Arsalān elevated to the sublimity of the seventh heaven :

Come to Marw that thou mayest see the body of Alb-Arsalān buried in the dust.

Attended neither by train or guards, nor the moon-faced, dimple-chinned ;

Nor the steed pressed by his thighs, nor the reins within his grasp

When Alb-Arsalān ascended the throne, he despatched ambassadors to the Court of Ghaznā, and entered into the strongest terms of friendship and amity with Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, and did not interfere with the Ghaznā dominions. He occupied himself in holy wars against Turkistān and Rūm, and in securing possession of the territories of Hijaz

not before ; but he succeeded to his father's dominions in Khurāsān, at his father's death in 451 H., subject to Tughril of course. His correct name and title is 'Uḡd-ul-Danlāh, Abū Shujā' i-Muḥammad, Alb-Arsalān.

² Our author forgets to state, or did not know that, by the will of Tughril Beg, Sulīmān, son of Jaghar Beg i-Dāūd succeeded ; but Kal-timish [also written Kal-mish], son of Isrā'īl, Tughril's uncle, with the aid of the Turkmāns, fought a battle with Sulīmān, at Damghān, and overthrew him. On this Alb-Arsalān came against Kal-timish, and in the action which ensued, near Damghān, Kal-timish was killed by a fall from his horse and Alb-Arsalān was left without a rival. The Khalīfah Al-Kā'im Bi-amrillah, conferred upon him the title of Barhān-ul-Mūminīn. Yāqūt, however says that as no successor had been named by the will of Tughril, Sulīmān, half brother of Alb-Arsalān, ascended the throne and that Kal-timish joined Alb-Arsalān against him.

³ This verse, minus the last half, is what Gibbon would lead us to believe was the inscription on Alb-Arsalān's tomb. The third line is different in some copies, and might be rendered :— Neither with the glittering blade at his side, &c. or Neither attended by his train with the star [one of the emblems of royalty], nor the moon-faced, &c.

⁴ See page 103, and note ¹

and Miṣr, and, influenced by the sense of pure faith and belief, he began to render services to the Court of the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Kā'im. He was distinguished upon several occasions with honorary dresses from the Khalīfah's Court, and the lieutenancy of the capital, Baghdād, was conferred upon him.

The writer and author of this TABAKĀT, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Al-Jūrjānī, intimates that, in the year 613 H, he was at the Court of Sijistān, and in that capital there was an Imām⁶ [Patriarch], the teacher of the doctors in wisdom and philosophy, and the asylum of the learned of the time⁷, whom they called Imām Rashīd-ud-Dīn-i-'Abd-ul-Majīd. I heard him, when speaking of the magnificence and majesty of Alb-Arsalān, state, that that monarch, in the year 453 or 454 H, had undertaken the subjugation of the territory of Turkistān. When he reached the frontiers of Kāsh-ghar and Balāsāghūn⁸, messengers followed him thither, bringing intelligence that the Lord of the Faithful, the Khalīfah, Al-Kā'im B'illah⁹, had sustained a great mis-

⁶ It will, doubtless, be noticed that our author seldom quotes the writings of others, and that most of his information is hearsay. The value, or otherwise, of his statements may be judged of accordingly. How he had been deceived by his "asylum of the learned of the time," may be seen from note², page 135. He only quotes Abū-l-Faẓl-i-Bahā'ī for the Saljūk dynasty, a very good and trustworthy authority, but often quotes him incorrectly, as shown in the preceding notes.

⁷ The meaning of which is, that he was, by our author's account, one of the most learned men of his time.

⁸ A city of Māwar-un-Nahr, near Kāsh-ghar, and the capital of Afrāsiyāb, which continued the seat of government of his descendants until the time of Gūr Khān [not Kor Khān, as Europeans generally write it]. ☉ stands for g as well as k in Persian, unless explained to the contrary.

⁹ Al-Kā'im Bī-amr-ullah. The Kaisar of Rūm, Armānūs [Romanus], entered the dominions of Alb-Arsalān with the intention of invading Īrān, but the greater part of his army perished through the excessive heat, and the Kaisar retired. Subsequently, Armānūs again invaded Alb-Arsalān's dominions, and the latter, with 12,000 horse—a rather improbable number—marched to encounter him. They met at a place named Malāzah gird [the ancient Mauro—Castrum], in Āzarbāijān, in the vicinity of Akhlāt, in which action the Kaisar was taken captive by a Rūmī [Roman] slave in Alb-Arsalān's army, whose person was so weak and so contemptible, that at the time of mustering the army the 'Arīz [muster-master, not a "general"] refused to take his name down, when Sa'ad-ud-Daulah, the Shahnah or agent of Alb-Arsalān, at Baghdād, said — "Write down his name, who knows but that he might take the Kaisar prisoner!" Guzīdah states that Alb-Arsalān himself ordered that his name should be taken down. The emperor Armānūs [Romanus] was defeated and taken prisoner in 459 H [after the death of Al-Kā'im], but was set at liberty the same year, on undertaking to pay "a yearly tribute at the rate of 1000 dīnārs a-day, or 360,000 dīnārs every year."

fortune—that an action had taken place between him and the Christians of Rūm and that the troops of Islām had been overthrown, and further, that the Khalīfah himself had been taken prisoner and had been immured within the walls of a fortress situated in the lofty mountains of the territory of Anbār¹ and the Jazīrah [Mesopotamia] on the frontiers of the empire of Rūm. The fortress in question is situated on a high hill or mountain, on the bank of the river Furāt [Euphrates].

Alb-Arsalān with a force of 180,000 horse all brave and veteran soldiers returned with the utmost expedition in order to release the Lord of the Faithful and revenge the defeat of the army of Islām. He pushed on with such speed and made such long marches that in the space of sixteen or seventeen days—God knows the truth of the statement—he appeared at the foot of the walls of that fortress, which was situated on the bank of the Furāt from Balasāghūn. Adopting such means of procedure as the occasion demanded, he called upon the governor of that fortress to embrace the Muḥammadan faith and caused him to be ennobled with the robe of Islām and with the aid of Almighty God, he released the Khalīfah from confinement². He accompanied the Khalīfah's sacred caval

¹ There is a place of this name on the Euphrates, Felugia or Anbar mentioned in Julian's campaigns as Purisabar and called the second city in Assyria. The Khalīfah was confined at Anah. See next note over leaf. A copyist might write Al for ale.

² Our author has made a muddle of the reigns of these Saljūq monarchs and betrays such complete ignorance here, that we may doubt his correctness in many other cases after and before. Both in the text above, as rendered faithfully and word for word, and in the six lines devoted to the history of Al Kā'im's Khalīfat, in Section IV our author plainly asserts that the Khalīfah's troops were defeated by the Nāṣarānīs or Christians, and that *the Khalīfah was made prisoner by them and confined in a fortress on the frontier until released by Alb-Arsalān*. The author apparently had either no written authorities to refer to, or did not trouble himself to do so, and composed his work chiefly on hearsay hence the woful blunder he has herein made. The Labb-ut Tawārīkh, strange to say has made the same error. The Khalīfah Al Kā'im never fell into the hands of the Romans and was never confined in a fortress by them.

Our author has confounded the events of Tughril Beg's reign with those of Alb-Arsalān &c. In 448 H. [Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh says in 447 H.] Al Kā'im summoned Tughril Beg to Baghdād and directed that his name should be read in the Khuṭbah after his own, and also be impressed upon the coin; while the name of the Mālik ur Raḥīm i Abū Naṣr son of 'Imād ud-dīn, son of Sulṭān-ud Daulah Bowīsh, was to come in after Tughril &c. Tughril finding his oppor

cade to the precincts of the capital of Islām, and then solicited permission to return [to his own dominions] Having obtained it, at the time of taking leave, Alb-Arsalān dismounted from his horse, and honoured his imperial lips by placing them to the hoof of the animal which bore the Lord of the Faithful, and kissed it On this occasion, in return for these signal services rendered by him, during all this time, to the Court of Islām, he received this much commendation and esteem, that the Lord of the Faithful, Al-Kā'im Bi-amr-'ullah, thus expressed himself—"Thou hast saved the servants of God from slaughter, and the country from destruction" Let those who read these words calmly ponder in their minds between the extent of the services of Alb-Arsalān-i-Ghāzī, and on the sublime fortitude and high resolve expressed in the words of the

tunity, after pretending friendship towards, and alliance with, the Buwīh ruler of Baghdād, seized and imprisoned him In 448 H Al-Kā'im espoused the daughter of Tughril's brother [daughter of Dā'ud-i-Jaghar Beg], Khādījah by name. In 450 H Basāsirī rose against the Khalīfah, and put him in confinement in the fortress of 'Ānah, a town of Diyār-i-Bakr, or Mesopotamia, on the east bank of the Furāt, four miles from Rāwā, and seven days' journey from Baghdād by kārwan route. The Khalīfah appealed to Tughril Beg, not to Alb-Arsalān, who did not come to the throne until nearly five years after Tughril reached Baghdād in 451 H, Basāsirī fled, the Khalīfah was set at liberty, and Tughril went to meet him, and walked, on foot, at the head of the Khalīfah's horse On that occasion Al-Kā'im hailed him—"Yā Rukn-ud-dīn!"—"O Pillar of the Faith!"—and his title, which had been Rukn-ud-Daulah, or Pillar of the State, was changed to Rukn-ud-dīn Tughril entered Baghdād on the 14th of the month of Šafar, and in that same year also Dā'ud-i-Jaghar Beg, his elder brother, died Some few authors say these events happened in 452 H Basāsirī was soon after captured and put to death, but Faṣīh-i says he was captured before the Khalīfah's release In 455 H Tughril espoused a daughter of the Khalīfah's The betrothal took place at Tabrīz, but Tughril was desirous that the marriage should be consummated at his capital, which was Rū, and he set out for that city, but before he reached his palace, having halted a short distance from the city, to enjoy the cool air, hæmorrhage came on [not "dysentery"] and could not be stopped He died 8th of Ramazān, and the Khalīfah's daughter hearing of his decease, when on the way to join him, returned, a *virgin* bride, to her father at Baghdād.

I may mention that the Tārīkh-i-Yāfa'i, which is generally so very correct and minute in the description of important events, says not a word respecting any hostilities between Alb-Arsalān and the Romans, and nothing whatever about Armīnūs [Romanus] having been captured

The Khulīṣat ul-Aḥbar turns the two expeditions of the Romans, in the last of which Romanus was taken captive, into one, and again makes the same Romanus a prisoner in Muḥk Shāh's reign There is much similar discrepancy in some other authors, which I have not space to notice here

Lord of the Faithful and what amount of eulogium every one of them conveyed

Alb Arsalān's reign extended over a period of fourteen years³ He ascended the throne in the year 451 H, and in the month of Šafar 465 H he was martyred⁴ May the Almighty again raise up their pure souls with like glory, and reserve them to Himself in Paradise above!

IV. SULTĀN JALĀL-UD-DĪN MALIK SHĀH⁵ SON OF ALB-ARSALĀN

Sultān Malik Shāh ascended the throne at Marw after the death of his father and took possession of the whole of the territories of Irān Tūrān the Jibāl [Highlands of Irāk] Irāk, Dīlam Tabaristān Rūm, Mišr and Shām besides Diyār ı Bakr Arman Sīstān and Fārs and in all the pulpits of Islām the Khuṭbah was read in his name and the coin both *dirām* and *dīnār* became ennobled by his titles

He was himself a victorious and a conquering monarch, and governed with a firm hand, and was sagacious, brave and just, and endowed with all the accomplishments befitting a sovereign and empire. He brought under his sway the whole of the countries of Turkistan⁶ and sub-

³ The length of his reign depends upon how it is computed. If his accession to his father's territory be reckoned, of course it is considerably longer; but he succeeded as an independent sovereign in the tenth month of 555 H.

⁴ Our author does not say how his martyrdom took place. Perhaps his authority for the Khalfah's captivity in the Roman territory did not inform him. It is very interesting, but much too long for insertion here; but his assassin was Yusuf, a native of Khwārazm, the governor of the fortress of Harzam [on the Jihūn], which Alb-Arsalān had taken. The murderer was nearly escaping, when a Farrāsh, or tent-pitcher beat in his head with a wooden mallet, used for driving tent-pegs. This took place in Rabi-ul Awwal, 465 H. Other authors state that the name of the fortress in question was Firbad, or Firbāq.

⁵ His title, according to most writers, was Mu'izz-ud Dīn, and his patronymic, Abū l Faṭḥ. The Nigām-ut Tawārīkh and Jahān Arā say his title was Jalāl-ud Danlāh. The correct titles appear to have been Sultān Jalāl-ud Dīn, Mu'izz-ud Danlāh, Malik Shāh, Yamin [some say Kāsim]-l Amīr ul Mūminīn.

⁶ In 468 H Malik Shāh entered Māwar-un-Nahr and subdued that territory and took the Khān of Samarkand captive. He was taken all the way from Samarkand to Isfahān on foot; but, subsequently he was taught better behaviour and restored. In 471 H Malik Shāh again entered Māwar-un-Nahr and

duced the territory of Rūm; and the vice-royalty and sovereignty of Baghdād, subordinate to the Dār-ul-Khilāfat, were conferred upon him. In Makkah and Madīnah, and in Yaman and the country of Ḥijāz, in the whole of the pulpits of Islām, the Khutbah was read in his name

He carried on various hostilities, and undertook many holy wars in various parts of the country of the Turks and the territory of Rūm, and, on every side of the territories of the east and of the west, he acquired a kingdom, and placed viceroys of his own therein. He conferred the kingdom of Rūm upon one of his brothers, and, after him, he gave it to his own son, Mahmūd⁷, and, up to this period, that territory is still in the possession of his descendants, as will, hereafter, please God, be mentioned⁸

removed, for the second time, Sulīmān Khān from the government. He was subsequently sent to the fortress of Ūz-gand [Ūr-ganj of the present day], and there immured. This is, no doubt, the same event as is referred to in the Jāmi'ut-Tawārīkh, and in Alfī, but under a wrong year. In those works it is stated that Malik Shāh, in 482 H, annexed the territory of Samrḳand, taking it from Aḥmad Khān, son of Ja'far Khān, who was a great tyrant. He was the brother of Turkān Khātūn, the consort of Malik Shāh, who was mother of Sulṭān Sanjār.

⁷ This is totally incorrect. Mahmūd, son of Malik Shāh, was never ruler of the territory of Rūm. See note 4, page 157.

⁸ Our author's account of this reign is much the same as the tragedy of "Hamlet" would be with the part of the Prince of Denmark left out. I must give a brief outline of the chief events that occurred to make it intelligible —

The year following his accession, 466 H, his brother, Takīsh [Ṭaghān Shāh], rebelled at Hirāt. He was taken and imprisoned at Iṣfahān, the capital. Then followed the rebellion of his uncle, Kāwurd, according to Guẓidah, but he was the founder of the Kirmān dynasty of the Saljūqs, which our author says not one word about. They met in battle at Kırk, near Baghdād, and Kāwurd was defeated and slain, but his son succeeded him in Kirmān, and was allowed to hold that territory. In 467 H [Jāmi'ut-Tawārīkh and Alfī, mistaking the dates, or wrongly written in the copies of those works, say in 473 H] his brother, Takīsh [this name is written by our author Takīsh, in the Shams-ul-Lughat, Tagīsh [Takīsh?], and in the Burhān-i Kāfi, Takash] rebelled, and seized several districts in northern Khurāsān, and shut himself up in Nishāpūr. Malik Shāh sent an army against him [Jāmi'ut-Tawārīkh and Alfī say he went in person, and that it was in 476 H.] In 468 H he subdued Māwar-un-Nahr for the first time, previously mentioned. In the following year Antākīah [Antioch] was taken, and the territory as far as the sea coast. In 471 H Samrḳand was taken, and Sulīmān Khān, the ruler, again deposed, and confined in the fortress of Ūz-gand. On this occasion, Malik Shāh demanded the hand of Turkān Khātūn, daughter of Tumghāsh [also written Tughmākh] Khān, a descendant of Bughrā Khān. In 475 H Khwarāzm was subdued, and conferred upon Nūsh-Tigīn, who founded the Khwarāzm-Shāhī dynasty. [See note 7, page 169] The follow-

In the *Muntakhab-ı Tārīkh* ¹ Nāṣirī which work was composed by one of the great men of the Court¹ of Ghaznīn I read that, upon a certain occasion Sulṭān Malik Shāh requested his Wazīr Nizām ul Mulk, to make ready his forces as he had resolved upon proceeding into the territory of Miṣr [Egypt] The Wazīr Nizām ul Mulk, represented, saying — It is right for the Sulṭān to ponder well over this undertaking, because that country contains the Qarāmīṭah sect, and other heretics and something of the profanities of their creed might come to the hearing of an orthodox monarch like his Majesty and I do not consider it right that such depravity should find access to the royal mind. Sulṭān Malik Shāh enjoined that they should be diligent in making due preparation for the expedition, as for him to repudiate that determination of his was impossible. Nizām-ul Mulk [consequently] made great preparations and got all things in readiness and the Sulṭān with a numerous army set out in the direction of Miṣr

When he arrived in the vicinity of it, the people of Miṣr hastened forth to perform the duty of receiving the Sulṭān but he paid no regard to any one, neither did he turn his eyes towards any thing, until he arrived before the gate of

ing year saw the rise of Ḥasan-Ṣabbāḥ, and the heretic sect of Mulāhidahs. In 480 H. Malik Shāh gave the territory of Rūm to Sulīmān, son of Qal ṭimīsh, which his descendants held for a long period of years. Shāh he bestowed upon his brother Tutuḡh [توتغش not Tutush²], who gained successes over the Arabs, Rūmīs, and Farangs. Other territories were conferred upon some of his Mamlūks or slaves, as will be mentioned hereafter. In 482 H. [the period assigned in Jāmī' at Tawārīkh and Alfī for the expedition into Miṣr un Nahr just referred to,] Malik Shāh undertook a campaign against the Kaṭṭar as the Greek emperors of Constantinople are termed by Muḥammadan writers; upon which occasion, as related by all authors of repute, Sulṭān Malik Shāh fell into the hands of a party of the Kaṭṭar's soldiers but, not having been recognized by any one, he was released through the great tact of his minister, Nizām ul Mulk. Next day a battle took place between them, when the Kaṭṭar was taken prisoner on which occasion Malik Shāh set him at liberty. In 481 H. as has been mentioned farther on, Malik Shāh went on a pilgrimage to Makkah. In 484 H., Nizām-ul Mulk was deprived of the Wazīrahīp through the intrigues of Turkān Khātūm. In 485 H. Malik Shāh sent a force against the Mulāhidahs, but it was defeated by those schismatics and, in that same year Nizām ul Mulk was assassinated by them. He was the first that fell beneath the daggers of that sect and, within a few days over a month, Malik Shāh himself departed this life at Baghdād.

¹ Ḥaṣrat, signifying the Court, the presence of the sovereign.

the city of Mīsi² When he had passed over the ferry of Mīsr, and the river Nīl, he inquired which was the palace of Fīr'awn [Pharaoh]

On being told where it was situated, he turned towards that direction, and ordered his army to halt on the spot where it then was Sultān Malīk Shāh, attended only by a single stirrup-holder, set out alone towards the place indicated He then dismounted from his horse, and, at the place where was the palace³ of Fīr'awn, performed a prayer of two genuflections He then laid his forehead in the dust, and lifted up his voice in supplication, saying —“ Oh God, Thou didst bestow the dominion of Mīsr upon me, Thy servant, and he proclaimed, saying —‘ I am your most supreme Lord⁴,’ but this Thy erring servant, having been exalted [by Thee] to the sovereignty of the countries of the east and the west, has come hither, and, bowing his forehead in the dust, says —‘ Great God ! O Lord most High ! be pleased of Thy grace and goodness to have mercy upon this Thy servant ’”

Then, raising his head from his posture of adoration, he came back, and, without entering the city of Mīsr [at all], returned to Khurāsān This anecdote is related to show the exalted nature of the faith of that just and victorious sovereign⁵

² Al-Mīsr—*The City*—Old Cairo, as it is called by the Chroniclers of the Crusades Its inhabitants, in ancient times, were rated at two millions, and those of New Cairo [Kāhīrah] at four millions The old city stood on the east bank of the Nile, and was some twenty-two miles in extent Some say its extent was thirty miles Old Cairo, or *The Mīsr*, was, perhaps, deducting exaggerations, the largest and most densely populated city the world ever contained, after Kāhīrah, ancient Thebes, and Babylon on the Euphrates The name Mīsr is generally applied at present to the whole of Egypt, but should be Diyār-ul-Mīsrīah, as in ancient 'Arab writings

³ Lit “Where was the place of Fīr'awn's throne,” signifying his Court, residence, &c

⁴ Qur'ān, chap lxix.

⁵ Whatever the author of the Muntakhab-i-Tārīkh-i-Nāṣirī may have said on the subject, I may here mention that this statement of Malīk Shāh's having made a journey, accompanied by a “large army,” into Egypt and crossed the Nile, is not confirmed, in fact, is not recorded in any history with which I am acquainted Malīk Shāh certainly made a tour throughout his dominions, “from Anṭākīah of Shām and Ladākiyah of Rūm to Māwar-un-Nahr, the frontiers of Khaṭā'i and Khutan, and from the Bahr-i-Khurz [the Caspian] to Yaman and Tāyif” He also performed the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madīnah, but there is no mention of Mīsr or the Nile Some of the story-

Another anecdote respecting the same monarch is narrated in the *Muntakhab-ı Tārīkh-ı Nāsirī* that some persons in *Ḳulustān* sent in a memorial to the Wazīr *Nizām ul Mulk* to the effect that a wealthy person had died, leaving no other heir behind him than a sister's child, and that he had left great wealth and further that it ought to go to the *Bait ul Māl** [the royal treasury] *Nizām ul Mulk* at a convenient opportunity represented the matter to *Malik Shāh* but he obtained no answer and did not receive one, until after mentioning it three times *Malik Shāh* said he would give him a reply respecting it on the following day but, when it came, he set out for the chase.

Nizām ul Mulk, in his eagerness to augment the royal treasury followed after the *Sultān* [to obtain the promised reply] *Malik Shāh* had to pass the camp *bāzār* on his way, and when he returned from the hunting ground gave directions to one of his attendants saying — I am hungry and in the *bāzār* I saw some wheaten cakes⁷ and my appetite has a mind for some. Go and purchase as many as you can procure and bring them hither.

When *Malik Shāh* approached the precincts of the camp he ascended a rising ground, and sat down until such time as they brought the wheaten cakes. He then made all the nobles with him sit down to partake of the cakes. There was one very large dish full⁸ which sufficed for more than fifty *Maliks* and *Amirs* with their attendants. After he had eaten *Malik Shāh* arose and inquired of his attendant — "For how much didst thou purchase these?" The man, with eyes bent on the ground replied — For four and a half *dāngs*⁹ [little pieces] of coin. The *Sultān* then asked the whole of those present, whether they had had sufficient, to which they replied that through the *Sultān's* liberality they had eaten all that they desired. *Malik Shāh* on

book mention it, but the account is evidently copied from our author. The *Isma'īlī Khalfahs* were independent of *Malik Shāh*.

* See note⁶ p. 62.

⁷ Thin cakes of paste called *tutma*; "

⁸ All the copies of the work but two say there were ten large dishes full. One copy says two; but, as one large dish is mentioned in another work, which gives this same anecdote, I have adopted that reading.

⁹ A *dāng* signifies a grain in general, either of wheat, barley or the like and is used to signify the fourth part of a dram. It is also used to signify the 11th part of a city and the like.

hearing the price, defrayed the amount out of his own private purse, and, turning towards Nizām-ul-Mulk, he said —“A poor frail creature like Malik Shāh, and a minister such as Nizām-ul-Mulk, and so considerable a number of followers, have eaten their fill' at the cost of four and a half little pieces of coin, therefore it would be the height of inhumanity to covet the property of orphans. Whosoever hath amassed wealth, and hath accumulated both lawful and unlawful gains, did so in order that, after his decease, his property should go to his progeny and his dependents, and not that I should take possession of it arbitrarily. Therefore give up the matter, and say no more on the subject.” The mercy of the Almighty be upon him¹ and may those, who read this, utter a benediction to his memory and to mine.

Many monuments of the goodness and wisdom of that excellent monarch remain in the world, among which one is, that the astronomical calculations were, during his reign, tested anew, and the calendar reformed, and it was after the following manner —It had been discovered from observations, that, from the want of an intercalation, very great confusion existed with regard to the lunar months, and that calculations had fallen into disorder, and that the zodiacal signs in the almanac had become involved in error. Sultān Malik Shāh commanded that the most learned men in the science of astronomy, and the most profound arithmeticians, should make fresh observations, and that the seasons and months should be again tested and adjusted, and the first day of spring, which is the first degree of the sign Aries, became named, after that monarch, the No-roz-i-Jalālī.

Nizām-ul-Mulk, Tūsī, who has left in the world so many proofs of his goodness and nobleness, was his Wazīr, and Shāikh Abū Sa'īd-i-Abū-l-Khayr, and Imām Ghazzālī lived in his reign. Sultān Malik Shāh's reign extended over a period of twenty-six years, and, in the year 491 H¹, he died. God alone is immortal.

¹ Sic in all copies of the work. Our author is greatly out of his reckoning here. According to the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārikh, Guzīdah, Alfī, Faṣīh-ī, Lubb-ut-Tawārikh, and all others of authority, Malik Shāh died at Baghdād in the month of Shawwāl, 485 H, six years before the date our author gives, and, according to the Nizām ut-Tawārikh and others, in 471 H.

V MUḤAMMAD* SON OF MALIK SHĀH

When Sulṭān Malik Shāh took his departure from this world, three sons survived him. Muḥammad the elder

* Here we have a specimen of our author's mode of writing history; and, if we may judge of the rest of his work from this part, but little dependence can be placed in him. He leaves out the reigns of MAḤMŪD and BARKĪARŪK, the successors of Malik Shāh, entirely a period of thirteen years! Space will only permit me to give a brief summary of those events.

After Malik Shāh's death, at Baghdād, his consort Turkān Khātūn, who had previously been plotting to secure the succession of her son, Muḥṣin-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd, set him up at Baghdād, and had the Khāṣṣah read for him. She sent off swift messengers to Iṣfahān to secure the person of Barkīārūk, the eldest son, who had been nominated heir and successor by his father. Having succeeded in securing him, Turkān Khātūn, with her son Maḥmūd, advanced towards Iṣfahān, the capital. Barkīārūk, aided by the slaves and partisans of the late Wazīr Nizām-ul Mulk, who had been removed from office at Turkān Khātūn's instigation, because he opposed her views, succeeded in escaping from Iṣfahān to Rāi, where forces flocked around him from all parts. He defeated bodies of troops sent against him upon two occasions, but was not powerful enough, as yet, to attempt to regain Iṣfahān, and so he remained at Rāi. Turkān Khātūn having died in Ramazān, 487 H. he moved against the capital, and Maḥmūd, his brother and rival came forth to submit to him, and the brothers embraced each other. Some of Maḥmūd's partisans, however, succeeded in seizing Barkīārūk, and were going to deprive him of his sight, when Maḥmūd was seized with small pox, and died on the third day. There is some discrepancy here, among a few authors of authority who state that Barkīārūk's escape took place in 488 H. and that he again retired to Rāi, where he was crowned and enthroned, and that he was again seized and imprisoned in 489 H. at which time his brother Maḥmūd died, as above related. However on the death of his brother Barkīārūk was brought forth from his prison, and raised to the throne; and, from this date, his reign properly commences. The Khāṣṣah acknowledged him, and the titles he conferred upon him were, according to Yāsaʿī Guddah, and others, PUKN UD DĪN ABŪ L-MUẒAFFAR, BARKĪARŪK but Faṣīḥ-ī and others say RUKN UD-DIN ABŪ L-FAWĀRIS, were his titles. There was no peace for him still and he had constantly to take the field. In 488 H. his uncle, Takīsh, revolted, but he was defeated; and, in the following year he was moving against another uncle Arsalān I Aghū, when a slave of the latter put his master to death, before Barkīārūk arrived. On the death of Arsalān I Aghū, who had held the greater part of Khurāsān, in 489 H. Sanjar the third son of Malik Shāh, and full brother of Muḥammad, was set up in Khurāsān; and, in 490 H., when in his eleventh year his brother Sulṭān Barkīārūk, nominated him to the government of Khurāsān as his deputy. In 492 H. the year in which Jerusalem was taken by the Crusaders, and Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of Ghaznā died, Barkīārūk's troops revolted against him, and he retired into Khurāsān. On this, his other brother Muḥammad, who appears to have been in revolt since 489 H. [some say 490 H.], moved from Arrān of Āsfahānjān to Hamadān, during Barkīārūk's absence, and assumed the throne. In Rajab of the following year Barkīārūk marched against him, but was defeated, and had to retire into Khurāsān again.

they called by the name of Tīr, and the second son was named Sanjar, and the youngest, Mahmūd³

Muhammad Tīr, the eldest, ascended the imperial throne,

He, however, regained sufficient strength during the next year to be able to march against Muhammad again, and, in Jamādī-ul-Ākḥir, he defeated him in 'Irāk, and Muhammad fled to Rai, at which time, according to Faṣīḥ ī, Sanjar joined him from Khurāsān. In 493 H, according to Faṣīḥ-ī, Barkiārūk was again defeated by Muhammad, and, in the same year, the former had to encounter Sanjar in Khurāsān, but he was again unsuccessful, and had to fly. Barkiārūk, notwithstanding he was exceedingly weak from severe illness, set out from Baghdād to oppose Muhammad, but the great nobles on either side succeeded in effecting an accommodation between the brothers, and Muhammad returned to Kazwīn, of which part he had held the government previously. Muhammad, however, soon regretted what he had done, and further hostilities arose. Barkiārūk again marched against him, and, in Rabī'-ul-Ākḥir, 495 H, a battle took place between them near Sāwah, in which Muhammad was defeated and routed, and he fled to Iṣfahān, followed by Barkiārūk, who invested him therein. Muhammad ventured out to try and raise the investment, but was again overthrown, and fled towards Khūc. Barkiārūk followed, and came up with him near Ganjah, and again defeated him. In Jamādī-ul-Ākḥir, 496 H, a peace was brought about, on the agreement that Muhammad should have the western parts of the empire, Āzarbāijān, Shām, Arman, Gurjistān, and a part of 'Irāk, and Barkiārūk the remainder of the empire. This having been agreed upon, Barkiārūk set out on his return to Baghdād, but his illness assumed a more dangerous form on the way thither, and he died on the 12th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 498 H, after a stormy reign of twelve years, having nominated his son, Malik Shāh, his successor. This is a mere outline of the events entirely left out by our author, and, in the account which he gives of Muhammad's reign, he makes still more serious errors than before. Gibbon [chap. lvi] destroys the empire of the Saljūks in a few words. He asserts that "The greatness and unity of the Turkish empire expired in the person of Malek Shah," and of course never mentions his successors, Mahmūd, Barkiārūk, or Muhammad. A little farther on he does say that "Sangiar, the last hero of their race," was unknown to the Franks, and that he "might have been made prisoner by the Franks, as well as by the Uzes." He means the Ghuzz tribe probably, but he omitted to state that the first Crusaders were opposed, really, by about the least powerful of the Satraps of the Saljūk empire. The eight successors of this "the last of his race," as well as himself, will be mentioned farther on.

³ Our author is totally incorrect here again. Muhammad did not succeed his father, as already shown, neither did *three* sons [most of the copies of the work say "two"] only survive. Malik Shāh. There were *four*, the eldest of whom was Barkiārūk, the youngest, Mahmūd, an account of whom I have just given. The other two sons were Muhammad and Sanjar, who were full brothers. An adopted son is also mentioned. The name Tīr [تیر] and Tabr [تبر], for some copies say one, and some the other, given to Muhammad by our author, is not mentioned in any other work, and the significations of either do not appear applicable. I am inclined to consider that he has confounded the name of Muhammad with that of his uncle Tutuḡh [توتوغش], the progenitor of the Saljūk dynasty of Shām, out of whose hands the Franks wrested Antioch, in the first Crusade.

and all the Maliks and great nobles, with their loins girded, stood before him ready to do his bidding. The Wazīrs or ministers of the east and the west, by their tact and experience, succeeded in securing possession of the whole of the territories of the empire and the Sultāns of the neighbouring countries submitted to his suzerainty.

Sultān Muḥammad Tīr however was a person wholly given to pleasure and, having found his dominions tranquil and undisturbed, he was in the habit of abandoning himself wholly to wine. He never led his forces in person towards any part of the frontiers of his empire, neither did he nominate any forces [under others for that service] consequently no event worthy of record took place during his reign, nor did his territories acquire any extension. His life of pleasure soon terminated and after passing two years in gaiety and jollity he died, and the sovereignty passed to Sultān Sanjar⁴.

⁴ Muḥammad, born 474 H. whose correct titles are Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn, Abū Shujā Muḥammad, Kaṣīm i Amīr ul-Mūminīn, whom our author calls a wine-bibber and wholly addicted to pleasure, and who according to his account but on what authority he does not mention, never led his troops or despatched any under his nobles upon any expedition whatever was, on the testimony of authors of undoubted authority one of the most intrepid of the Saljūk sovereigns, of high principle, faithful to his engagements, truthful, just, a cherisher of his subjects and moreover pious and temperate. See *Raṣaṭ uṣ-Ṣaḥā* for his character. At the very outset of his reign, having claimed the whole empire as his right, he moved to Baghdād, against the adherents of Malīk Shāh, son of Barkīrūk, who had been set up as successor to his father's dominions according to the terms arranged between Barkīrūk and Muḥammad already explained. Ṣadākah and Ayāz were defeated Ṣadākah slain [Faḥlī], however says he was put to death in 501 H., Ayāz taken prisoner and Malīk Shāh was seized and kept in confinement. In 504 H. Muḥammad defeated the Muḥiddahs, who had acquired great strength during the stormy period of Barkīrūk's reign, and had occupied a strong fortress of Iṣfahān, named Kala i Shāh. The place was reduced, and the leader put to death. After this, an expedition into Hindūstān—the western frontier must be referred to—the destruction of a famous idol-temple, and the removal of the idol to Iṣfahān, is mentioned in some authors of authority. It seems improbable, but is distinctly mentioned, and further research may throw some light upon it. Faḥlī-, however does not mention it. Subsequently Muḥammad despatched an army under the command of one of his great nobles against Almut, the stronghold of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ, the head of the sect of Muḥiddahs, but the Sultān's death happening soon after prevented the expedition succeeding. Muḥammad died in 510 H. but some authors say in 511 H., so that he reigned forty years and nine months.

VI SULTĀN-UL-A'ZAM, MU'IZZ-UD-DUNYA-WA-UD DĪN⁵,
SANJAR, SON OF MALIK SHĀH.

Sultān Sanjar was a great, dignified, and mighty monarch. His birth took place in the country of Sanjār, in the year 479 H, at the time when his father, Malīk Shāh, was engaged in the service of the Court of the Khilāfat, and occupied in the disposal of the affairs of the Lord of the Faithful.

When his father died, Sultān Sanjar was in his tenth year, and his brother Muhammad ascended the throne⁶. After his brother's death, Sanjar was raised to the sovereignty, and was distinguished by the Court of Baghdād with a dress of honour, a standard, and a commission of investiture. At the capital, Marw of Shāh-i-Jahān, and throughout the whole of the territories of Islām, over which his father and grandfather had held sway, the Khutbah was read for him, and his name was impressed upon the coin.

When he attained unto years of discretion, the flower of youth, and the bloom of manhood, the dominions of the east and of the west came under the control and administration of the slaves and vassals of his empire⁷. His first

⁵ Yāfa'ī says his titles were Sultān-ul-A'zam, Mu'izz-ud Dīn, and his patronymic Abū Hārīs-i-Sanjar. Fanākātī calls him Mu'izz-ud-Daulah, Faṣīḥ-ī, Saif-ud-Daulah, Mirat-i-Jahān. Numā styles him Sultān-is-Salāṭīn, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Abū-Hārīs, &c, and Nizām-ut-Tawārīkh and Muntakhab say his patronymic was Abū-l-Hārīs-i-Aḥmad.

⁶ On the death of Muhammad, Sanjar, then the only surviving son of Malīk Shāh, who had held the government of Khurāsān since his brother, Barkiārūk, conferred it upon him, assumed sovereignty over the whole empire, notwithstanding Muhammad had bequeathed the sovereignty over 'Irāk to his son Mahmūd. An engagement took place between Sanjar and his nephew, in which the latter was defeated, but Sanjar allowed him to retain the sovereignty, subject to himself. Mahmūd did not enjoy it long, for he died the same year, and his son, Tughrl, succeeded, but he too died the same year, and Mas'ūd, another son of Sultān Muhammad, succeeded. There having been two Mas'ūd's and three Tughrl's, several authors, one of whom is generally so correct as to dates—the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh—have confounded them. See note ⁶, p 151, and note ⁵, p 173.

⁷ Sanjar did not succeed to the sovereignty over the whole empire until the death of his elder brother, Muhammad, in 511 H [Faṣīḥ ī says in 510 H], although he had held great part of Khurāsān, almost independent, for some time previously. In 511 H, he was just thirty-one years old, and he then assumed the title of Sultān.

hostile operations were directed against Muḥammad, Khān^{*} of Samrḳand whom he defeated, and, subsequently, Sulṭān Sanjar fought sixteen different engagements on different frontiers of his territories, and came forth victorious from the whole of them.

His reign extended over a long period of time and public affairs went on in the highway of legality and on the beaten track of equity and justice. The ordinances of the sacred law of Muḥammad, and the canons of the faith of Islām conformable with the Divine commands acquired fresh vigour and newness.

The countries of Khurāsān, Irāk and Māwar un Nahr became exceedingly populous and flourishing, and, at Baghḍad royal palaces were erected in his name. The viceroyalty and the command of the troops of Baghḍād under the same conditions and provisions as those under which his forefathers had held these offices, indeed upon even more favourable terms, came into the possession of him and of his representatives.

He installed his slaves in the government, and administration of every country^{*} Arrān Irāk and Āzarbaijān he conferred upon Iladd gīz¹ who was his slave and he

^{*} Sanjar fought several battles before he became supreme ruler on the death of his brother Muḥammad. His first was with Danlat Shāh, Wālī of Balkh, who was his cousin-german. This took place in 491 H. but as Sanjar was only then in his *two/24* year, he could not have taken part in it. He may have been present with the army. The second encounter was with his elder brother Barkīārūḳ [who had nominated him to the government of Khurāsān in 490 H.], in 493 H. The third was with Kandūz Khān, near Tirmīz, in 495 H. The fourth with Arsalān Shāh, Gharnawī, in 511 H. The *first* battle fought, after he became supreme sovereign in 511 H. was against his nephew Maḥmūd, in the neighbourhood of Sāwah, in 513 H. which appears to be that said to have been fought with Mas'ūd. See page 151 and note ^{*}. Sulṭān Sanjar fought *nine* battles, in the whole of which he was victorious; and was defeated in two, as our author himself allows a few pages farther on. The expedition against Aḥmad [also called Muḥammad] Khān, son of Sulī mān Khān, styled Bādghāh of Māwar-un Nahr took place in 524 H. The Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh mentions an expedition against Muḥammad Khān, Wālī of Samrḳand, in 514 H. It appears to be the same which Faḡh-lī, Gursidāh, and Jahān Arī place ten years after. Aḥmad Khān was taken prisoner but he was restored to his sovereignty in 530 H.

^{*} Our author's statements here are contrary to facts. See note ² at page 168.

¹ This name is wrongly given here in all the copies of the work but one although, subsequently when giving an account of him, the author calls him by his right name. As *d* is interchangeable with *z*, it can be, and sometimes is,

was the father of the Atā-bak, Muhammad, and the Atā-bak, Ūz-bak, and the Atā-bak, Akhtān², are both descendants of his. The territory of Fārs was given to Sankui, who was the ancestor of the Atā-baks of Fārs, and the Atā-bak, Zangī, the Atā-bak, Duklah, and the Atā-bak, Sa'd, and his sons, are all his [Sankur's] descendants. The country of Khwārazm he conferred upon the son of Khwārazm Shāh, who was one of his [the Sultān's] servants, who was the father of I-yal-Arsalān, who was the father of Takīsh, Khwārazm Shāh, father of Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh.

The Sultān of Ghaznīn, Mas'ūd-i-Karīm [the Beneficent], son of Sultān Razzī-ud-Dīn, Ibrāhīm,—May the light of the Almighty illumine their resting place!—took the sister of Sultān Sanjar to wife. During the reign of the last, through the death of Sultān Mas'ūd-i-Karīm, it is said that dissension arose between the Sultāns of Ghaznīn. Malīk Arsalān, son of Sultān Mas'ūd, ascended the throne at Ghaznīn, and Bahram Shāh, another son of Mas'ūd, was with his father, in the district of Tīgīn-ābād of Garmsīr³, at the time of his father's decease, and, from that place, Bahram Shāh proceeded to the presence of Sultān Sanjar⁴ [his maternal uncle], and for a considerable period continued in attendance at his Court.

After some time had elapsed, Sultān Sanjar came to Ghaznīn to the aid of Bahram Shāh, and set Bahram upon the throne of Ghaznīn, and in that territory, and in Hindūstān likewise, the Khutbah was read and the coin stamped, in Sultān Sanjar's name⁵.

This dominion and power which Sanjar possessed was more extensive than had been possessed by any of his ancestors⁶. He conferred the territory of Mausil upon one

written Hatt-giz. This person's name has been incorrectly written "Atāl in," and "Ildekuz," in many translations. See page 170, and note ⁸.

² No Atā-bak of this name occurs elsewhere.

³ See note ², p. 107.

⁴ At this period Sanjar was merely ruler of Khurāsān, subordinate to his brother, although he succeeded to the whole empire shortly after.

⁵ Sanjar imposed a tribute of one thousand *dīnārs* per day upon Bahram Shāh, and, in 530 H., had to march to Ghaznīn to enforce payment, and reduce him to submission.

⁶ It is beyond a doubt that the Saljūk empire was of the greatest extent in Malīk Shāh's reign. See latter part of note ⁷, page 140.

of his slaves⁷—and the Atā baks of Maṣīl, who have been up to nearly this present time, are the descendants of this slave of his who was a Turk of Khiṭā †—and the whole of the territories of Shām were held by his slaves. Sultān Nūr ud Dīn of Shām, likewise, was one of the descendants of the Atā baks of Maṣīl as will please God be hereafter mentioned. The Maliks of Ghūr and the Sultāns of the Jibāl †, were all subject to Sultān Sanjar

During his reign hostility arose between the Sultāns⁸ of Ghaznīn and the Maliks of Ghūr and the latter were overcome. When however the territory of Ghūr came under the rule of Sultān Alā ud Dīn Husain, he refused to pay submission to the Sultān and an engagement took place between him and Sultān Sanjar in the neighbourhood of the mountain tracts of Hirāt, at a place named Sih Goshah nāb¹, and the forces of Ghūr were routed and Sultān Alā ud Dīn was taken prisoner². After some time he obtained his release, and became one of the especial confidants and intimate companions of Sultān Sanjar

About the time of the troubles consequent on the outbreak of the Ghuzz tribe when Alā ud Dīn was in company one day with Sultān Sanjar, and engaged in a carousal, Sanjar, who was seated upon the throne, thrust out one of his august legs and let the foot, on the sole of which there was a black mole, dangle over the throne³. On Alā ud

⁷ See note ² page 168.

⁸ Jibāl here signifies the northern parts of Ghūr Dāmfān, &c. not of Irāk.

¹ Petty chieftains at this time, and holding but a very small tract of country. See note ² page 166.

² This encounter took place before the gate of Aobah.

³ Our author being such a warm partisan of the Ghūrīs and their Turk successors, would not probably mention, if he knew of it, the circumstance of Ibrahim of Ghaznīn sending the head of Salf ud Dīn, Sūfī son of Husain, son of Sām, to his uncle. Sultān Sanjar encountered the Ghūrīs upon two occasions. The first time, in 501 IL. in which affair Husain, son of Sām, was made captive, and Sanjar gave orders to put him to death, but he was saved at the intercession of Shakh Ahmad, Ghazālī; and, it is stated, that for two years Husain used to light the fires for the cooks of the Sultān's army to such misery was he reduced. For further details see Section XVIII. The second occasion, when, according to our author "Alā ud Dīn Husain, refused to pay submission to the Sultān," was in 547 IL. just before Sanjar moved against the Ghuzz tribe, in which affair he was taken prisoner and at the time when the Sultān's power was almost at the lowest ebb. See note ² page 155

⁴ This statement is much more probable than that of the Ranpat-uz-Ṣafā,

Dīn's noticing this mole, he stood up and solicited that he might be allowed the honour of kissing it, and repeated these lines suitable to the occasion —

“Verily the dust at the gate of thy palace is [my] dridem,
[And] this, the collar of thy service, is my adornment
In the same manner as I kiss the mole on the sole of thy foot,
Even so good fortune [likewise] salutes my head⁴”

Sultān Sanjar acceded to his request; and, when 'Alā-ud-Dīn knelt down and kissed the mole, the Sultān contrived to twist his toes in the hair about the face of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and to keep him on the floor. 'Alā-ud-Dīn desired to raise his head from the ground, but was held down by his hair. Those present laughed, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn became disturbed, and his countenance changed. Sultān Sanjar, noticing his mortification, out of his princely beneficence and sympathy, said —“'Alā-ud-Dīn, this jesting hath hurt thy feelings, let the dominion of Ghūr be [my] amends to thee. I congratulate thee! Return again to thy capital and throne thou art my brother! Now that the troubles with the Ghuzz tribe have arisen, take along with thee all the flocks of sheep and herds of horses and camels belonging to me, my own private property. If victory aid my efforts against them, and the outbreak of this tribe should be quelled, send them back to me again, but, if not, let them be. It is far better that they should remain with thee, than that they should fall into the hands of such ingrate rebels”

Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn returned to Ghūr, and through the magnanimity and generosity of Sultān Sanjar regained his throne. This was a tradition of Sanjar's beneficence and kindness, but the author of this *Tabakāt* will here relate that which sets forth his sovereignty. I, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, in the year 611 H, when at Fīrūz-koh, which was the capital and seat of government of the Sultāns of Ghūr, heard [the following] from Amīr 'Alī, the Chā-ūsh [pursuivant], who said that his grandfather was the Marshal of the retinue⁵ of Sultān Sanjar and that his grandfather stated, that, when Sultān Mas'ūd of 'Irāk, who was one of Sultān Sanjar's

and far more clearly. The throne of state is not meant, but a chair or raised seat used on ordinary occasions. See Dorn's "Afghans," part II, p. 85

⁴ The point of the original, of course, is partially lost in translation

⁵ This seems to be about the only meaning applicable to the term سهم

brothers sons* broke out into rebellion and Karājah the Saḳī [cup-bearer] who was one of Sanjar's slaves, became his supporter in that revolt the Sulṭān marched an army from Marw, with the object of falling upon the rebels unawares.

He reached the summit of the Sāwah Pass, at the foot of which, on the Irāk side, the rebels were encamped and issued from it with a few followers but when his eye caught sight of the forces of the enemy he reined in his horse, and came to a halt. A party of nobles who had reached the spot where he was, he summoned to his side, and said to them — We have come upon this gathering

* Some discrepancy exists among historians respecting the sons of Muḥammad, son of Malik Shāh, the nephews of Sulṭān Sanjar. Gūzilāh and others mention an encounter between Sanjar and his nephew Maḥmūd in 513 H. in Irāk, who was defeated and fled to Sīwah, but mention no revolt on the part of Mas'ūd, who only succeeded to the subordinate sovereignty over Irāk-i Ajam, on the death of his brother Tughril, in 529 H. who succeeded Maḥmūd, the other brother. In the enumeration of the different victories obtained by Sulṭān Sanjar during his reign, the Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh mentions one gained over his nephew Maḥmūd in the neighbourhood of Sīwah, in 513 H. and a second gained over another nephew [?], Ma'ūd, near Dīnawar in 526 H.; but Mas'ūd only succeeded his brother in 529 H. He may have been, however, rebellious before he succeeded. The cause for such discrepancy appears to have arisen from there having been two Mas'ūds and three Tughrils, who held Irāk-i Ajam under Sanjar on the authority of Faṣīḥ-i who gives the events of each year in chronological order. That work states, that Maḥmūd, son of Muḥammad Sanjar's brother at his father's death in 510 H. [some say it took place in 511 H.], notwithstanding he had opposed his uncle in battle was allowed to retain the government of Irāk-i Ajam," but that he died in that same year. Tughril his brother succeeded him but in that same year Tughril likewise died. On this, Ma'ūd the third brother succeeded, and he became disaffected towards his uncle who marched against him, and defeated him in 513 H. in sight of Hamadīn [a long way from Sīwah]. Ma'ūd fled to Jurjān; but he was permitted, shortly after to resume his government but under supervision. There is no mention of his having been taken prisoner yet this is the account which agrees best with the statement of our author. This Ma'ūd died in 525 H. The Jahān Arī and Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh state, that Maḥmūd died in that year [Ibn-i Khalkān says in 524 H.], and was succeeded by his brother Tughril, who died in 529 H. and was succeeded by Mas'ūd; but, if Mas'ūd only succeeded in 529 H. how could he, according to the same authors, have been defeated by his uncle in 526 H.? According to Faṣīḥ-i, Mas'ūd was succeeded by Tughril, his brother but probably his son, as the same author states that his brother Tughril died in the same year as Maḥmūd, who died in 525 H. [this date agrees with Jahān Arī and the Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh above quoted], when Mas'ūd, son of Muḥammad [son of Muḥammad], Sanjar's nephew succeeded. He died in 547 H. and is said to have always been loyal to Sanjar. He was succeeded by his brother Muḥlis ud Dīn, Malik Shāh.

Dīn's noticing this mole, he stood up and solicited that he might be allowed the honour of kissing it, and repeated these lines suitable to the occasion —

“Verily the dust at the gate of thy palace is [my] diadem,
[And] this, the collar of thy service, is my adornment
In the same manner as I kiss the mole on the sole of thy foot,
Even so good fortune [likewise] salutes my head.”

Sultān Sanjar acceded to his request, and, when 'Alā-ud-Dīn knelt down and kissed the mole, the Sultān contrived to give them intimation of the force of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's sion on them, and give them intimation of the force of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's imperial standards, so that the whole of them mired to raise to come and tender their services, and rest in safety his hair the shadow of the imperial protection and pard disturbed, short, each one of the great lords and nobles making his sentation of such opinions as entered their minds apathy,

Sultān Sanjar [then] turned his face towards the Aqs, let Chā-ūsh, who was also Marshal of his retinue, and I con-
—“Chā-ūsh, what is it advisable to do?” Thence throne dismounted from his horse, and, bowing his head with the ground, repeated the following lines — see all the flocks
aels belonging to me,

“Great monarch! we ought to give aid my efforts against
We should close with the foe should be quelled, send
All the fierce lions of the f not, let them be It is far
Must be brought into the
All the huge elephants in with thee, than that they
Should doubtless be by such ingrate rebels”

It is the day of battle led to Ghūr, and through the
It is the hour for action of Sultān Sanjar regained his
If thou wouldst render the
It is essential that the sw of Sanjar's beneficence and

The Sultān replied —“It is mighty I, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, in ūsh advises,” and at once, viz-koh, which was the capital as many cavalry as had con Sultāns of Ghūr, heard [the upon the rebel forces Karāhe Chā-ūsh [pursuivant], who of 'Irāk were both taken pr the Marshal of the retinue⁵ of gathering were defeated at randfather stated, that, when countries of 'Irāk and Āzarb was one of Sultān Sanjar's

The Sultān returned to K
practice with him to pass the ate is not meant, but a chair or
the winter at Marw of Shāh-i- Dorn's “Afghans,” part II, p 85
year, that he remained longer th rtially lost in translation
applicable to the term سهم الحشم

brothers sons*, broke out into rebellion and Karājah, the Sākī [cup-bearer] who was one of Sanjar's slaves became his supporter in that revolt the Sultān marched an army from Mārw with the object of falling upon the rebels unawares.

He reached the summit of the Sīwah Pass at the foot of which on the 'Irāk side, the rebels were encamped and issued from it with a few followers, but, when his eye caught sight of the forces of the enemy he reined in his horse, and came to a halt. A party of nobles who had reached the summit along with forty other adepts [in the and said in the habit, on days of entertainment and at

* Some of of recounting the deeds of the Sultān and [of son of Māl is related that the whole of these [poets] were of tion an end and followers, accordingly composed the following 'Irāk, while the Minstrel Kamāl uz Zamān early one of Mas'ūd, when the Sultān had taken his morning draught Ajam, played* it with such feeling and touching effect obtained by Sultān, half-dressed as he was and in his slippers, was one game mounted on horseback and took neither in 513 H., and a son

In 526 H. but Mas'ūd has been, however rebellious led by the poet Ma'azī, nor were they composed to appear to have arisen from Tughril, who held 'Irāk i Ajam seasons there. The lines were composed who gives the events of each year before Sanjar was born, with the title Mifr that Maḥmūd, son of Muḥammad, Min, Abū Abd ullah, Muḥammad, born at 510 H. [some say it took place in 513 H. as Rūdakī, a famous poet, blind from his uncle in battle, was allowed to retaliate in voice, and he played enchant but that he died in that same year. Tughril was also the first native of Ajam who in that same year Tughril like he did not stay to hear all; but, succeeded, and he became disaffected son of Aḥmad, Sāmānī, to return to his him, and defeated him in 513 H. In his author states that he went to Hīrāt, and Mas'ūd fled to Jurjān; but he was that he remained a long time, and even government, but under supervision. There. His ministers, nobles, and troops, taken prisoner yet this is the account much put out at this, so much so that of our author. This Mas'ūd died in 525 even contemplated rebelling. Another at Tawārikh state, that Maḥmūd died, states that the place was Mārw with 524 H., and was succeeded by his brother, be this as it may the poet, Rūdakī was succeeded by Mas'ūd; but, if Mas'ūd died, he accordingly composed could be, according to the same author which Naṣr had taken his morning 526 H.? According to Faṣṣḥ, Mas'ūd pained by his lute. Naṣr became so but probably his son, as the same author that he did not stay to hear all; but, in the same year as Maḥmūd, who died mounted and rode off the first stage Arā and the Nuntakhab-at Tawārikh Maḥmūd [son of Muḥammad]. So in all the copies; whilst here, it appears, 547 H. and is said to have always with his lute. by his brother, Muḥlis-ed Dīn, Ma

rest nor repose until he reached the appointed destination —

“The breeze from Muḷiān’s rivulet reacheth me the same,
Even as cometh the fragrance of a loving friend
The gravel of the Amū, and the roughness thereof,
Appeareth like as the softest silk beneath my feet
The river Jihūn, with its wide-spread surface,
Reacheth, even now, to my white steed’s very girths²
O Buḵhārā ! rejoice, and be thou glad once more,
For the Shāh even now cometh a guest¹ unto thee
The Shāh is a moon, and Buḵhārā a firmament ;
The moon likewise riseth the celestial vault within.
The Shāh is a cypress, and Buḵhārā is a garden ;
The cypress also cometh unto the garden now ”

After a great part of his reign had elapsed, a body of people from Ḳarā-Khaṭā-ī, from Tamghāj, and the dependencies of Chīn, entered the confines of Ḳarā Ḳuram of Turkistān, and solicited Sulṭān Sanjar to assign them grazing-lands, and, with the Sulṭān’s permission, they took up their quarters on those confines, in Bilāsāghūn, Ḳabālīk, and Almālīk, and made those parts their grazing-grounds

When their progeny became very numerous, during the Sulṭān’s reign, they rebelled against his authority, and fought a battle against him Tānīko of Tarāz, at the nomination of Sunkam and Ī-mā, was at the head of the Khaṭā’īs The Sulṭān’s forces, from a long period of inaction, and enervated by protracted ease and luxury, were unable to cope with or stand before the enemy, and were overthrown, and they took Turkān Khātūn, who was the Malikah-i-Jahān [Queen of the Universe], and consort of Sulṭān Sanjar, captive²

² The only other signification the word used will admit of is a boat, which does seem more appropriate, for I do not think the Jihūn can be forded on horseback I have doubts whether the word is correct in the original

¹ Sic in MSS

² In 534 H Sanjar marched to Samrkand, and fought a battle with Āt Khān, but he was defeated, and had to retreat to the fortress of Tirmīz, or Tirmid, as it is also called Turkān Khātūn, and the Malik of Nīmroz, and many other great men, were left in the hands of the enemy These infidels of Khaṭā-ī, and Mughals likewise, overran Māwar-un-Nahr, slaying, devastating, and making the people captives, and, included in the numbers put to the sword by the invaders, were many great and learned men The Khaṭā-ī’s and Mughals remained in Māwar-un-Nahr until driven out by Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh. Guzīdah and Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh state that this reverse took place in 535 H

As soon as this disaster befell Sanjar, his vassal, Utsuz [it is written “Itsiz”

This was the first reverse the Sultān had ever sustained, and subsequently he concluded a peace with them and the pasture lands of Turkistān and Bilāsāghūn, along with the cities and towns included in those frontier tracts were left in the hands of the Khaṭāi invaders. After the peace was concluded they sent back Turkān Khātūn to the Sultān again. The Hakīm [philosopher] Koshakī has written much satire upon this unfortunate event, which is contained in Dīwāns and [other] books.

When this reverse became public, the affairs of the empire began to decline, and to grow weak¹, and, of the reign of Sanjar sixty years² had passed away. A body of the Ghuzz tribe, from Khandān³ now rose in revolt against the Sultān's authority⁴ and withheld the yearly tribute which had been previously fixed. The Sultān marched an army against them and the Ghuzz were willing to pay a *kalah* [ingot] of silver⁵ for each family but the Sultān would not

in Burhān i Kāṭa and in the Tārīkh i Ibrāhīmī, Ustaz, and by our author,

Ustaz "J, son of Kutb-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Nūḥ Tigin, upon whom Sanjar's father conferred the rule over Khwārazm, threw off his allegiance. Sanjar invested him in Hazār-asp in 535 H. which was taken; but he treated the rebel leniently and still allowed him to retain that territory. In 537 H. [Guzdāh says in 535 H. while the Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh says it happened in 536 H.] Gūr Khān, who, in concert with Āt Khān, defeated Sanjar in the Daḡht, or Desert of Kafrān [قارآن], on the frontier of Samrḳand, died and, after this happened, Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh expelled the infidels from Māwar un Naḥr.

¹ It was, according to Guzḍāh and others, after Sanjar's defeat by the Khaṭāi's and Mughals that Aḥ-ud Dīn, chief of Ghūr ventured to show hostility towards him. Sanjar defeated him before Aobah in 547 H. and Aḥ-ud Dīn was taken prisoner but was subsequently released. Our author has mentioned this as about the first event of Sanjar's reign.

² See note ¹ page 157

³ A tract of territory on the frontier of Ghān. A few MSS. have Khutlān.

⁴ Fanākatī says that, when the Ghuzz tribe crossed the Jihūn, Badr-ul Mulk, Ajamī, the Sultān's Wazīr advised Sultān Sanjar to attack them. This he did, and was overthrown and taken prisoner and Khurāsān, Kirmān, and Fārs were seized by them.

The Sultān marched against the Ghuzz in 548 H. The details are far too long for insertion here. Upwards of a hundred thousand persons, not including women and children, were afterwards massacred by the Ghuzz, and the territory of Khurāsān was devastated. In the following year was born Tamūghīn, afterwards known by the name of Chingiz Khān.

⁵ Guzḍāh says a *manā* [which signifies two pounds of twelve ounces each] of silver. Price, quoting the Khulīfat-ul Akhbār, says a *quarter of a hundredweight of gold*, besides 100,000 *dīnārs*, which is ridiculous. Our author's account is the most probable one.

agree to it, and, on this account, gave battle to them, and was defeated and taken prisoner

On the Sultān falling into their hands, the whole of the Ghuzz dismounted before his stirrup, and saluted him, and tendered their services. The Ghuzz chieftains, such as Tūṭī, Ḳurgharat, Malīk Dīnār, Ibīāhīm, and Khutalī, besides others, girded up their loins before the Sultān's throne [to serve him], and began themselves to issue mandates [in his name], and they divided Khurāsān among themselves. Whatever it was requisite to do they did, and they used to state, "The Sultān commands this and that." The slaves and servants of the Sanjarī dynasty became dispersed and separated, and the affairs of the country became disorganized, and the thread of sovereignty snapped asunder.

After some time had passed—about a year, more or less⁸—one of the slaves, who was one of the Sultān's nobles, proceeded to the Sultān Sanjar's presence, and presented himself, and, as if going out on a hunting excursion, mounted the Sultān on horseback, and brought him away [out of the hands of the Ghuzz], and restored him to liberty once more. He conducted the Sultān to Marw⁹, and placed him on the throne again, and some of the still remaining adherents of the dynasty collected around him, but the Sultān's days had now drawn towards their close, and the sovereignty had grown antiquated and gone to decay. On Monday, the 24th of the month Rabī'-ul-Awwal, in the year 552 H, Sultān Sanjar died at Marw, and was there buried. His age was seventy-three years.

⁸ Our author generally eschews dates. Here again we have a specimen of his mode of writing history, when he asserts that Sanjar remained in captivity "about a year, more or less." Sanjar remained nearly four years in the hands of the Ghuzz, and, during this period, no efforts were made to effect his escape, lest his consort, Turkān Khātūn, who appears to have again fallen into captivity, might remain in their hands. She having died, however, in 551 H, Sultān Sanjar succeeded in gaining over the Ghuzz chief who had charge of him, so far as to get him to take him out on a hunting excursion to the banks of the Jīhūn. Arrangements had been made for the occasion, and Amīr Aḥmad i-Ḳamāj, governor of Tirmīz, was awaiting him on the bank, where he had got boats in readiness. The Sultān succeeded in throwing himself into one, and his people got into others, and then made their escape. In Ramaḡān of that year, the Sultān succeeded in assembling a force at Tirmīz, and he then set out, under its escort, to Marw.

⁹ See latter part of preceding note.

and a little over, and his reign lasted sixty two¹ The mercy of the Almighty be upon him !

ACCOUNT OF THE SULTĀNS OF RŪM² OF THE SALJŪKĪAH DYNASTY

THE Sultāns of Rūm were of the race of Saljūk and were great and powerful monarchs, and in the territories of Rūm and the country of Afranj³, numerous signs and marks of their goodness and benevolence, their expeditions and holy wars, their conflicts with unbelievers, buildings of public utility and charity in the shape of colleges mosques, monasteries for darweshs, karwānsarāes, bridges, and charitable and pious foundations, remain to this day and the accounts of their descendants their Maliks and their Amīrs, and of their heroic achievements in that country are recorded in trustworthy books.

When the Sultān of Sultāns, Sanjar on whom be the mercy of the Almighty ascended the throne of his father and became established in the sovereignty of the world, and when the territories of Islām both east and west were taken possession of by his servants, and the *khutbah* was read for him from all the pulpits of Islām and the money of the world became adorned with his name and titles he conferred the kingdom of Rūm upon his brother Maḥmūd son of Malik Shāh⁴ The whole of the Sultāns [of that country]

¹ Guzidah says Sanjar died of grief on the 16th of Rabī' ul Awwal 552 H. aged seventy-two years. The length of his reign must be calculated from the death of his brother Muḥammad in 510 H., at which period he was thirty-one years old. Previous to this he was but subordinate ruler of Khurāsān; and historians calculate his reign from the date above mentioned. Other authors state that he reigned forty-one years.

² Our author completed his work in 658 H. and Sanjar died in 552 H.; and, although the Saljūk dynasty existed for thirty two years after Sanjar's death, and had terminated ninety-eight years before our author closed his history he says nothing about Sanjar's successors.

³ Europe, the countries of the Christians, and the Roman empire of the east.

⁴ All the copies of the text are alike here. Our author has made a precious hash of this Section of the Rūmī dynasty of the Saljūks. Sanjar *did not* as he states, first establish that dynasty neither was Sanjar's brother Maḥmūd, the first subordinate sovereign of Rūm, nor was his son, Mas'ūd, the second, nor were they ever its rulers. He has confounded the Sultāns of Irāk and those of Rūm together. Sanjar's brother Maḥmūd, moreover died when in

are his [Mahmūd's] descendants, an account of every one of whom is recorded in this Tabakāt, in order that its readers may call to remembrance, with a blessing, those who have passed away, and acquire some information respecting that dynasty*

* I will now demonstrate what I have referred to by giving a brief account of the rulers of Rūm, of the Saljūḳ dynasty

Kil-timish [كَلْتَمِش—written likewise Kil-timish كَيْلَمِش and Kat-limish كَاتَلَمِش—but the last syllable is evidently the same as occurs in the name of the Turkish slave-sovereign of Dihlī, “I-yal-timish,”] son of Isrā’īl, son of Saljūḳ, Alb Arsalān’s great uncle’s son, according to the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, rebelled against him [Alb-Arsalān], but, in an action near Dāmghān in Muharram, 456 H, Kil-timish was defeated, and was found dead on the field Alb-Arsalān desired to put Kil-timish’s sons to death, but was dissuaded from doing so by his Wazīr, and was induced to make Sulīmān, son of Kil-timish, viceroy of certain territories of Shām, and he was the founder of the Saljūḳ Sultāns of Rūm Guzidah states that Kil-timish received the investiture of the government of Damashq, from Malīk Shāh, at the time when he conferred so many territories upon others See note 2, page 168 Sulīmān, who was employed against the Christians in 467 H [A.D. 1074-5]—but Faṣīḥ-i and a few others say in 469 H—succeeded by stratagem in wresting Antākīah out of the hands of Firdaus [Philaretus], Rūmī, after it had been in the hands of the Christians

his tenth year, in 489 H, only twenty-one years before Sanjar succeeded to the throne, and when Sanjar was about the same age The first two sovereigns here mentioned as rulers of Rūm, who undertook expeditions against “the infidel Afranj,” were the first two rulers of ‘Irāḳ, subordinate to Sanjar, as will be seen on reference to the second Rūmī sovereign, so called, and Sanjar’s reign where Karājah, the cup-bearer, is referred to, page 151 From the third to the ninth, the rulers mentioned in this Section are correctly given as far as their names and a very meagre account of their reigns go, but the tenth ruler, again, was the last ruler of ‘Irāḳ, not of Rūm I noticed, when reading the work, that, at the latter part of the reign of Mas’ūd, all the copies of the original contained matter totally unintelligible with regard to that sovereign It is strange too that all the copies of the work should be the same, for some of the MSS I have collated, one in particular, are certainly five or six hundred years old Still more strange is it, however, that, not only should the author in his preliminary notice of the Sultāns of Rūm mention Maḥmūd, brother of Sanjar, as the first, but, that he should subsequently mention his undertaking expeditions against the Christians, and, with reference to the second ruler, Mas’ūd, Maḥmūd’s son, he says that Sanjar, *at first*, conferred the throne of ‘Irāḳ upon him [Mas’ūd], thus inferring that, subsequently, that of Rūm was given to him The heading of a chapter or paragraph might be put in incorrectly by a copyist, but the sense of the matter cannot be, nor could Rūm have been inserted for ‘Irāḳ It is therefore evident that our author himself made a muddle of his work, and confounded the rulers of ‘Irāḳ with those of Rūm, which, from other errors he has made, is not improbable It will also be noticed that he makes no mention whatever of the Saljūḳs of Kirmān, consisting of eleven sovereigns, whose dynasty outlasted all the others—but he has also left out all the other ‘Irākī rulers, except the two first and the last, who do duty for the Rūmīs—neither has he given any account whatever of Sanjar’s successors, nor does he notice at all other less powerful dynasties

I MAḤMŪD SON OF MALIK SHĀH

On the throne of the territory of Rūm having been conferred upon him by Sultān Sanjar his brother he undertook many holy wars in that region and on the frontiers of Islām. He marched armies against the infidel Afranj and carried on holy war according to the canons and ordinances of the sacred law. He captured fortresses and cities, and ruled over the servants of Almighty God with justice and beneficence. After he had reigned for a considerable time he died.

II MAS'ŪD, SON OF MAḤMŪD SHĀH.

Sultān Mas'ūd was the son of Maḥmūd son of Malik Shāh. At first, Sultān Sanjar conferred the throne of Irāk upon him and, on one occasion through the power and authority which he had acquired in that territory he combined with Karājah the Sākī [cup-bearer] and they rebelled against the Sultān.

The Sultān came upon them suddenly and attacked them⁶ and took both Mas'ūd and Karājah the cup-bearer prisoners. After that occurrence the affairs of Mas'ūd went to ruin and he never ascended the throne again but, in the person of his son Kazıl Arsalān by name, he acquired considerable power and became sovereign, and carried on the government⁶.

* * * * *

[Twelve copies of the original are all hopelessly defective here, and no two copies are alike. No break occurs in either MS to indicate that any portion whatever has been lost or misplaced or that any omission has been made in copying⁷

since 358 H. This was effected during the reign of the Greek emperor Alexius Comnenus. I SULĪMĀN [the Sölyman of Tasso] acquired great renown by this, and, in 480 H. Malik Shāh [not Sanjar as our author states, for he was then only an infant in his first year], conferred the sovereignty on him. He reigned twenty years, and was succeeded by his son, II DA'ŪD who

⁶ See the particulars, at page 151.

⁶ This is the only sense that is to be gathered from the original and the statement is incorrect. See note ⁴ page 157.

⁷ Not even in the precious Paris copy which M. Tascheran so fondly imagines to be in our author's own handwriting.

The context, in fact, proves that Minhāj-i-Sarāj considered Ẹazil-Arsalān to be the son and successor of Mas'ūd, and, such being the case, the extent of our author's knowledge of history is impressively indicated]

* * * * * * *

III ẸAZIL ARSALĀN⁸, SON OF MAS'ŪD, SON OF MAḤMŪD, SON OF MALIK SHĀH

After the decease of his father, Ẹazil-Arsalān acquired some little power, and possessed himself of some of the frontier districts of the territory of Rūm. He ruled for a short period and died.

IV ẸULĪJ-ARSALĀN, SON OF KAZIL-ARSALĀN

Kulij-Arsalān was the son of Ẹazil-Arsalān, who was the son of Mas'ūd, son of Mahmūd, son of Malik Shāh. He assumed the sovereignty of Rūm after the death of his father, and became a very great and powerful monarch. He possessed himself of the territories upon the confines of Rūm, captured many fortresses and strongholds, performed many heroic exploits, and acquired a great name on account of the infidel Afranj having been often worsted and overthrown by him.

All the Sultāns of Rūm glory in their connexion with him, and he obtained the felicity of martyrdom. He was interred at Ẹkūniah⁹, which is a large city in Rūm.

ascended the throne at Kūniah. He gained some successes over the Christians, and, after a reign of eighteen years, died in 518 H. His brother, III KULĪJ ARSALĀN, succeeded, who is said by one author to have fought a naval battle with the Christians, and, after an arduous struggle, to have been victorious, but there is some discrepancy with respect to the date, and the story may refer to the previous reign. He reigned until 539 H, but some say until 537 H, but, having been defeated in a battle with the 'Irākī Saljūks, he was drowned whilst crossing a river, when retreating before them. His son, IV SULTĀN MAS'ŪD, succeeded, who, after a reign of nineteen years, died in

⁸ Mas'ūd, brother of MaḤmūd, son of Ghīyās ud-Dīn, Muḥammād, Sanjar's brother, had no son so named. The lines which follow are meaningless, but are alike in all the copies.

⁹ Called Kōniah by Europeans.

V 'IZZ-UD-DĪN KAI KĀ ŪS, SON OF KULIJ ARSALĀN

Sultān Izz ud Dīn Kai Kā Ūs, ascended the throne after his father's death, and brought the country under his rule. He carried on holy war against the infidels of Afranj and fought several battles with them in that country. He founded colleges and masjids, and left many monuments of his goodness and bounty behind. He was interred by the side of his father in the city of Kūnīah.

VI. KAI KUBĀD SON OF KAI KĀ ŪS.

Sultān Alā ud Dīn, Kai-Kubād, ascended the throne on the decease of his father Kai Kā Ūs, and brought under his sway the territories of Rūm, and parts adjacent.

558 H. He was succeeded by his son, V 'IZZ UD-DĪN KULIJ ARSALĀN who ascended the throne at Kūnīah. He annexed some of the territories of the Christians, and, after a reign of twenty years, died in 578 H. After him came his son, VI. RUKN UD-DĪN SULIMĀN SHĀH the eldest, and, between him and his brother Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn Kai Khusrāu, who had been nominated successor by his father, hostilities arose, which went on till 588 H. Kai-Khusrāu fled to the Christians. Sulimān annexed Arṣ-ī Rūm and Kārī [Kari], with their dependencies. He reigned twenty four years, and died in 602 H. His son, VII. IZZ-UD-DĪN KULIJ ARSALĀN II. son of Sulimān, succeeded. He was an infant, and his uncle Kai-Khusrāu having been recalled from the Farang, in 603 H. succeeded, after a year in depriving him of the sovereignty and Kulij Arsalān was shut up in a fortress, where he died in 609 H. VIII. CHIVĀṢ-UD-DĪN KAI KHUSRAU after dethroning his young nephew in 603 H. assumed the sovereignty. He took Antakīah from the Christians, into whose hands it had again fallen, in 603 H., and was himself killed in a battle with the ruler of Istanbul [Constantinople], after a reign of six years, in 609 H. but some authors say in the preceding year and some, 610 H. This probably is the fifth monarch referred to by our author under the name of Kulij-Arsalān, as he is the only one mentioned who attained the felicity of martyrdom in having been slain by the Christians. His brother Alā-ud Dīn, Kai Kubād, rose against him but had to submit, and was confined in a fortress.

Ghiyāṣ ud Dīn, Kai Khusrāu, having been slain in battle with the Christians, was succeeded by his son, IX. IZZ-UD-DĪN KAI KĀ ŪS but he died after a short reign of about a year. Most authors do not mention this prince at all. He was succeeded by his uncle, Alā-ud Dīn, Kai Kubād, who is about the first of the sovereigns of this dynasty that can be traced by his correct name and title, from our author's account of them. X. ALĀ UD-DĪN KAI KUBĀD who had been immured in a fortress, succeeded his nephew 'Izz-ud Dīn, Kai Kā Ūs, in 610 H. and is accounted one of the greatest sovereigns of the dynasty. Hostilities arose between him and the

He fought battles with the infidels of Afranj, and many indications of his goodness exist to this day

He had sons, who acquired great renown, and became great men. He died on the 5th of the month Shawwāl, in the year 633 H, and he, likewise, was buried at Kūnīah

VII KAI-KHUSRAU, SON OF KAI-KUBĀD

Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Kai-Khusrau¹, was a great monarch of noble disposition and excellent qualities, just and impartial. Having ascended the throne after the death of his father, he took possession of the territories of Rūm, and assumed the government of them.

In this reign, the disturbance and disorder consequent upon the irruption of the army of infidel Mughals had reached the frontiers of Rūm². The Sultān, in such manner as he was able, entered into friendly relations with the Farang³. He was assembling an army upon the frontiers bordering upon the territory of Islām, when, suddenly,

unfortunate but gallant Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the last of the Khwārazm Shāhīs. They fought a battle, in Ramazān, 627 H, in which Kai-Kubād was victorious. The Mughal, Uktāe Kā'ān, sent him a Yarlīgh [diploma] congratulating him, and the Khālīfah [for overthrowing a good Musalmān perhaps] conferred upon him the title of Sultān-i-A'ẓam, wa Kasīm-i-Mu'azzam. He reigned twenty-six years, and died in 634 H, having been poisoned, by mistake some authors say, by his son, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Kai-Khusrau, who assumed the throne

¹ Our author is correct here as to the name and title. GHIYĀS UD-DĪN, KAI-KHUSRAU, the eleventh of the dynasty, is the man who poisoned his own father, of whom our author gives such a glowing account.

² An army of Mughals marched against him, under Tājū, Nūyān, and the Mughals obtained sway over the territory of Rūm, after an engagement at Koshah-dāgh, in 641 H. Kai-Khusrau died in 642 H, but Guzīdah says in 644 H, and Jahān Ārā and Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh say in 643 H, but Rauzat us-Safā says in 640 H, which is certainly incorrect. His son Sulīmān succeeded.

³ The word "Farang" is used here in all the copies, but Afranj is the word previously used. This, doubtless, is what Gibbon refers to in grandiloquent style, which often covers great errors. — "Flying from the arms of the Moguls, those shepherds of the Caspian [whom he styles '*the strange and savage hordes of Carizmians*,' thus indicating the extent of his knowledge of the matter] rolled headlong on Syria, and the union of the Franks with the Sultans of Aleppo, Hems, and Damascus, was insufficient to stem the violence of the torrent." The "torrent" of course signifies the fugitive Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn flying from the Mughals, who was defeated by Alā-ud-Dīn, Kai-Kubād, as related in a previous note.

he was deserted and left alone by his troops. The Mughal forces made an inroad into that territory; and after they again retired Kai Khusrau died in the beginning of Muḥarram, 643 H.⁴

He reigned for a period of eleven years and named his son, Izz ud Dīn Kai Kā ūs, his heir and successor

VIII. 'IZZ UD-DĪN KAI KĀ ŪS SON OF KAI KHUSRAU

According to his father's nomination as successor to the sovereignty Sulṭān Izz ud Dīn, Kai Kā ūs, ascended the throne of Rūm in the beginning of the year 643 H. and the Maliks and other great nobles submitted to his authority.⁵

As he was celebrated for his energy his warlike accomplishments, and his nobility of mind he strengthened his frontiers on the side of Afranj and, as a matter of necessity

⁴ Died in 644 H. according to Guzidah and Faṣīḥ I, and in 642 H. according to the Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh.

⁵ As is often the case towards the termination of a dynasty authors here are at variance one with another respecting the succession. Some say that Ghīyā-ud Dīn, Kai Khusrau was succeeded by his son, Izz ud Dīn, Kai-Kā ūs, and that he, as our author states, *despatched* his brother Rukn-ud Dīn, Kulj Arsalān [called by others Rukn-ud Dīn Sulīmān], to the camp of the Mughal Kā an. The facts, however appear to be as follow. On the death of Ghīyā ud Dīn, Kai Khusrau, in 642 H. his son, 'IZZ RUKN UD-DĪN SULĪMĀN succeeded. It was he who despatched his brother Aḥ ud Dīn, Kai-Kābād, to the Court of Ab-ghā [called also Ab-kā] Khān, where he continued for a considerable time in distress and trouble. Having at length succeeded in his mission, he set out on his return, but Rukn ud-Dīn, Sulīmān, suspecting he was coming with designs against him, had him put to death as soon as he entered his territory; and another brother 'Izz ud Dīn, Kai Kā ūs, fled to the camp of Barkī Khān. After a reign, so called, of twenty years, Sulīmān was himself put to death, by order of Ab-ghā Khān, in 664 H.

Others, on the contrary say that Rukn ud Dīn, having succeeded in obtaining from the Mughal Kā an a grant of investiture for himself, on his return into Rūm, was the cause of great disorders; and that Izz-ud Dīn, Kai Khusrau fled to Istanbul, and was proceeding to the Daḡt i Kabchak to lay his case before the Kā an, but died on the way. Rukn-ud Dīn having in the mean time, with Mughal aid, assumed the sovereignty; but, after a short time had elapsed, Rukn ud Dīn [called Kulj Arsalān by some and Sulīmān by others] was found to have been intriguing with the ruler of Mīr and was put to death in 664 H.

As our author finished his history in 658 H. I have no occasion to say more than that he records events respecting the Mughals which, evidently belong to the reign of Ghīyā ud Dīn, Kai Khusrau, the seventh ruler by his account, and has confused the events of the following ones.

consequent upon the power and predominance of the infidel Mughals over the dominions of Islām, he, in order to ward off [the inroads of] that race, despatched his younger brother into Turkistān to the Court of Mangū Khān, the Mughal, so that he might, under terms of peace, be left in possession of his dominions.

On Rukn-ud-Dīn, Ḳulij-Arsalān, the envoy and brother of Sultān Kai-Kā-ūs, reaching the presence of Mangū Khān, the Mughal, he preferred requests, and made solicitations contrary to the mandate of his brother. He sought from Mangū Khān the territory of Rūm for himself, and likewise assistance from him to enable him to liberate that country from the hands of his brother. Mangū Khān gave him the daughter of the Nū-īn⁶ [a Prince, or a great noble,] Aljaktā, the Mughal, and despatched Aljaktā, with his troops, to aid Rukn-ud-Dīn, Ḳulij-Arsalān [against his brother]

When they reached the Rūmī territory, 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kai-Kā-ūs, retired before them, and Ḳulij-Arsalān and the Mughals became dominant over Rūm. Kai-Kā-ūs went to Aor Khān of Rūm, and, having obtained aid from him, came and suddenly attacked the Mughals, and overthrew them'. He captured his brother, and immured him in a fortress.

After some time, he, Ḳulij-Arsalān, succeeded in escaping, and went to the Mughals, and, as what has happened since has not become known to the author, this [notice of him] has been thus much abridged

IX ḲUTB-UD-DĪN⁸, ḲULIJ-ARSAĻĀN

Trustworthy persons call him Rukn-ud-Dīn, Ḳulij-Arsalān, and say that he is among the Mughals, along with Hulāū, the Accursed, in the direction of the territory of Āzarbāijān. What the upshot of his affairs may be no one can say, but, please God, may they end well⁹!

⁶ Also written Nūyān

⁷ Who Aor [in one copy Ūz] Khān of Rūm might have been, it would require our author to explain. No overthrow of the Mughals by the Saljūks of Rūm is mentioned by other writers.

⁸ One copy has Rukn-ud-Dīn

⁹ This short account varies, and is somewhat less in some of the copies of the work. Hulāū is also styled Hulākū!

* * * * *

[The author now returns to the last of the Saljūqs of Irāk¹ All the MSS are alike here.]

* * * * *

X TUGHRII, SON OF TUGHRII.

Respecting the descent of this Prince two different accounts have been given. Some relate that he is Tughrii, the son of Tughrii, son of Ḳazil Arsalān².

Sulṭān Tughrii was a sovereign, and the son of a sovereign and a person of great magnificence and his reign was contemporary with that of Sulṭān Alā ud Dīn Takīsh, Khwārazm Shāh³.

His strength was so very great, that not a warrior of his day could lift his mace⁴ from the ground, and he was a man of great stature and of awe-striking presence. Persons of credit relate, that the hair on his upper lip was so long, that he used to draw his moustaches back, and put them behind his ears.

He was one of the brother's sons of Sulṭān Sanjar⁵ and was [left] very young in years on the decease of his father. The sons of the Atā bak İladd-gız—who was one of Sanjar's slaves and had previously been ruler of that territory and had espoused Tughrii's mother [grandmother of Tughrii, widow of Arsalān Tughrii's father], after his father's death—had acquired power over Irāk and when their father died they immured Sulṭān Tughrii in one of the fortresses of Irāk and took the country into their own possession⁶.

¹ All the copies are alike in this respect, and no hiatus whatever occurs in the different MSS. to show it. I merely discovered it from the names and events mentioned.

² Not so: Tughrii, the last of the dynasty was son of Arsalān Shāh, and his title was Rukn-ud Dīn. There are no contrary accounts that I know of. One copy has Tughrii, son of Arsalān, son of Ḳulij Arsalān.

³ In some copies this paragraph is placed at the end of his reign.

See note ⁷ page 91

⁴ He was Sanjar's brother's great-grandson, if not one generation farther removed.

⁵ I have been obliged to take a little liberty with the text of this paragraph, which, in all twelve copies, is in a hopeless state of muddle. No two copies are alike; and, as the text now stands, it is a mere jumble of words without any observance of grammatical rules. The literal translation of this passage, as it now stands, is as follows:— He was one of the brother's sons of Sulṭān

When Sultān Ṭughrīl reached man's estate, and became famous for his vast strength, his great bodily vigour, his nobility of mind, and his warlike accomplishments, a party [of adherents] rendered him aid, and set him at liberty from imprisonment. He came forth, and great numbers of the servants of his father and grandfather flocked around him. He assumed the Chatr [canopy of royalty], and became Sultān. The following are two lines from a poem composed on his escape from confinement, and his rise to dominion and power⁷ —

"The tidings reach'd Rai—'The Sultān is come!'—
And that august canopy of his is to Hamadān come"

After Sultān Ṭughrīl had acquired supremacy over the territory of 'Irāk, and had reigned for a considerable period, a number of his servants despatched letters to Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Takīsh, Khwārazm Shāh, and invited him to come into that country. In accordance with that request, Sultān Takīsh invaded 'Irāk with a large army. When the two armies came into proximity with each other, one or two ingrate slaves acted treacherously towards Sultān Ṭughrīl, and came up behind his august back and martyred him.

At this period his other followers were engaged in front, at the head of a pass, fighting bravely, and did not become aware of this piece of treachery, until those treacherous ingrates brought the august head of their sovereign to Sultān Takīsh, Khwārazm Shāh, who despatched it to that staunch and steadfast band of Ṭughrīl's followers

Sanjar, and had been left, after his father [s death] very young [in years]. The sons of the Atā-bak Īladd-gīz, who was a slave of Sanjar's, having acquired power over 'Irāk, because *his* [sic] father was ruler of 'Irāk, [and], when he died, *they* imprisoned Sultān Ṭughrīl in one of the fortresses of 'Irāk, took his mother to wife [sic], and possessed themselves of the country." For a correct account of these matters see the following note, and note 7, page 169.

⁷ Jahān-Pahlawān, the Atā-bak, on the death of his half-brother [see under Atā-baks of Āzarbāijān and 'Irāk, page 171, and note⁹] Arsalān Shāh, set up the latter's son, Ṭughrīl, as sovereign of 'Irāk, who was then seven years old. While his maternal uncle, Jahān-Pahlawān, lived, Ṭughrīl's affairs prospered, and he reigned in some splendour. Jahān-Pahlawān, however, died in 582 H, and K... Arsalān, his full brother, desired to take his place as Atā-bak to... of K... is me.

⁸ One copy of latter, being impatient of restraint, would not brook it, and,

⁹ This short ac... arose between them. For further particulars respecting the work. Hulāwī-Arsalān, see note⁹, page 171, and note³ page 172

When they found what had happened, they declared that they would not cease fighting and using the sword, until he, Sultān Takish, should deliver up to them the murderers of their sovereign, whereupon they would yield to him. Sultān Takish complied and delivered up the murderers, whom they sent to the infernal regions. Then taking along with them the head of Sultān Tughril they proceeded to the presence of Sultān Takish, and submitted to him. He took the head in his arms, and along with them performed the customary mourning [for the deceased] and Sultān Takish, Khwārazm Shāh, took possession of Irāk⁸.

⁸ Tughril's death occurred in the following manner:—Takish of Khwārazm, having invaded Irāk at the instigation of Kutlagh Inānāy encountered Tughril's forces within three farsakhs of Rai, where Tughril had pitched his camp. According to several authors Tughril and Kutlagh Inānāy were engaged hand to hand, when Tughril struck his own horse a blow with his mace, which was intended for his opponent, and the horse fell with him and Tughril was slain by Kutlagh Inānāy. I prefer however the circumstantial account of Yāsi' who says that whilst Tughril was leading his troops in a charge, his horse stumbled, and Tughril was thrown to the ground. At this moment Kutlagh Inānāy reached the spot, and desired to give Tughril a finishing blow and slay him before he was recognized. This he accomplished, and the body was then placed upon a camel and taken to the presence of Takish, who, on seeing his enemy in this condition, knelt down and gave thanks to the Almighty for the mercy vouchsafed to him. His head was sent, as an insult, to the Khallfah at Baghdad, and his body was exposed upon a gibbet in the bāzār of Rai, on Thursday the 29th of Rabi'-ul Awwal, 510. Thus ended the first dynasty of the Saljūks, who ruled over Khwārazm and Irāk for a period of 161 years. This account of Tughril and his death is widely different from our author's. The Khallfah was hostile to Takish under his reign. Section VII.

Our author does not give any account of the Saljūk dynasty of Kirman of that which ruled so long in Kirman.

SECTION XIII

ACCOUNT OF THE SANJARĪYAH RULERS

THE humblest of the servants of the Almighty's Court, Minhāj-ı-Sarāj, Jūrjānī, states, that, when the period of the dynasty of the Sanjarīyah expired, and no son remained unto Sulṭān Sanjar, nor brother's sons¹ [likewise], every one of his slaves held some territory among the dominions of Islām. These slaves assumed the title of Atā-baks [guardians and preceptors], and, to the brother's sons of Sulṭān Sanjar, they accorded the title of Sovereign, whilst they possessed themselves of the different territories of the empire².

These Atā-baks were of different races. One was the descendant of the Atā-bak, İlatt-gız, to whom Sulṭān Sanjar had given the territories of 'Irāk and Āzarbāijān, the second, the Atā-bak, Sankur, to whom he had given

¹ So in all the copies, but a few lines under our author contradicts himself

² Our author appears quite as much in the dark with respect to the Atā-baks, if not more so than he is with regard to the Sulṭāns of Rūm. It was Sulṭān Malīk Shāh, the father of Sulṭān Sanjar—not Sanjar himself—who made several of his Mamlūks or slaves, as well as some of his relatives and nobles, rulers over different parts of his vast empire [see page 138], as the dates which I shall give will prove, and on the authority of authors of undoubted authority, such as have been already mentioned. For the information of the general reader uninitiated in Oriental lore, I would mention that the words Mamlūk and Ghulām, signifying "slave," must not be understood in the sense "slave" conveys in our language. These slaves were sometimes captives, but more often boys of Turkish origin, purchased by kings and their great nobles of traders—slave dealers—and trained for the highest offices. They were sometimes adopted by their masters, and were frequently made governors of provinces, and leaders of armies. Numbers of these Turkish slaves possessed the throne of Dīhlī, as will hereafter be mentioned in these pages.

The Atā-baks, it must be remembered, notwithstanding our author's assertions, were, at the outset, more or less, subject to the sovereigns of the house of Sūljūq, and acted as tutors and guardians of various young princes, which the word Atā-bak means, from the Turkish *atā*, father, and *bağ*, a lord, a great man. Sanjar himself was put in charge of Khurāsān in the thirteenth year of his age, which signifies that the government was administered in his name, and that his Atā-bak carried on the administration.

the territory of Fārs and, third, the Atā baks of Mausiḷ and the Maliks of Shām.³ Trustworthy authorities have related some little respecting the events [in the lives] of two of these dynasties as has been [herein] recorded, and with regard to the Atā baks of Mausiḷ as much as has been written respecting the affairs of Sulṭān Nūr ud Dīn of Shām is all the information that has been obtained with the exception of that of which the Khudawand Zādah [son of a lord or great man] of Mausiḷ informed me, which was this much that his eighth ancestor was a Turk of Khaṭāi, and the slave of Sulṭān Sanjar.⁴ Such being the case, this dynasty [of Atā baks] has been classified into three sections.⁵

FIRST DYNASTY

THE SANJARĪYAH MALIKS OF 'IRĀQ AND ĀZARBĀIJĀN

Be it known that one night, at a convivial entertainment, Sulṭān Sanjar conferred sovereignty upon three persons—to Malik Utsuz⁶ he gave the throne of Khwārazm to the Atā bak, Ilatt-giz, the throne of Āzarbāijān and the throne of Fārs to the Atā bak, Sanḡūr.⁷

³ Respecting both of which dynasties he gives no account. From the remarks which follow our author seems to have been at a loss for materials, and his statements fully prove it.

⁴ A vast deal of information, certainly.

⁵ It will be noticed that our author who generally eschews dates, never gives a single date throughout his account of the three following dynasties, so called.

Also written Utsūz, and in the Durhān i Kāfīa Itāz.

⁷ Sanjar's father Malik Shāh, who certainly held a greater extent of territory than any other of the Saljūq sovereigns, bestowed territories, that is the viceroyalty over them, upon his Mamlūks and officers. Khwārazm he gave to Nūsh Tigin i-Gharjah, who was also a slave, on his conquest of that territory in 475 H. [He was the progenitor of that dynasty], and this happened *five years before Sanjar was born*. The latter during his reign, in 535 H., endeavoured to reduce Itāz, the grandson of Nūsh Tigin, who died *when Sanjar was in his twelfth year* but was unable, and Itāz became an independent sovereign. On Āk Sanḡūr the progenitor of the Atā-baks of Fārs and of Diyār i Bakr, Muḥammad, Sanjar's predecessor, bestowed the government of Ḥalab, in 487 H. upwards of *five years before* Sanjar came to the throne of the empire: he had only held Khurāsān before. It was Maḥmūd, nephew of Sanjar who gave Iladd-giz the widow of his brother in marriage, and the government of Āzarbāijān as mentioned farther on. I have been thus particular here in order to show the value of our author's statements with respect

When the next day came round, a number of his Wazīrs, confidants, and advisers, represented to the Sultān, that, on the previous night, his Majesty had given thrones away to three different persons, out of whose hands he would not, hereafter, be able to disengage them. He inquired what three persons they were, and, when they informed him, he confirmed the appointments, saying — "Those two first mentioned are my slaves, and the other is in my service. As there is no son to interpose, who would be heir to the sovereignty, it is better that my slaves should be paramount."

I THE ATĀ-BAK, ĪLATT-GĪZ⁸, US-SANJARĪ

The Atā-bak, Īlatt-gīz, was a slave of Sultān Sanjar's, and he was possessed of great strength and nobility of mind.

Having brought the territory of Āzarbāijān under his sway, he performed many great acts, and many monuments of his goodness still remain in that country.

to the Atā-baks, whatever may be the value of what he says about Hindūstān. As the other slaves, who were appointed rulers at the same time, are not mentioned by our author, I need not refer to them here.

⁸ The Atā-bak, Īladd-gīz [or Īlatt-gīz, *t* and *d* being interchangeable], was the slave of Kamāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Samairamī, the Wazīr of Sultān Maḥmūd, son of Sultān Muhammad, son of Sultān Malik Shāh. [See note ⁶, page 146. As the author leaves out Maḥmūd's reign, it is not surprising that he makes errors with respect to Īladd-gīz.] Samairam is one of the dependencies of Iṣfahān, and is said to have been founded by Sām, the son of Nūh [Noah], who gave it the name of Sām-Ārām—Sām's resting-place [or place of rest]—but, from constant use, in course of time, the name got corrupted into Samairam. After the Wazīr, Kamāl-ud-Dīn, was put to death, in the month of Ṣafar, 516 H, Īladd-gīz became the servant of Sultān Maḥmūd, during whose reign he rose to the highest rank and dignity, and great power. Maḥmūd gave the widow of his brother Tughrl, the mother of Arsalān Shāh [see page 165, where the author falls into utter confusion—this note tends to throw some light upon his statements there], in marriage to Īladd-gīz, and bestowed upon him the government of Āzarbāijān. He became very powerful, and annexed Ganjah and Shīrwān to his territory. He set up Arsalān Shāh, son of Tughrl, his wife's son, as sovereign, and, at once, assumed the entire direction of affairs, and all the power, Arsalān possessing nothing of sovereignty except the bare name. Īladd-gīz died at Hamadān, according to Fāṣih ī, in 567 H, but some say in 569 H. In 557 H, an army of 30,000 Gurjīs [Georgians] invaded Āzarbāijān, destroyed the city of Dū-īn, and slew 10,000 Musalmāns, carried off a number of captives, and burnt the great Masjid. Shams-ud-Dīn, Īladd-gīz, took the field with 50,000 horse, at Tabriz, in order to aid the ruler of Akhlāt and the lord of Marāghah, and to revenge this invasion, which he effected in the following year.

The Almighty gave him worthy and accomplished sons, and he carried on wars with the infidels of Afranj and Karkh, and reduced the country as far as the frontiers of Rūm under his subjection and conquered a great part of Irāk. He died after reigning a considerable time.

II. THE ATĀ BAK, MUḤAMMAD SON OF ILATT-GIZ.

The Atā bak, Muḥammad, was a great monarch, and succeeded his father on the throne^{*} He took possession of the territories of Irāk and Āzarbāijān, and performed many illustrious deeds. He was just and of implicit faith, he founded colleges and masjids and undertook many expeditions against the unbelievers. He likewise performed many gallant exploits in the direction of Karkh, and reduced the territory as far as the frontiers of Rūm and Shām, under his sway.

He reigned for a considerable period and had slaves who attained great eminence and grandeur who after him took possession of the territories of Irāk,¹ such as I tagh mīsh, and Ada mīsh and others besides them the whole of which they held up to the time of Khwārazm Shāh when the territories of Irāk passed out of their hands, and they died.

In the length of his reign² his justice and his beneficence, the Atā bak, Muḥammad was a second Sanjar

* Iladd-giz was succeeded as Atā bak by his son, Jahān Pahlawān, Muḥammad, by the widow of Sulṭān Tughril, and half-brother of Arsalān Shāh. The latter having died in 571 H. the Atā-bak set Arsalān's son, Tughril, a child in his seventh year upon the throne of Irāk but he was a mere puppet, and except in name, the Atā-bak was sovereign. Jahān Pahlawān then despatched his full brother Rāzī Arsalān, as his deputy to Āzarbāijān. Jahān Pahlawān died at Rai in 582 H. There is a good deal of discrepancy among authors as to the dates of the deaths of these two Atā-baks.

¹ As the Atā bak, Muḥammad, Jahān Pahlawān had several sons, who succeeded to his territories, the mention of his slaves," who held them up to the time of Khwārazm Shāh, is, like many other statements of our author inexplicable. No other writer makes such a statement.

² The Atā bak, Iladd-giz, died in 567 H. some say in 568 H. and others, 569 H. He held sway about 35 years. The Atā bak, Muḥammad, who, our author says, was a second Sanjar in length of reign," only held power from the date of his father's death, until 582 H. just 15 years. He has confounded the father with the son.

III THE ATĀ-BAK, YŪZ-BAK, SON OF MUHAMMAD, US-SANJARĪ

The Atā-bak, Yūz-bak, was sovereign of Āzarbāijān. Some have said³ that he was the brother of the Atā-bak, Muhammad, son of the Atā-bak, Īlatt-gīz, the Sanjarī

Yūz-bak was a man of energy and experience, and reigned over the territory of Āzarbāijān for a considerable time.

³ An absurd way of writing history, when he is not even certain of the names and descent of the people he pretends to write about, who flourished only a short time before he compiled his work. The Atā-bak, Jahān Pahlawān, Muhammad, was succeeded by his brother, Kazil-Arsalān, not by Yūz-bak. At the decease of the former, Kazil presented himself before Sulṭān Tughrl, in expectation that he would permit him to act as his Atā-bak, but he, having experienced severity from Jahān Pahlawān, and having now grown older, was not inclined to have another master, and would not consent. Kazil, becoming hopeless of gaining his object, retired into Āzarbāijān, and rebelled, but was defeated in an engagement with Tughrl's partisans. In 583 H, Kazil had gained sufficient strength to be able to renew hostilities, and, in 586 H, he made Tughrl prisoner, with his son, named Malik Shāh, and immured them in a strong fortress in Āzarbāijān, and Kazil-Arsalān assumed independent sovereignty. Kazil-Arsalān was assassinated by the disciples of the Mulāhidah in 587 H, after reigning five years. See pages 165 and 166.

He was succeeded by his nephew, Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bīkr, the son of Jahān Pahlawān, in the territory of Āzarbāijān only, and 'Irāk passed to his brother, Kutlagh Inānaj. In 587 H, the year after Abū-Bīkr's death, Sulṭān Tughrl effected his escape from imprisonment, and succeeded in reaching 'Irāk. Kutlagh Inānaj, after marrying his mother to Tughrl, combined with her to administer poison to Tughrl in his food, but, having received a warning, Tughrl compelled his wife to take it, upon which she almost immediately died. Kutlagh Inānaj was imprisoned for a time, but was subsequently set at liberty. He went to the Court of Takīsh, Sulṭān of Khwārazm, and brought him with an army upon Tughrl, and, in a battle which took place between them, Tughrl was slain, and the first dynasty of the Saljūks terminated. This will throw some light upon the almost unintelligible and confused account given by our author respecting the reign of Sulṭān Tughrl, at page 166, and the very romantic, but not very authentic account of his death. It will be noticed that, up to this time, even the Atā-baks were nominally but the ministers of the Saljūk sovereigns, and not "great monarchs" who ascended "thrones," as our author asserts.

The Atā bak, Ūz-bak, or Yūz-bak [the name is written both ways], son of Jahān Pahlawān, was the last of the Atā-baks of Āzarbāijān, and succeeded Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Abū Bīkr, in the government of that territory. He was the Atā-bak whose city of Tabriz, Sulṭān Jalāl ud-Dīn, the last of the Khwārazmī Sulṭāns, invested. Yūz-bak had left it, and had placed his consort in charge, and she, having fallen in love with Jalāl-ud-Dīn, became his wife, and surrendered the city to him. Yūz-bak died of grief and chagrin. For an account of this circumstance, see the reign of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Section XVI.

He continued in possession of it until the reign of Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh. Upon several occasions the forces of Khwārazm Shāh were appointed to act against him but he did not fall into their hands, until he advanced into Irāk, being eager for the possession of Isfahān, and hostilities were going on between him and the Atā bak of Fārs, Sa d [son of Zangī]

Unexpectedly, Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, came upon them. The Atā bak, Yüz bak, was defeated and completely overthrown, and Āzarbāijān passed out of his possession, and he died

IV THE ATĀ BAK, ABŪ BIKR, SON OF MUḤAMMAD.

The Atā bak, Abū-Bikr, was a great monarch, and the territory of Irāk and the Jibāl [the mountain tracts of Irāk] came into his possession. He ruled his subjects justly and beneficently and cleared the frontiers of his territory of enemies.

He founded colleges and masjids in Irāk, Arrān, and Āzarbāijān, and a very large college at Marāghah and was the patron of ecclesiastics and learned men. He had numerous slaves, both of his fathers and of his own, each of whom was Malik [ruler] in one of the cities of Irāk. He was the elder brother of the Atā bak, Yüz bak, and he reigned for a considerable time, and died leaving no children behind him.

SECOND DYNASTY

THE SANJARĪYAH MALIKS OF FĀRS

I THE ATĀ BAK, SANḠUR⁴ US-SANJARĪ.

As soon as the throne of Fārs⁵ was conferred upon the Atā-bak, SanḠur by Sultān Sanjar, SanḠur brought that

⁴ Guizdah says that Āk-SanḠur [turned into "Ascensor" by Gibbon], who held Ḥalab of Sultān Malik Shāh, is the progenitor of these Atā baks of Fārs.

⁵ We now come to the Atā baks of Fārs, whom our author continually styles great monarchs, who ascended thrones, although, at the very outset, he says the brothers' sons of Sanjar retained the title of Bādshāh. He begins with the Atā bak, SanḠur and would lead his readers to imagine that he was the first of the rulers of Fārs who bore that title, and that Sultān Sanjar bestowed the

territory under subjection⁶, and acted with justice and beneficence to the people under his sway

On the death of Sultān Sanjar, some of the brothers' sons of that monarch came into the territory of Fārs from 'Irāk Sankur sent them to Iṣṭakhur, in that territory,

sovereignty of that territory upon him, as he did upon others of his *slaves*. Such, however, is not the case. The Atā-baks of Fārs were of the race of Salghur, a Turkmān chief, who, about the time of the great movement of the Saljūks towards Khurāsān, made raids into that territory, and committed great ravages, until the Saljūks became complete masters of it, when that chieftain is said to have taken service under Sultān Tughrl Beg, and Salghur and his tribe took up their quarters in Fārs, Khūzistān, Luristān, and parts adjacent. From the downfall of the Dīlāmāh dynasty to the rise to independent sovereignty of the Sanḡuriāh, of whom our author's Sankur is the first, *seven* persons ruled over Fārs, six of whom were governors on the part of the Saljūk sovereigns. The first of these was Fazl, son of Hasan, who in 459 H, after Alb-Arsalān, the previous year, had inflicted chastisement upon the Shabān-kārah, seized Maṣūr-i Fūlād Sutūn [Pillar of Steel], the last of the Dīlamī sovereigns of the family of Būwiah, and imprisoned him. He then seized upon Fārs, which he appears to have been allowed to retain, but, subsequently, having become disaffected, he was replaced by the Amīr Khumār-Tigīn. To him succeeded the Atā-bak, Jāwli [also written Chāwli], who reduced the power of the Shabān-kārah. He was succeeded in the government by the Atā-bak, Karājah, who was slain at Hamadān [Guzīdah says in Fārs]. He was followed by the Atā-bak, Mangū [also called Mangūs], his son. Subsequently, the Atā-bak, Būzābah [also written Fūzābah, *f* being interchangeable with *ḥ*], was made governor by Sultān Mas'ūd, son of Muḥammad, son of Malik Shāh, Saljūkī. He rebelled against Mas'ūd, son of Maḥmūd, and was taken in an engagement with him, and put to death in 542 H. After this, Sultān Mas'ūd made his brother's son, Malik Shāh [Guzīdah says, Muhammad], ruler of Fārs. He was a youth wholly given to pleasure, and, after a time, he put to death, without cause, the Atā-bak [his own Atā-bak in all probability], Salghur. On this, Sankur-Tigīn, son of Maudūd, son of Zangī, son of Āk-Sankur, son of Salghur, rose against Malik Shāh, and expelled him from the territory of Fārs. Malik Shāh went to his uncle's court, obtained assistance, and again entered Fārs, but was unable to effect any thing, and, in 543 H, Sankur assumed independent sovereignty. The account given in Guzīdah is somewhat different, but to the same purpose. It says, "Būzābah, having rebelled against Sultān Mas'ūd in 541 H, was defeated before Hamadān, taken prisoner, and put to death in 543 H. The brother's son of Būzābah, Sankur, son of Maudūd, in revenge for his uncle's death, seized upon the territory of Fārs." All these events took place in Sanjar's *lifetime*. Sankur assumed the title of Muzaḡḡar ud-Dīn, and ruled for a period of thirteen years, and died in 556 H. He was succeeded, not by his son, but by his *brother*, Tuklāh. It must be borne in mind that all these Atā-baks were, more or less, subject to the successors of Sultān Sanjar, while the dynasty lasted. Mas'ūd died in 547 H, and Malik Shāh succeeded. See latter part of previous note, and note ⁶ page 146, and note ⁶, page 151.

⁶ The constant recurrence, throughout the work, of this stock phrase of our author's, may be partly accounted for from the fact that confusion, more or less, arose on the death of each ruler.

and assigned a stipend and furnished them with all things necessary for their support. Those princes were allowed to retain the empty title of Bādshāh, whilst Sanḡur, under the name of Atā bak [guardian and preceptor], ruled over the territory of Fārs. He reigned for a lengthened period, and died.

II. THE ATĀ BAK, ZANGĪ SON OF SANḡUR.

The Atā bak, Zangī, ascended the throne of Fārs after the death of his father. He was a great monarch and was just, and ruled with a firm hand and he brought the dominions of his father under his control and government.

With respect to the rulers of the countries around, he guided his policy as the circumstances of the times rendered feasible and he held the sovereignty of Fārs for a long period and died⁷

III. THE ATĀ BAK, DUKLAH SON OF SANḡUR.

The Atā bak, Duklah after the decease of his brother ascended the throne of Fārs. He was an energetic and rigorous monarch, and brought the territory of Fārs under his control.

Hostilities broke out between him and the Maliks of 'Irāk, and he collected together, from all parts of the country a vast quantity of material and munitions, the like of which, to such an amount of wealth and treasure none of his predecessors in the rule of Fārs had ever possessed.

He reigned for a long time, and died⁸

⁷ Our author here again has made a great blunder. There were two Zangīs and two Tuklahs [or Duklahs, *d* being interchangeable with *t*]. The first, according to the Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh Sanḡur's brother Tuklah, having become suspicious of his brother's intentions, retired among the Faḡla wīshā. The chief rendered Tuklah assistance, and he one night, suddenly fell upon Sanḡur by surprise seized him, and immured him in the Kala i Saffid. Tuklah then assumed the authority and held it four years. He died in 553 H. after which Sanḡur again obtained power and in 556 H. he died. He was succeeded by his brother Zangī, son of Mandūd.

⁸ Zangī, son of Mandūd only reigned for a short period and died in the following year 557 H. He was succeeded by his son [not his brother: our author confounds the two Tuklahs into one], Tuklah, or Duklah, as our author now states. He was confirmed in possession of Fārs by Sulṭān Arsalān son of Tughril, son of Muḡammad, son of Malik Shāh.

⁹ Tuklah died in 590 H. but the Muntakhab-ut Tawārikh says in 591 H.

IV. THE ATĀ-BAK, SA'D, SON OF ZANGĪ¹

The Atā-bak, Sa'd, was a great monarch, and ascended the throne of Fārs after the decease of his uncle [the Atā-bak, Duklah], and brought the different parts of that country under his rule, in the manner which has been described²

He was a most just and intrepid sovereign, and trustworthy authorities have related this, that the weight of his arms and armour was so great, that a powerful man could not lift from the ground the armour he used to wear

He led armies against 'Irāk upon several occasions, and in some engagements he was victorious, but, in others again, he was defeated, as happened when a battle took place between him and Sultān Muhammad, Khawārazm Shāh, undesignedly, and in the following manner The Atā-bak, Sa'd, was marching an army into 'Irāk, with the object of capturing Isfahān, and the Atā-bak, Yūz-bak, son of the Atā-bak, Muhammad, had come out of Āzarbāijān also, with the object of gaining possession of that city

The two armies, of Fārs and of Āzarbāijān, were marching towards the same point from opposite directions, when Sultān Muhammad³, Khawārazm Shāh, arrived [with an army] upon the frontier of 'Irāk. He obtained information that the Atā-bak, Sa'd, was marching an army from Fārs, towards the gate of Isfahān, in order to give battle to the Atā-bak, Yūz-bak, and he [Sultān Muhammad] advanced with his troops towards the Atā-bak, Sa'd.

When the troops of Khawārazm Shāh came in sight⁴, the Atā-bak, Sa'd, imagined that this was the army of the Atā-

¹ Duklah was succeeded by his cousin, the Atā-bak, Tughril, brother of Zangī, and son of Sankur, son of Maudūd, son of Zangī, son of Ak-Sankur, the other brother of the first ruler, and hostilities went on between him and Sa'd, son of Zangī, for a considerable time, during which Fārs suffered great desolation. At length Tughril was taken captive by Sa'd, who deprived him of his sight, and immured him within the walls of the fortress of Isfākhur, where he died, 599 H. He was succeeded by Sa'd, son of Zangī, son of Maudūd, who is *fourth* according to our author

² Not mentioned in any other place in the work

³ Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad.

⁴ The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh and Jahān-Ārā say this affair took place on the confines of Ral.

bak Yüz bak, and at once marshalled his ranks in order and attacked the Sultān's army and threw it into confusion. Suddenly one of the champions of Khwārazm Shāh's army joined spears with him, and the name of that champion was Kashkah* who was the [Sultān's] Amīr i Ākhūr [lord of the stables]. The champion hurled the horse of Sa d to the ground and wanted to slay him but the Atā bak cried out to him — "I am the Atā bak Sa d do not slay me. Say Whose army is yours? The champion replied — The army of Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh." The Atā bak rejoined — Take me to the Sultān's presence.'

On reaching the Sultān's presence, Sa d kissed the ground and said — "King of the Universe by the great God this your servant knew not that this was the king's army otherwise he would never have drawn his sword." The Sultān comforted and encouraged him and forthwith had him remounted, and on account of what had reached the ears of the Sultān respecting the great energy manliness, and intrepidity of the Atā bak, Sa d he treated him with honour and reverence, and restored to him the dominion of Fārs upon this stipulation—that one half of that territory should be held by the Maliks, or great nobles, and trusty retainers of the Khwārazm Shāhī dynasty, and the other half should belong to the Atā bak.'

The Sultān likewise appointed a force to accompany him for this reason, that, on the Atā bak, Sa d, having been taken prisoner his son, the Atā bak, Abū Bīkr had taken possession of the territory of Fārs, and had read the Khuṭbah in his own name.

When the Atā bak, Sa d, with the forces of Khwārazm Shāh, and the Sāhib [lord] Ikhtiyār ul Mulk Amīr i Hājī, who was despatched along with Sa d by Khwārazm Shāh,

* In some few copies Kashkīl in others Kashkīl.

' In the year 603 H. Sa d was taken prisoner on the confines of Rai by the troops of Sultān Alī ud Dīn Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh. He was released on the stipulation that he should pay four *dāngs* [a *dāng* is the fourth part of a dram, and the meaning here signifies a fourth part of any thing; some writers say a third] of the revenue of Fārs and 'Irāk, which he appears to have then held, into the Sultān's treasury" and, upon these terms he was allowed to retain these territories. The Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh calls the Sultān by the title of Kuṭb-ud Dīn, and says that Sa d was released on the intercession of the Malīk of Zāwraz.

reached the frontier of Fārs, the Atā-bak, Abū-Bīkr, advanced to oppose them, and the father and son came to blows. The Atā-bak, Sa'd, wounded his son, Abū-Bīkr, in the face with his sword, and the ranks of the Fārsī army became disorganized.

The Atā-bak, Sa'd, again ascended the throne of Fārs, and imprisoned his son. After this, Sa'd reigned for a considerable period over [half of?] that territory, and died after the misfortunes attending the irruption of the infidel Mughals⁷.

The Atā-bak, Sa'd, was endowed with many distinguished virtues, and excellent qualities. In the first place, the flag, which, every year, he used to send along with the caravan of pilgrims on the journey to the Ka'bah [at Makkah], when the pilgrims returned, he used to have kept constantly set up before the entrance of his palace or pavilion, and, every time he came to the hall of audience, or his private apartments, he used to perform a prayer of two genuflexions under the flag in question, after which he would mount his throne. This circumstance indicates how excellent was his faith, but, respecting his ostentation and pomp, a trustworthy person has related, that the revenues of one of the provinces of the territory of Fārs was set apart for the expenses of his own wardrobe. The revenue of the province in question amounted, every year, to three hundred and sixty thousand golden dīnārs⁸, and, every day, one thousand dīnārs of red gold used to be expended upon his attire, in the shape of head-dresses, tunics, mantles, robes, and expensive fabrics, girdles, jewel-studded collars, and the like.

If any surplus remained over and above the necessary expenses of his wardrobe, he would purchase therewith

⁷ Sa'd died at Barzā in 625 H, but the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* says his death happened in 628 H, which is evidently incorrect. His Wazīr, *Khawājah Ghiyās-ud-Dīn*, kept his death secret, and sent Sa'd's signet-ring to the *Kālā'-i-Safīd*, and released Sa'd's son, Abū Bīkr, who had been confined in that fortress for a considerable time, had him brought into the pavilion, and then said, as though Sa'd were still alive, "The Atā-bak is pleased to command 'the Atā-bak, Abū Bīkr, is his heir,'" and he succeeded accordingly. The *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* says that Abū-Bīkr was confined in the fortress of *Iṣṭākḥur*. *Guzīdah*, on the other hand, says that, when *Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn*, the last of the *Khawārazm Shāhīs*, entered Fārs, on his return from Hind, he set Abū-Bīkr at liberty. *Yāfa-ī* says much the same.

⁸ I rather expect this is much more than *all* the revenues of Fārs at present.

valuable gems and jewels, which used to be arranged about his head-dress, his tunic, and girdle. He never wore a suit but one day, the next day he would invest one of his nobles or grandees with it. May the Almighty have mercy upon him and pardon his sins!

V * THE ATĀ BAK, ABŪ BIKR, SON OF SA'D

The Atā bak, Abū Bīkr¹ is a great monarch and he has brought under his sway the territories of Fārs.

When the Atā bak, Sa'd, was sent back again to ascend the throne of Fārs by Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, under the agreement that one half the territory of Fārs should remain in the possession of Sa'd and the other half be held by the Sultān the latter despatched [a body of troops] along with the Atā bak Sa'd, under the Amīr i Hajl, Iḥṭiyār ul Mulk, Niṣhāpūrī, to enable Sa'd to repossess himself of that half.

The Atā bak, Abū Bīkr and his two brothers, Tāhamtan and Sanḡur Shāh with the troops of Fārs, advanced against their father determined that they would not give up their dominions into the hands of their enemies². When the battle on both sides had been duly ordered the Atā bak, Sa'd issued from the ranks of his forces, while his son, the Atā bak, Abū-Bīkr came forth from the ranks of the troops of Fārs to encounter his father. Sa'd struck and wounded his son in the face with his sword [and seeing this,] the ranks of the Fārsī army gave way. Sa'd took his son, Abū Bīkr prisoner and put him in confinement.

When Sa'd departed this life they brought forth Abū Bīkr from his place of confinement, and raised him to the throne of Fārs and he brought under his rule the territories of his father and his grandfather, and chastised his enemies.

After some time, he sent an army towards the sea [of Fārs³] and took the capital of the country of Kīsh⁴,

* He is the eighth, not the fifth, of the Atā baks of Fārs.

¹ Shaykh Sa'd dedicated his Gulistān and Bostān to this prince.

² See page 178, and note ⁷.

³ He annexed the greater part of the tracts lying on the side of the Gulf of Persia, such as Hormūz, Kāṭif, Bahrain, Ummān, and Lah-pā [لہ-پا], the Al Ḥasā [الحسا] seemingly of Ibn-i Bajūṭah, which he says was previously called Hajar. The Khwārazm Shāhī dynasty at this time, had fallen.

⁴ Kīsh is described in old geographical works as a city on a hill on an

[together with] Bahrain and Hurmūz. He also despatched one of his brothers to the infidel Mughals, and entered into a treaty of peace with that race. He engaged to pay tribute and revenue to them, and brought reproach and dishonour upon himself by becoming a tributary of the infidels of Chīn⁵, and became hostile to the Dār-ul-Khilāfat.

Up to the time this history was written, affairs are in this state⁶. May the Almighty God continue the Sultān of the Sultāns of Islām, and the great nobles and lords of his Court, in sovereignty, and in rendering bounden duty to the Dār-ul-Khilāfat, and the house of 'Abbās, for the sake of Muhammad, his family, and the whole of his companions and friends!

THIRD DYNASTY

THE SANJARĪYAH MALIKS OF NĪSHĀPŪR

I MALIK MU-AYYID, US-SANJARĪ

Malik Mu-ayyid was a slave of Sultān Sanjar's, and a Turk⁷. He held the government of the territory of

island, in the sea of Fārs, called Hurmūz, and is said to be so called from its resemblance, when viewed from the hills, to a quiver for arrows, which Kīsh signifies. The word is sometimes spelt Kīsh, and sometimes Kesh. See note⁵, p. 46.

⁵ At the time of the interregnum after the death of Changiz Khān, Abū-Bīkr sent his brother, Tahamtan, to the presence of Ūktāe Kā-ān with rich presents, and received from him a charter, and the title of Kutlagh Khān. He likewise obtained a charter from Hulākū Khān, and reigned for a period of thirty-three years.

⁶ The Atā-bak, Abū-Bīkr, died in 558 H, the very year in which our author completed his History. The dynasty did not terminate for several years after, and three persons, including a female, ruled over the territory remaining to them, tributary to the Mughals, until 685 H.

⁷ The first of the Mu-ayyidiyah dynasty was Mu-ayyid-ud-Dīn, who was one of the slaves of Sultān Sanjar. As he was the Ā'inah-dār, or mirror-bearer, to that monarch, he became known by the name of Mu-ayyid-i-Ā'inah. After Sultān Sanjar's death, he for a short time pretended to be obedient to Rukn-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, the son of Muḥammad Khān, son of Bughrā Khān, who had married Sanjar's sister, who, when Sanjar fell into the hands of the Ghuzz tribe, was raised to sovereignty in Khurāsān, but he soon threw off his disguise, and, having seized Maḥmūd, in the fifth year of his sovereignty, deprived him of his sight, and assumed the sovereignty over the tract of territory extending from Hirāt to Rai. In 569 H, he undertook an expedition against Māzan-darān, and made great bloodshed and devastation therein. He subsequently

Nīshāpūr, and the parts adjacent, such as Jām Bākhur, Shāngān Sabrās* Jā jurm, Shāristānah Khūjān, and other cities and towns which are dependencies of Nīshāpūr

He was a Malik of good disposition and when the Sanjarī dynasty passed away Malik Mu-ayyid, the sovereign of Khwārazm, the Maliks of Irāk and the Sultāns of Ghur, entered into terms of friendship and amity together for mutual support and security Under the shelter and support of this arrangement, Malik Mu-ayyid continued for some years, and died

II. MALIK TUGHĀN SHĀH, SON OF MU AYYID

Malik Tughān Shāh was a monarch of blooming prospects, and of handsome person and greatly addicted to pleasure and gaiety He used to spend his days in pleasure, in singing and convivial meetings, along with his confidants and favourites minstrels and singers and boon companions*

When the territory of Nīshāpūr passed from his father under his own control, he entered into relations of amity and dependence towards the neighbouring Maliks and Sultāns, and rendered homage unto them, and as he was incapable of injuring or molesting them, they all refrained from troubling him.

He passed his whole time in pleasure and jollity dancing

[but, according to Faṣṣih-t, in the same year], in concert with Sultān Shāh, Khwārazmī, the rival of Sultān Takīsh encountered the latter in battle, was taken prisoner and put to death by Takīsh. A portion of the territory of Sanjar's nephew on the usurpation of Mu-ayyid, had passed into the possession of the Khwārazmī sovereign. See reign of Takīsh, V of the Khwārazm Shāhī.

* Some of these names are rather doubtful. Some copies have Sangīn, and Shagīn, and Sabrīsh, Bīrīn, Sīrīn, and Shīrīn. Possibly Samkīn and Samnākīn are meant.

* The accounts of other writers differ considerably from our author's as to this prince and his doings. Tughān Shāh, in 576 H fought a battle with Sultān Shāh, the Khwārazmī, and rival of Alī ud Dīn, Takīsh near Sarakhs, after Sultān Shāh had returned from Gūr Khān's territory whither he had fled after his previous defeat in which Tughān's father was made prisoner Tughān was routed, and sought protection from Sultān Takīsh, and also from the sovereign of Ghūr but without avail; and Sultān Shāh possessed himself of Tūs and Sarakhs. Tughān died in 581 H.

and wine-drinking, and, for the sake of his own pleasure and merriment, he had the sleeves of his vest made each about ten ells in length, to which small golden bells were fastened, and he would himself join in the dance. He soon took his departure from this world.

III SANJAR SHĀH, SON OF TUGHĀN SHĀH

When Tughān Shāh ascended the throne of Nīshāpūr, he entered into connexion with the Maliks of Ghūr, and despatched a confidential agent, and demanded the hand of the daughter of Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muhammad Sām, for his son, Sanjar Shāh. The chief men among the ecclesiastics and theologians of Nīshāpūr accordingly came [into Ghūr], and the knot of that marriage contract was tied.

When Tughān Shāh died, Takīsh, Khwārazm Shāh, marched an army from Khwārazm, and advanced to Nīshāpūr, and possessed himself of that city and territory, seized Sanjar Shāh, and carried him away to Khwārazm¹.

Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn released his daughter, Malīkah-i-Jalālī², from her betrothal, and, according to the statement of Imām Shāfi'ī, he gave her in marriage, in Ghūr, to Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn³. Sanjar Shāh died in Khwārazm.

¹ Sanjar Shāh succeeded to his father's territory, and Māngulī Beg, a slave of his grandfather's, through the youthfulness of Sanjar, acquired the whole power, and was in consequence put to death by Sultān Takīsh. After this, Takīsh married Sanjar's mother, and gave a daughter of his own to Sanjar in marriage. In 591 H, Sanjar was accused of meditating rebellion, and was deprived of his sight. He died in 595 H, and his territory was taken possession of by the Khwārazm Shāh sovereign.

² A title, not her name.

³ In three copies Ziyā-ud-Dīn.

SECTION XIV

THE MALIKS OF SIJISTĀN AND NĪMROZ.

As this *Ṭabaḳāt*¹ is being written in the name of the great Sultān the king of kings [over] both Turk and 'Ajām, Nāṣir ud Dunyā wa ud Dīn, Abū l Muḡaffar Maḥmūd son of Sultān I yal timiṣh—May his sovereignty endure!—and, as an account of all rulers and their *Ṭabaḳāt* is being penned the author Minhāj-i-Sarāj Jūrjānī would state that he desires, to the extent of his capability to commit to writing what has come to his hearing and what he has himself seen respecting the Maliks of Nīmroz.

They were able and just monarchs, virtuous, and cherishers of the indigent, whose country from the Sanjarī era up to this time, when the territories of Irān have, through the cruelty and rapine of the infidels of *Chīn*, become ruined, was adorned by the grandeur the justice, the munificence, and the nobility of mind of those monarchs and, therefore, the author desires that he himself and those Maliks, may continue to call forth the favourable mention of those under whose notice this [account] may come, and, that a benediction may be offered for the sovereign of the present time.

The origin and lineage of these rulers from the previous Amīrs, did not seem clearly deducible in History²

¹ The word *Ṭabaḳāt* being a portion of the title of the original work, it has been used here, for convenience, in the singular form, although really the plural of *al*.

² As in scores of other places, our author is also very incorrect here. He has already given us a Section on the *Šūfīrīyās* of Sijistān or Nīmroz, and has mentioned the names of the other sons of Laig, the Brander but he does not appear to have known that the descendants of Umro, son of Laig, subsequent to his captivity ruled over Fārs [for a time] and Sijistān although these events took place some *three centuries before our author composed his work*. There is consequently an hiatus of the reigns and struggles of no less than *six* princes of this family and the events of just one century are entirely passed over and two Sections are given, and two dynasties made, of *one* and the *same* family whatever claims *Khalaf* may have had to descent from the Kai

I ṬĀHIR, SON OF MUHAMMAD

Trustworthy persons have related, that, when the dominion and sovereignty of the Mahmūdī dynasty passed

ānīāns. Our author appears here to greater disadvantage, as an historian, than even in his accounts of the Saljūks and the Kurds, which are sufficiently incorrect

I will here briefly supply an account of the Ṣuffārīāns, passed over by our author, in order to make the subject intelligible to the reader

When 'Umro, son of Laiṣ, was defeated under the walls of Balkh by Iṣmā'il, Sāmānī, in 287 H, as related at page 25, his grandson, ṬĀHIR, son of Muḥammad, son of 'Umro, was set up as his successor. His career was a chequered one. He at first possessed himself of Fārs, and drove out the Khalīfah's officers, but was subsequently obliged to relinquish it. Subsequently, however, the administration of the affairs of Fārs was conferred upon him by the Court of Baghdād, but, shortly after, a slave of his grandfather's rose against him, in that territory

[In nearly every history in which this slave is referred to, his *name* is said to be Saikzī, Sabkrī, Sankrī, and the like, but further research, since note 6, page 34, was written, tends to show that this could not have been intended for the *name* of the slave, but of his race. He was a Sigizī, one of a people often mentioned in the following pages. "Sigiz, and Sigizī, is the name of a lofty mountain [range of hills?] in Zābulistān, and the people dwelling thereabout are called after that mountain, Sigizīs and Sigizīān. Rustam-i-Zāl is also called Sigizī on the same account. Some consider, however, that the meaning of Sigizī is Sīstānī, because the 'Arabs change the *g* into *j*, and call Sigistān, which is the proper name of that country, Sijistān, and Sigizī, by the same fashion, Sijizī." The Sigizīs are not Afghāns, so must not be turned into Paṭāns, but there is a small tribe of that people called Sekarī.]

A battle took place between Ṭāhir and the Sigizī slave, and Ṭāhir was worsted, and fell into the hands of the rebel, who sent him, together with his brother Ya'qūb, to Baghdād, through which city they were paraded on a camel [one author says on two elephants]. This happened in the year 293 H, and Ṭāhir died after having ruled for a period of six years. Some say he died in 296 H.

On this, in the same year, LAIS, son of 'Alī, entered Fārs [from Sijistān], and the rebel Sigizī slave fled, but, being supported by an army sent by the Khalīfah under his general, Mūnis-i-Khādim, he was enabled to march against Laiṣ. Although Laiṣ made a gallant and vigorous dash upon their forces near Ūjān, he was unsuccessful, and fell a captive into their hands, and the Sigizī again acquired possession of Fārs. Soon after, however, the Khalīfah had to despatch Mūnis into Fārs again, as the Sigizī withheld the revenue [the Khalīfah's share], which amounted to 400,000 dirams. The Sigizī now offered to pay 1,000,000 dirams, but this offer was not accepted, and, after several encounters with Muḥammad, son of Ja'far, the Khalīfah's general, the Sigizī fled to the fortress of Bamm, in Kirmān, but, as he was followed by that officer, he fled from Bamm, and retired into the wilds of Khurāsān, and Muḥammad was entrusted with the administration of the affairs of Fārs and Kirmān.

over to the family of Saljūk the nobles who were exercising authority in the country of Sijistān acquired power and

In that same year Abū Naṣr i Aḥmad Sāmānī took possession of Sijistān and, as he had succeeded in making prisoner of Muḥammad son of Aḥl brother of Ya'qūb, Umro, and Mu'addil, sons of Lal and the Sigirī also, they were despatched to Baghdād by the Khallifah's directions, and entered it paraded on elephants; and rich presents were sent by the Khallifah to the Sāmānī prince, in return for this service.

In 299 H [some say in 298 H], Lal, son of Aḥl died in Fārs, and his brother MU'ADDIL, assumed the sovereignty over Sijistān, and drove out the Sāmānī governor Abū Šāliḥ i Maṣṣūr Sāmānī cousin of Amīr Abū Naṣr i Aḥmad, on which, the latter despatched a large army under some of his greatest nobles, such as Husain Aḥl, Marw ar Rūdī, Aḥmad son of Saḥl, Muḥammad, son of Muḡaṣṣar Šimjūr i Dowādī &c. Mu'addil on becoming apprized of this, sent his brother Muḥammad for supplies, to enable him to stand a siege, into Zamīn-i Dāwar; but, as he happened to fall into the hands of the Sāmānī forces, Mu'addil, on receipt of the news of this disaster came and surrendered on terms to those leaders, and was taken to Bukhārā, from whence he was sent to Baghdād. See page 34.

In the year 300 H UMRO son of Ya'qūb, son of Muḥammad son of Umro; son of Lal; i-Šuffār rose in Sijistān, and assumed the sovereignty. Amīr Abū Naṣr i-Aḥmad, Sāmānī, again despatched a force under Husain Aḥl, Marw-ar Rūdī against him. After defending the capital for a period of nine months, Umro surrendered on terms of capitulation, and the territory of Nimroz received a Sāmānī governor.

In the year 309 H. AḤMAD said by Guẓidah to have been the grandson of Tāḥir but by others to have been the son of Muḥammad, son of Khalaf, son of Abū Ja'far son of Lal; [which Lal; is not mentioned, but, if the Brader be meant, Abū Ja'far must have been a *ḥafṣ* son, but no doubt he was a grandson], who was living in great distress and misery at Hīrāt, chanced to come under the notice of Amīr Abū-l-Ḥasan i-Naṣr son of Aḥmad, the fifth of the Sāmānī rulers, who bestowed upon Aḥmad-i-Šuffār the government of his native country Sijistān.

Faṣīḥ-i among the occurrences of the year 310 H. says, that by command of the Khallifah, Al Muktadir honorary dresses were bestowed upon Tāḥir and Ya'qūb, sons of Umro, Lal; ; but this must refer to Lal son of Aḥl, son of Lal; the Brader as Tāḥir son of Umro the second of the dynasty died at Baghdād many years previous to this. In 311 H. according to Faṣīḥ-i Šāḥ Malīk, son of Ya'qūb-i Lal;, Šuffārī, with a body of Sigirīs, attempted to gain possession of Hīrāt, but after a time left, and proceeded to Fūshanj. He returned to the Daḡh of Māḥān of Hīrāt again, and invested Hīrāt for four months, but had to abandon it, and he and his party retired discomfited. Šimjūr held Hīrāt on that occasion.

Aḥmad was succeeded as ruler of Sijistān by his son, AL-HALAF but the date of the former's death or the latter's accession is not mentioned—it was probably in 331 H.—but, in 353 H. Khalaf set out on pilgrimage to Makkah, leaving as his deputy his son-in-law Tāḥir son of Al-Ḥusain, to administer the government of Sijistān. Tāḥir coveted his dominions, and, when Khalaf returned from the pilgrimage, he would not allow him to resume his authority. Khalaf proceeded to the Court of Maṣṣūr son of Nūḥ, Sāmānī, the eighth of that dynasty who sent a force with Khalaf, which, after ousting Tāḥir and reinstating Khalaf, returned to Bukhārā.

having tendered their allegiance to the Sultāns, Alb-Arsalān and Malīk Shāh, the states of Nīmroz came under their sway, and they took possession of those territories

Tāhūr now returned, and again dispossessed Khalaf, who, a second time, received aid from Manṣūr, Sāmānī, but, by the time the Sāmānī forces reached Sīstān, Tāhūr was dead, and Husain, his son, had succeeded to the authority. After considerable fighting, Husain retired to one of the fortresses of that territory, and was therein invested. He despatched an envoy to Amīr Manṣūr's presence, who sent a mandate directing him to appear before him, and so Husain was allowed to proceed to Bukhārā. This was at a period when the Sāmānī power was much weakened, and in the same year that Is-hāk, son of Alb-Tigīn, the Turk, encountered Abū-Alī-i-Lawīk, previously ruler of Ghaznīn.

Nothing more is mentioned about Khalaf except his rebellion against Nūḥ, Sāmānī, and the seven years' investment of his capital, until the year 390 H, in which year, Bughrājak, the uncle of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, was slain by Khalaf's son, Tāhūr, at Fūshanj. On this, Maḥmūd marched against Khalaf, who retired for shelter within the walls of the fortress of Tāk, and he was invested therein. In 393 H, Khalaf again withdrew from public life, and gave up the government of Sīstān to his son Tāhūr, but, soon after, he regretted what he had done, resumed the authority, and put his son Tāhūr to death. Some say he put two sons, Tāhūr and 'Umro, to death with his own hand. This ruined Khalaf's affairs, and his nobles rose against him on account of this abominable conduct, and they invested him in the city which he had made his capital, and read the Khuṭbah, and coined money in the name of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn.

Maḥmūd, on account of this last act of Khalaf, again entered Sīstān, and Khalaf was defeated and retired once more to the fortress of Tāk, but it was taken by assault and Khalaf was captured. It was on this occasion that Khalaf, when brought before Maḥmūd, addressed him by the name of "Sultān" [see note 8, page 76], and his life was spared. The district of Jūzjānān was assigned for his future residence, and, with his family and dependents, he left Sīstān for ever and proceeded thither. Sīstān was conferred by Maḥmūd upon his brother Naṣr, and that territory continued for a considerable time in the possession of the Ghaznawīs.

In 398 H Khalaf was found to have been intriguing against Maḥmūd with Ī-lak Khān, ruler of Turkistān, and was, in consequence, confined within the walls of the fortress of Juzdez. He died in the following year, and Maḥmūd directed that his property and effects should be made over to his son, Abū-l-Hufs. Khalaf was a learned and intelligent man, and, by his command, the learned men of his time compiled a commentary on the Qur'ān in one hundred volumes, and at the expense of 100,000 dīnārs, yet, with all this, he committed the cruel act of slaying his own sons. See also note 8, p 76.

The sovereignty of Sīstān, or Nīmroz, having been taken from Khalaf, remained in the possession of the kings of Ghaznīn for a considerable time. At length, by the support of the Sultāns, Alb-Arsalān, and Malīk Shāh, a great grandson of Khalaf, TĀHIR, son of Muhammad, son of Tāhūr, son of Khalaf, obtained the government of his native country, and the ruler's palace in Sīstān is called the Sarīe-i Tāhirī after him. This is the *first* of the rulers of Nīmroz by our author's account, but the *sixth* of chroniclers of authority, after 'A'kūb and 'Umro, the founders of the Ṣuffārīān dynasty. A few authors

When the throne of sovereignty became adorned by the phoenix like splendour of Sanjar the territories of Nīmroz passed to Amīr Ṭāhīr and in the service of that monarch he gave proofs of his loyalty and good faith. The Sarāe i Ṭāhīr¹ or Ṭāhīr Palace, in Sīstān which was the seat of government was founded by him. He instituted regulations and precepts of government, brought under his control the different districts and dependencies of the country of Nīmroz, reigned for a considerable time and died. These Maliks claimed descent from the race of Kai Kāūs. May the Almighty reward them!

Trustworthy persons have related that Sijistān is called Nīmroz for the reason that, in ancient times, the whole of that tract was a sea and when Mihtar² Sulīmān reclining on the couch which the winds used to bear had to pass over that country on his way from Fārs to the mountains of Sulīmān which are opposite Multān he commanded that that sea should be filled with sand. The Dīws in the space of half a day completed the task and the sea became dry land and the name by which it was called was Nīmroz, signifying mid-day and that designation continued to be applied to that country. God alone is eternal and His kingdom only is eternal without intermission and without wane.

II. MALIK ṬĀJ UD-DĪN ABŪ L-FATH³ SON OF ṬĀHIR.

Ṭāj ud Dīn was a great and a just monarch, and when his father departed this life, in conformity with the mandate of Sulṭān Sanjar Saljuḳī, he assumed authority over the territory of Nīmroz, and brought it under his sway. He spread the carpet of justice, and the people became obedient to his authority and, both in the city and round about Sijistān, numerous monuments of his goodness remained

mention that some writers consider Khalaf to have been a descendant of the ancient kings of Irān.

¹ See the short account of the descent of the Afghāns in the Introduction to my Afghān Grammar last edition, page 7 respecting Mihtar Sulīmān and the Sulīmān mountains.

² Styled Ṭāj ud Dīn, Abū l Faṭṭi Naṣr son of Ṭāhir by others. He succeeded to the sovereignty in 480 H. He was just, valiant, and beneficent; and was loyal to the utmost degree towards Sulṭān Sanjar.

He accompanied Sultān Sanjar in the campaign against Kẖitā, and took along with him the troops of Sijistān, and, when Sultān Sanjar's army was defeated, Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Fath, was taken prisoner. When they had taken him to the place where the camp of the Kẖitā-is was situated, his feet were confined in a pair of wooden stocks⁶ and secured with a heavy chain, and he was kept in imprisonment.

A number of trustworthy persons⁶ have related, that one of the ladies of the Great Kẖān [of Kẖitā] got a sight of Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, and, secretly, used to entertain great affection for him, and to have all his wants, and even more, liberally supplied, and have great care and attention paid to him. That lady left not the least thing undone, or a moment to be lost, until, by her endeavours also, Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn was suddenly set at liberty, and was enabled to fly from the camp of the Kẖitā-is, and he brought back his chain and the stocks along with him to Sīstān.

The territory of Nīmroz, which, during his captivity, had been deprived of his comeliness and munificence, now began to acquire fresh grace and elegance. The stocks and chain, which he had brought away with him [when he escaped], were, by his orders, hung up in the most sacred place in the great mosque [where the Imām stands during the prayers], and Minhāj-i-Sarāj, the writer of this Tabakāt, in the year 613 H, arrived in the city of Sīstān⁷, and, in

⁶ This battle having taken place in 534 H [some say in 536 H], and Tāj ud-Dīn being above a hundred when he died in 559 H, he must have been about eighty years of age when taken prisoner.

⁶ "Trustworthy persons" are constantly mentioned by our author, but it is strange that they are *nameless*.

⁷ I have constantly noticed, in several authors, that, when mentioning the *country*, the names Nīmroz and Sijistān are applied, and that Sīstān almost invariably signifies the *city*, the capital of the country, but I have also noticed that the latter name is sometimes, but not often, applied to the country also. There is one rather astonishing thing, however. Our author invariably says the city of Sīstān was the capital, while travellers, such as Pottinger and Christie, and other European authors also, say that Dooshak, or Jalālābād, is the capital. "Who shall decide when doctors disagree?" The author of the *MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK*, who visited it before our author wrote, says that *Zarānj* is the capital, and that there is no city in the territory of Nīmroz so large, and, further, describes the buildings and gates and other matters in such manner, that there can be no doubt whatever but that *Zarānj* was the name of the capital of Sijistān, or Nīmroz, and no such city as Sīstān is ever mentioned in that work.

the great mosque there saw that chain and stocks, and whoever may have reached that great city will also have seen them

Malik Tāj ud Dīn Abū l Fath was a learned and enlightened sovereign and they relate that sometimes, he would himself read the Friday's Khuṭbah and this fact is an indication of the extent of his wisdom and knowledge.

He reigned for a considerable time* and died and his mausoleum is at Sīstān.

III MALIK US SĀ'IS • SHAMS-UD DĪN MUḤAMMAD SON OF TĀJ UD-DĪN

When Malik Tāj ud Dīn Abū l Fath¹ passed away, several sons survived him and the eldest of them was Malik Shams-ud Dīn, Muḥammad. He succeeded to the sovereignty and brought the territory of Nīmroz under his sway. He deprived one of his brothers, Izz-ul Mulūk of his sight, and put the rest of them to death and he caused a great number of the Amīrs and Malikis of Nīmroz and Sīstān to be executed.

He was a sanguinary man and it is related of him, that, at the outset of his reign, he killed eighteen of his brothers in one day. The royal palace, which he founded in Sīstān, is [on this account] called by the name of Sarāe i Sīasatī, or Palace of Slaughter and through his excessive murders and executions the people's hearts became filled with terror.

At the time when the reign of Sultān Sanjar came to a termination, and the territories of Khurāsān, Ghaznīn, and Kirmān fell into the hands of the tyrannical tribe of Ghuzz. Malik Shams-ud Dīn had already established his authority over Nīmroz. On several occasions the Ghuzz forces resolved to subvert his rule, but they did not succeed in their design.

The grandfather of the author of this work, Maulanā

* He died in 559 H. after having reigned over Nīmroz, subordinate to the Saljūq Sultāns, for just eighty years, and his age was above a hundred. It seems strange our author did not know the year of his death.

¹ Torturer, executioner.

² It was with this ruler that Mu'izz-ud Dīn, Ghūrī, the conqueror of Hindūstān, passed one cold season, after he and his brother Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, had been released from confinement.

Minhāj-ud-Dīn, 'Usmān, Jurjānī, who was on his way to Ghaznīn and Lohor, on his return from the pilgrimage to Hijāz and the sacred Ka'bah [at Makkah], reached Sīstān during the reign of Malīk Shams-ud-Dīn. At that time there was residing there one of the great theologians, whom they called Imām Awhād-ud-Dīn, Bukhārī, one of the most eminent men of Khurāsān. He was also one of the incomparable ones of the world, and one of the colleagues of the Khawājah—a second Imām Nu'mān²—Abū-l-Fazl, Kirmānī. There was likewise there another man of learning, who went by the name of Imām, Ḳawām-ud-Dīn, Zawzanī, a talkative, open-mouthed, staring-eyed fellow, who was in the constant habit of annoying Imām Awhād-ud-Dīn, and of behaving insolently towards him in public.

Imām Sharaf-ud-Dīn, 'Attār, related this anecdote, which was told to him, respecting this man—that, when Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn arrived at Sīstān, it was customary with the rulers of Nīmroz to treat strange 'Ulamā with respect and kindness, and they used to command them to deliver a discourse, and expound some religious dogma, in their presence, at the Court. Malīk Shams-ud-Dīn, accordingly, commanded that Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn should expound a dogma at the Court.

The 'Ulamā of that city having presented themselves there, Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn expounded the dogma of defiling emissions³. When the exposition was concluded, Ḳawām-ud-Dīn, Zawzanī, wishing, by his insolence, to annoy and mortify Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn, and to clash with him, said—"We had heard great report of thy eminence, of thy learning and thy reputation, but this much was incumbent on thee, that, in the presence of such a great monarch, thou shouldst not have mentioned the precept of defiling emissions." When Maulānā Minhāj-ud-Dīn perceived that he intended insolence and rudeness, he replied, saying.—"Maulānā Ḳawām-ud-Dīn, it is not necessary to make a long story of it, thou art filthiness itself. I beheld thee, and that precept came to my recollection."

At this rejoinder, Maulānā Ḳawām-ud-Dīn was com-

² The celebrated Imām, Abū Hanīfah of Kūfah, was called Nu'mān

³ Emissions in sleep, &c, requiring ablution afterwards

pletely silenced and Malik Shams-ud Dīn was so overcome with laughing, that he rolled over and over almost beside himself on his couch⁴. That day Imām Awḥād ud Dīn was made himself again by this rejoinder of Maulānā Minhāj ud Dīn who also gave *kelat* to that dogma likewise, and that monarch showed abundant kindness and consideration towards Maulānā Minhāj ud Dīn.

Malik Shams ud Dīn reigned for a considerable time, and was put to death and passed away⁵.

IV MALIK US-SA'ID TĀJ UD DĪN I HARAB, SON OF MUḤAMMAD⁶

Malik Tāj ud Dīn was a great, learned and just sovereign, and a cherisher of his subjects. He had a number of children, and during his lifetime, two of his sons succeeded to the throne of Nīmroz, as will, please God be hereafter mentioned⁷.

The first incidents in his career were these. When Malik Shams-ud Dīn, his uncle came to the throne, he deprived his, Tāj-ud Dīn's father of his sight, and put the rest of his brothers to death. Malik Shams-ud Dīn had a sister who was aunt to Malik Tāj ud Dīn : Harab who possessed great influence and when the tyranny and oppression of Shams-ud Dīn became unbearable, the people became quite sated of his rule, and prayed the Almighty to grant them redress.

A party of the nobles and chief men of the country of Nīmroz sought the aid and assistance of that Malikah the aunt of Malik Tāj ud Dīn i Harab and they held counsel

⁴ A couch or sort of throne or seat spread with four cushions.

Our author who has a peculiar way of his own for relating important events, says this ruler was martyred. He was such a bloodshedder and tyrant that his troops rose against him, attached themselves to his sister and put him to death. Our author relates it among the events of the following reign instead of here.

⁵ Styled Tāj-ud Dīn, Ḥasim, son of 'Izz-ul Muḥḥik by Faḥit † and Malik Tāj-ud Dīn-i Harab, son of 'Izz-ul Muḥḥik, by others. Why he and some others are styled Harab [in the very old MS. I have previously referred to the vowel points are given], and what the real signification of the word may be, it is difficult to tell; but some of the Mughal officers—not Mughals probably—are designated by this same appellation.

⁷ How could they possibly attain the throne during his lifetime, unless they previously dethroned him?

together, and made arrangements for a change [of rulers], and fixed upon Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn by general consent. At that time he was sixty years of age, and none else remained of the descendants of the Malīks who was eligible for the sovereignty.

There is a place, outside the city of Sīstān, where, in ancient times, there was an old city, which place they call Hashnūe⁸. At night, all the populace of Sīstān and the soldiery assembled there, and, in the morning they rose against Malīk Shams-ud-Dīn, and put him to death with eighteen of his sons, and Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Harab was raised to the throne. His father, 'Izz-ul-Mulūk, was still living, but deprived of the blessing of sight⁹.

When Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn ascended the throne, he governed the people with equity and justice, and all submitted to his authority. He entered into communication with the Sultāns of Ghūr and Khurāsān, and became feudatory to them, and read the Khutbah¹ in the name of the Sultāns of Ghūr. He used his utmost endeavours in the support and encouragement of ecclesiastics and learned men², and in securing the rights of the weak and helpless, and it was a rule with that family to show great honour and respect to strangers and travellers. Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, in this respect, greatly surpassed his ancestors. He commanded, likewise, that for every mosque of Bukhārā a prayer-carpet should be woven, according to the size of each, and despatched to that city, and for the sacred mosque at Makkah, and the holy Ka'bah, he despatched carpets, mats, and the like, as well as vessels of different kinds, in great quantity.

During the reign of Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, the father of the author of this volume, Maulānā Sarāj-ud-Dīn-i-Minhāj³

⁸ Rather doubtful, as the MSS. are all at variance here. Some have Hashnūe, others Khushūdī and Hushnūdī, some Hasūe and Hashnūe. I do not find either of these names in the ancient accounts of Sijistān.

⁹ Therefore he was precluded from the succession.

¹ The coin also was stamped with the titles and name of the Sultān of Ghūr.

² It must have been in this reign, not during that of the Blood-Shedder, that our author's grandfather met with such a good reception at the capital of Sijistān, as blood-thirsty tyrants are not generally those who patronize priests and learned men. This seems confirmed by the author's own remarks a little farther on.

³ Sometimes he writes Minhāj-i-Sarāj, and at others Sarāj-i-Minhāj.

came to Sīstān on two occasions. The first time he went there on a mission from the august Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn Muḥammad i Sām and on the second occasion⁴ when he was proceeding from the presence of that monarch to present himself at the Court of the Khālifah Un Nāṣir ud Dīn Ullah, by way of Mukrān he likewise passed by way of Sīstān and received great kindness and benevolence at the hands of Malik Tāj ud Dīn i Harab

During his own lifetime, Malik Tāj ud Dīn made his eldest son Nāṣir ud Dīn Uṣmān, his heir apparent, and subsequently when Nāṣir ud Dīn died, he nominated an other son Yamīn ud Dīn Bahrām Shah, as his heir and successor

Towards the end of his reign Malik Tāj ud Dīn became totally blind. He had reigned for a period of sixty years and his age was a hundred and twenty. He died in the year 612 H

V MALIK NĀṢIR UD-DĪN UṢMĀN I HARAB, SON OF MALIK TĀJ UD DĪN

Malik Nāṣir ud Dīn was a just monarch⁵ and Āyishah Khātūn the daughter of the Malik of Khurāsān Umr i Maraghānī, was married to him. He had good and worthy sons, and upon several occasions he marched from Sīstān with numerous forces and joined the Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn Muḥammad i Sām in Khurāsān. At the time of the success at Nīshāpūr he was present with that monarch's Court.

He was a Malik of good disposition and the patron of learned men, and passed his life among men in [the exercise of] justice, beneficence and humanity

During the reign of his father Malik Tāj ud Dīn, he acted as his representative and lieutenant in the adminis-

⁴ See page 244. This was the occasion when the author's father whilst proceeding by way of Mukrān to Baghdād, lost his life.

⁵ He died during his father's lifetime consequently he is not entitled to be considered as one of the sovereigns of Sījīstān, and he is not accounted such by other writers. He was a regent or lieutenant only; and, on account of the extreme age of his father at his [Nāṣir's] death, his son, Yamīn ud Dīn, Bahrām Shah, became regent.

⁶ His surname. See account of Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn in Section XVII

tration of the government of the territory of Nīmroz, and, outside the city of Sīstān, on the bank of the river Hīrmand, he founded a large and noble palace

He ruled the country for a considerable period, and likewise died during his father's lifetime

VI MALIK UL-GHĀZĪ, YAMĪN-UD-DAULAH WA UD-DĪN
BAHRĀM SHĀH, SON⁷ OF TĀJ-UD-DĪN-I-ḤARAB

Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, was a firm and stern ruler, very severe but strictly just, and he continued to observe the rule established by his ancestors, of treating learned men and strangers and travellers with respect and reverence

During the lifetime of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, his father, he became greatly distinguished, and was famous for his valour, sagacity, activity, and magnanimity. He ruled over the territory of Nīmroz for a considerable time during the lifetime of his father, and, when his father died, the sovereignty passed to him

Both Bahrām himself and two other brothers were borne by a Turkish slave-girl, and, previous to his time, all the sovereigns and nobles, according to ancient custom, allowed their hair to hang loosely, and used to wear conical caps on their heads, with two or three fillets wound round them, with a black fillet over the others', but, when Malik Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, came to the throne, his mother being of the Turkish race, he assumed the cap of sable, and camlet garments, and curling ringlets like the Turks, and both his brothers, one, Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, and the other, Malik Shāh, likewise adopted similar costume

The author of this work, in the year 613 H, set out from the city of Bust for the purpose of proceeding to Sīstān. When he arrived within a short distance of that capital, where there is a place which they call by the name of Gumbaz-i-Balūch—the Cupola of the Balūch⁸—on the east side [of Sīstān], at this place, a deputation received him, and

⁷ The *grandson*, not the son of Tāj-ud Dīn. Bahrām Shāh was the son of Nāsir-ud-Dīn. See note ⁶, preceding page.

⁸ One copy has Balūt, but the rest have Balūj and Balūch. The place is not mentioned in the ancient accounts of the country. Balūt means an oak.

brought him to the city and⁸ there, at a place which is named the Madrasah i sar i Hawẓ—the College at the head of the Reservoir—to the south of the city which they call Dar i ʿĀ am¹ and Bāzār i Farod, he alighted and took up his quarters²

The author delivered a discourse in the private audience hall of that dignified sovereign within the Sarāi i Sīāsati and upon two occasions he was honoured with robes of distinction from that beneficent monarch consisting, each time, of three dresses and as long as the author remained at Sīstān, every month Malīk Yamīn ud Dīn sent him a liberal allowance in money and grain and treated him with the utmost kindness and respect. After sojourning there for a period of seven months, the author returned again to Khurāsān.

Malīk Yamīn ud-Dīn Bahrām Shāh ruled with great firmness and sagacity. It had been a practice of old in the territory of Nīmroz among the tribes [therein] to be constantly quarrelling and fighting among themselves and no person entered a city or town without being fully armed. When the sovereignty devolved upon Bahrām Shāh he made every tribe give hostages and kept them shut up in different fortresses, so that, in whatever tribe blood might be shed unjustly the chiefs and head men of the tribe were held responsible for the crime. Through this stringent order such acts of bloodshed decreased.

Yamīn ud Dīn Bahrām Shāh, on two occasions waged holy war against the heretics of Kuhistan³ and carried on hostilities against them for a long time. Imam Sharaf ud Dīn Aḥmad⁴ of Farāh who was the most eloquent man of his time, composed these lines on those successes and in praise of them —

⁸ One or two copies omit the "and."

¹ See page 20 and note ³

² The places noticed here were at *Zarandj* and their mention proves the statements of the author of the *MASALIK WA MAMĀLIK* to be correct. See also note ⁷ p. 188.

³ The chief place of which is *Kūh* formerly of considerable importance. He led troops against those heretics upon several occasions.

⁴ Several other authors, and among them the author of the *Nusakh i Jahān Arā*, say that Abū Naṣr Farāhī, was the composer of these lines. He was the author of the celebrated lexicographical work entitled *Niṣīb-i Niṣābān*.

“ August and auspicious unto the world’s people
 Is the revered countenance of the Shāh of exalted descent
 At this warfare, which thou didst in Kuhistān wage,
 The globe is with justice, with equity, and requital, full
 Thou art the king of mid day ⁵, and of thy day’s reign
 ’Tis as yet but the propitious early dawn thereof
 Like as the warriors of Muḥammad exult in thee,
 In such wise the soul of Muḥammad in thee rejoiceth.
 Continue in the world whilst the world hath freshness
 From water and from fire, from earth and from air
 From the remembrance of the great king will not be obliterated
 The encomiums of the Farāh-ī, if aught of memory remain ⁶ ”

After Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, had reigned for a considerable time, the calamities attending the irruption of the infidel Mughals arose, and Khurāsān became desolated by them, and the kingdoms of Islām fell

There is a fortress on the confines of Neh, in the territory of Nīmroz, which they call the castle of Shāhanshāhī, and the nephew of Bahrām Shāh, the son of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, ‘Uṣmān, had sold the fortress of Shāhanshāhī to the heretics of Kuhistān, and it was in their possession Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, at this time, despatched an agent to demand the restoration of that fortress, and further, to intimate that, in case any difficulty should arise, a force would be speedily brought against it

On this account, disciples were nominated by the heretics of Kuhistān to remove him, and, in the year 618 H, on a Friday, when proceeding on his way to the mosque to perform his devotions, in the middle of the bāzār, four fidā’īs, or disciples, surrounded him and martyred him

VII. MALIK NUṢRAT-UD-DĪN, SON OF MALIK YAMĪN-UD-DĪN, BAHRĀM SHĀH

On the death of Malīk Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, the great nobles and chief men of Nīmroz agreed together and raised to the throne Nusrat-ud-Dīn, the middle son of the late ruler This caused agitation and commotion to

⁵ A play upon the word Nīmroz, signifying mid-day. See p 187

⁶ Like all translated poetry, these lines, which are fine enough in the original, lose by translation, and the play upon words is generally lost Two copies of the text contain one distich more, but the second line is precisely the same as the sixth line above, and therefore it must be an interpolation, or the first line has been lost

arise in the country of Nīmroz and, in every direction disorder and confusion occurred

The eldest son of Bahrām Shāh, named Rukn ud Dīn was detained in confinement⁷ [as a state prisoner] The orthodox people of both parties were all partisans well washers and under allegiance to Amīr Nuṣrat ud Dīn while the whole of the heretics of the districts of Nīmroz were friendly towards, and submissive to Rukn ud Dīn⁸ After some months had passed away from the accession of Amīr Nuṣrat ud-Dīn, the heretics broke out into rebellion and brought forth Rukn ud Dīn and between Amīr Nuṣrat ud Dīn and his brother Rukn ud Dīn an encounter ensued in which Nuṣrat ud Dīn was defeated and he retired into Khurāsān and Ghūr

He returned a second time to Sīstān and liberated the country from the hands of Rukn ud Dīn but, at last, as a body of troops of the infidels of Ghīn and Mughals⁹ advanced against Sīstān it fell into the hands of those infidels, and Nuṣrat ud Dīn obtained martyrdom, and died¹

VIII. MALIK RUKN UD-DĪN MAḤMŪD SON OF YAMĪN UD-DĪN BAHRĀM SHĀH

Malik Rukn ud Dīn Maḥmūd was a prince harsh, sanguinary and cruel. The author of this work saw him during the lifetime of his father in attendance upon that sovereign Rukn ud Dīn was a person of middle height ruddy and fair and his mother was a Rumī slave girl During the lifetime of his father he had been guilty of several perverse and contumacious acts and his father Malik Yamīn ud Dīn Bahram Shāh on two occasions, had imprisoned him on account of his misdeeds.

Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh sent a mandate from Khwārazm to Bahrām Shāh, requesting him to dispatch a force from Nīmroz to join him In conformity

⁷ Rukn ud-Dīn had been kept in confinement by his father and was still imprisoned when his brother succeeded, for reasons afterwards explained. He soon after made his escape.

⁸ This accounts partly for his being kept imprisoned in his father's reign.

⁹ See in MSS. and this difference between Mughals and infidels of Ghīn often occurs in the text.

¹ Nuṣrat-ud Dīn was slain early in the Mughal troubles by those infidels.

with this command, Malik Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, nominated his son, Rukn-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, to proceed with this army, and despatched it towards the confines of Khurāsān along with the applicant for assistance, who had come from Khwārazm Shāh, to the presence of that Sultān [Bahrām Shāh]

When he had reached the limits of Fūshanj, and arrived near Hirāt, Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, while engaged in a drinking bout, slew the applicant in question, who was a Turk of distinction, and, out of fear for what he had done, returned towards Sīstān again. Malik Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, on account of this misconduct, put him in durance, and despatched a numerous force under Amīr Shams-ud-Dīn, together with presents of silks and fine linen, and numerous expressions of obligation, with many apologies, to the presence of Khwārazm Shāh.

In that same year the calamities caused by the infidel Mughals happened, and those troops of Nīmroz were ordered to the [frontier] fortress of Tirmīz². Chingiz³ Khān, the Accursed, advanced with his forces against it in person, and took Tirmīz, and the whole of the troops of Nīmroz were martyred therein.

When Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, after overcoming his brother, assumed the sovereignty over Sijistān, he began to tyrannize, and stretched out the hand of violence and oppression, upon which, at the solicitations of the inhabitants of Sīstān, his brother, Amīr Nusrat, returned from Khurāsān, and between the brothers contention again ensued.

At this crisis an army of Mughals unexpectedly reached Sīstān, and the whole were either slaughtered, exterminated, made captive, or martyred. The city of Sīstān became desolate, and its inhabitants obtained martyrdom⁴.

IX. MALIK SHIHĀB-UD-DĪN, MAHMŪD, SON OF HARAB⁵

When the army of infidels, after having reduced it to desolation, turned their backs upon Sīstān, Malik Shihāb-

² Sometimes spelt Tirmīz, but incorrectly.

³ Chingiz and also Chingiz. The word is spelt both ways, the latter appears to be the most correct.

⁴ Killed in battle with the Mughals, or slaughtered afterwards.

⁵ He is said to have been the son of Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn, 'Uṣmān, brother

ud Dīn, who had kept in concealment, came forth and took possession of Sīstān—but, as it was in a very ruinous state and no inhabitants remained, he did not acquire much strength or power.

A party of heretics gathered together in some force, and besought Shāh Uḡmān the grandson of Nāṣir ud Dīn 'Uḡmān* Tāj ud Dīn i Ḥarab to come from the city of Neh and occupy Sīstān. He called in the aid of a force of Khawārazm Shāhī troops from the Malik of Kirmān whom they styled Burāk, the Hājib [chamberlain]. When that body of troops, from Kirmān, joined Shāh Uḡmān and came to Sīstān Shihāb-ud Dīn Maḥmūd was martyred and his brother Amīr Alī i Zāhid⁷ [a recluse, a holy man] ascended the throne. Still the government did not acquire stability and he died.

X. MALIK TĀJ UD DĪN BINĀL-TIĠĪN* KHWĀRAZMĪ.

Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Bināl Tiġīn was of the same family as the Maliks [sovereigns] of Khawārazm and was a son of one of the maternal uncles of Sultān Khawārazm Shāh⁸ and, at the period that the Sultāns of Ghūr took Nīshāpūr Tāj ud Dīn Bināl Tiġīn, with his cousin Malik Fīrūz i I yal timish, came into Hindūstān.

At the time of the irruption of the infidels of Chīn, and consequent calamities, this Tāj ud Dīn was in the service

of Bahram Shāh. In some copies of the text he is styled son of Ḥarab, and simply Maḥmūd i Ḥarab in others.

* See page 196.

⁷ Neither of these persons is mentioned in Jabān Arī as ruler in Sijistān, but Bināl Tiġīn is. Rauzat-uz-Ṣafā, copying from our author of course mentions the two first, but not the last. Shihāb-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd, encountered Shāh Uḡmān and Bināl-Tiġīn, and was slain in battle; but Faṣīḥ-i, under the events of the year 646 H. mentions a Malik Alī, ruler of Nīmroz, having been put to death by Malik Shams-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, the Kurt.

* Nīāl Tiġīn, in some copies and in some other works, is totally incorrect. The name, as above, is corroborated by other writers; and, in the old copy of the text, the vowel points are also given. It appears to be an error of copyists writing جال for جال.

⁸ Which is not said. Some copies have Sultān. Rauzat-uz-Ṣafā says Sultān Muḥammad. He certainly was of the same tribe as the Khawārazm Shāhī rulers.

¹ See under reign of Ghoryāz-ud Dīn, Ghūrī, Section XVII.

Sīstān remained without a ruler he should take Shāh Usmān to Sīstān and set him up there. Tāj ud Dīn Bināl Tīgīn accordingly moved to Sīstān, took possession of the city and brought the territory of Nīmroz under his own sway.

At this juncture, Malik Rukn-ud Dīn, of Khāesār¹ of Ghūr despatched thence, his dependent, Minhāj i Sarāj from Ghūr on a mission to Malik Tāj ud Dīn Bināl Tīgīn. The author found him at the city of Farāh, in Dāwarī² and waited on him and a firm compact was concluded.

After returning from thence, and reaching Ghūr again between Malik Tāj ud Dīn and the Mulāhidah heretics hostility arose and an engagement ensued between them and he was defeated. After this, he returned to Sīstān again and overthrew a body of Khārijī schismatics who had revolted against him.

In the year 623 H., the author of this work was despatched a second time and he proceeded again to his presence and, after that, Tāj ud Dīn came himself into Ghūr and took possession of the fortresses of Tūlak and Isfirār, and, in this same year after his return from Nīmroz, the author had occasion to undertake a journey into Hind.

In the year 625 H. an army of Mughals advanced into the territory of Nīmroz a second time and Tāj ud Dīn Bināl Tīgīn was invested within the walls of the fortress of Arg⁴ of Sīstān. For a period of nineteen months he

¹ This journey is again referred to by our author towards the end of his work, under the heading "Downfall of the Mulāhidah, Section XXIII.; and this place is again mentioned, but is there written in two different ways—Khāesār and Khāesār.

² This word is used in all the copies of the text, with one exception, which has دوار [dāwā or dāwā]. This can scarcely refer to the district of Dāwar [not Dāwarī], which lies more to the east. In the MALIK WA MAMĀLIK the دوار [dāwā is a valley low lying ground, &c.] of Farāh is mentioned; but this is an Arabic term, not a proper name. The compact" here referred to could not have been very "firm," as may be seen from a more detailed account of these journeys of the author under the head of "Downfall of the Mulāhidah," towards the end of the Section above mentioned.

³ The author contradicts himself, not an unusual thing, in the Section referred to in the previous note, which see.

⁴ The Barid-i Khā says, one of the meanings of the word Arg is "a citadel," but that it is also the name of a fortress in the territory not the city of Sīstān. See note * p. 34, and the account of the investment of Sīstān [as our author calls it] by the Mughals in Section XXIII. where the situation of this fortress is mentioned.

defended the place , and the whole of his followers with him in that stronghold, consisting of Ghūrīs, Tūlakīs, Sıgızīs⁵, and Turks, all perished Tāj-ud-Dīn himself received an arrow in one of his eyes, and he straightway fell from the battlements to the ground, and became a captive to the Mughals

The fortress was taken, and the remainder of the people within the walls were martyred , and Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bīnāl-Tıgīn, was brought from Sīstān to the fortress of Safhed Koh⁶, and at the foot of the walls of that castle they martyred him The mercy of the Almighty be upon him !

⁵ See fourth paragraph to note ², pp 183-4

⁶ Also called Sufed-Koh Our author was once detained within the walls of his fortress by Bīnāl-Tıgīn

SECTION XV

THE KURDIAH MALIKS OF SHĀM

MINHĀJ I SARĀJ Jūrjānī, the humblest of the servants of the threshold of the Most High begs to mention that, as an account of the Maliks of the East and West, both infidel and of the true faith has been detailed and recorded, to the best of his ability and power and a small portion in a condensed form, has also been related from the annals of the Maliks of Ajam and the East, this work has been embellished [!] with a description of the Maliks of Shām Miṣr Ḥijāz, and Yaman, who were Sultāns in Islām, and Maliks and warriors of the true faith of great renown, and who subsequent to the Sanjarī and Saljukī dynasties, held sway over those countries. He has done so in order that the readers of this Ṭabaqāt, when these pages come under their observation may remember the author with a pious benediction, and the Sultān of the Musalmāns with a prayer for the stability and permanency of his sovereignty and dominion and the increase of his conscientiousness and beneficence.

I SULTĀN NŪR UD-DĪN MAḤMŪD-I ZANGĪ¹

Sultān Nūr ud Dīn Maḥmūd i Zangī, was one of the Atā baks of Maṣṣil and the Atā baks of Maṣṣil were

¹ Sultān Nūr-ud Dīn was not the first of this dynasty neither was he a Kurd, nor one of the Atā-baks of Maṣṣil, but, by our author's own account, the descendant of a Turk of Khlṭā; and yet he places him at the head of the dynasty which he calls the Kurdiah Maliks of Shām! In this Section above all the others in his work, and that is saying a good deal, he has greatly exposed his ignorance; and appears to have concocted, out of his own fertile imagination the greater part of what he has here adduced, beyond what he heard of the rulers of Maṣṣil and Shām from a fugitive at Lakhnanī, in Bengal, who called himself one of their descendants.

The first of this dynasty was ABŪ SA'ĪD-I ĀK SANKUR [turned into ASCANSAR by Gibbon], son of Abd-ullah, styled the Ḥājib and Ibn i

descendants of slaves of Sultān Sanjar, and this bondman of Sanjar, who was the first Malik of Mausil, was a Turk of Khutā

This relation the author heard, in the city of Lakhnauti, from one of the descendants of that family, and the son of one of the Lords of Mausil himself. In the country of Hindūstān, and at the capital, Dihli, he was known as the Khudāwand-Zādah of Mausil. He was of the same progenitors² as the august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn [I-yal-timish]³.

Hājib, according to some. In 478 H, *the year before Sanjar was born*, Tāj-ud-Daulah, Abū Sa'id, surnamed Tutish, son of Alb-Arsalān, the Saljūk, gained possession of Halab and its dependencies. Āk-Sankur, who was one of his brother's slaves, in whom he placed great dependence, he made his Deputy there. Tāj-ud-Daulah i-Tutish at this time resided at Damashk. Āk-Sankur became disaffected, and Tutish marched against him, and, in a battle which took place between them, near Halab, in 487 H, Āk-Sankur was slain.

He was succeeded by his son, 'IMĀD-UD-DĪN, ZANGĪ, who had previously held the government of Baghdād under Sultān Mahmūd, son of Muḥammad, son of Malik Shāh, Saljūki, but, in 521 H [some say 522 H], through the efforts of the Khalīfah of Baghdād, Mustarshid, 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Zangī, was appointed to the government of 'Irāk-i-'Arab, the capital of which was Mausil—so called from being situated between 'Irāk and the Jazīrah [Mesopotamia], and derived from the 'Arabic ج, —and Sultān Mahmūd sent two of his sons, Alb-Arsalān and Farrukh Shāh, to Zangī to be brought up, hence he was styled Atā-bek or Preceptor. In the same year he took Halab, and, in 523 H, the fortress of Himār, in Kurdistan, which he razed, and erected a fortress in place of it, which he named after himself, and it is still known as 'Imādiyah. He acquired sway over the greater part of Shām, Diyār-i-Bakr, the Jazā'ir, and Mausil. Zangī was slain while besieging the fortress of Ja'bar. He was killed, some say, by his own slaves, in Muḥarram [Yafā'i says in Rabī'ul-Ākhīr], 541 H. We now come to Nūr-ud-Dīn, whom our author places as first of the Kurdish sovereigns of Shām.

On the death of Zangī, his two sons, Saif ud Dīn i Ghāzī, and ABŪ-L-KASIM, NŪR-UD-DĪN, MAHMŪD, styled AL MALIK-UL-'ĀDIL [the Just Malik], divided their father's dominions among them. The former took Mausil and its dependencies, and the latter Shām and its dependencies. Nūr-ud-Dīn proceeded to Halab, and began to extend his authority. In 549 H he gained possession of Damashk, and his power and dominions were greatly extended. He also gained possession of Hims, Hama, Manbij, Ba'albak, and other fortresses in the territory of Rūm, and numerous strongholds in the country of the Farangs [the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem], more than fifty in number in all. He sent the Amīr, Asad ud-Dīn, Sher-i-Koh, on three different occasions into Miṣr, and, on the third occasion, Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, became the Deputy of Nūr-ud-Dīn in that country. See under Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, p. 214.

² The word used is سب another signification of which, but not applicable here I think, is the affinity between two men who have married two sisters.

³ And so the first—the Turk of Khutā—is here made "*a Kurd*," while his

This Khudāwand Zādah stated to the author that the whole of his ancestors were descendants of a slave of Sanjar Shāh, and, that he himself was the eighth in descent from that Turk of Khitā previously mentioned.

In short, Sulṭān Nūr ud Dīn, who was Malīk of Shām, was a just and conscientious monarch, and did a great deal of good. He undertook many expeditions against the infidels, and engaged in many conflicts with them. A number of Malīks [chieftains] Kurds, Turks, Ajamīs, and Arabs were in his service.

Sulṭān Nūr ud Dīn left numerous marks of his goodness behind him in the territory of Shām⁴ and reigned for very many years⁵.

At the time of his death he left one son, named Alī, who succeeded him.

II. MALIK UŞ-ŞĀLĪH, ALĪ⁶ SON OF MAHMŪD-I ZANĠ

Malīk uş-Şālīh, Alī ascended the throne of Shām at the city of Damashk, and the great nobles and chieftains paid

brother *Türk*—the slave king of Dihlī—is turned into a *Paṣhā*,⁷ i. e. an Afghān, by Dow and his copyists.

⁴ Nūr-ud Dīn reigned for a considerable time in great grandeur and glory and the laudable course of his life, and his conduct towards his people, were such that he was accounted by them, as one of the saints; and it is said, that prayers offered up before his tomb, are effectual. He founded a great hospital at Damashk and a university or college, and died in the month of Shawwāl, 569 H., but some say in 568 H. when leading an army towards Mişr against Şālīh-ud Dīn, who had become disaffected. Ibn-i Khalkān says he died in the citadel of Damashk.

⁵ His descendant, apparently did not know how long his ancestor reigned.

⁶ Nūr ud Dīn does not appear to have had any son called Alī but certain it is that he was not succeeded by one of that name, as our author states, but by his son ISMĀ IL, entitled MALIK UŞ-ŞĀLĪH, then a mere child being only in his eleventh year. Şālīh-ud Dīn, at first, reared the Khutbah for him and coined the money in his name, as he had done for his father previously; but in 570 H., the year after his accession, when in his twelfth year Şālīh ud Dīn, taking advantage of his extreme youth, brought an army before Damashk, and seized upon it and the greater part of Shām, leaving nothing to his benefactor's son but the city of Halab and its environs, to which place Malīk uş-Şālīh retired. He dwelt there till 577 H. when he died in his nineteenth year much regretted by the people for his virtues; and, with him, this branch terminated.

If this account be compared with our author's, the absurdity and incorrectness of his statements will be sufficiently apparent, more particularly those contained in the last paragraph of his account of them. Of the Aṭī baks of Maṣṣil and several other dynasties, he gives no account.

allegiance and submission to him, and the districts around Shām, and Ḥalab, and Diyār-ı-Bākr, came under his sway

When intimation of the decease of Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn reached Mısr—and at this time the sovereignty of Mısr had passed to Sultān Salāh-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf—as he owed a heavy debt of gratitude for favours conferred, Sultān Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn determined to proceed from Mısr to the presence of Malık-uş-Şālīh, pay his obeisance to him, and perform the forms of condolence, and congratulate Malık-uş-Şālīh on his succession to the dominion of Shām, and then return again

He set out from Mısr [accordingly] with a body of troops and conducted it to Shām⁷, and, as soon as he reached the frontier of that territory, information of his arrival was brought to Damashk. The heart of Malık-us-Sālīh was filled with affright and consternation, and he asked advice of everybody as to what he ought to do. There was a servant of Malık-uş-Sālīh, who had also been an old follower of his father, Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn, who was named Aymin, and he said to Malık-uş-Şālīh —“It is advisable, when Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn comes, to turn your face towards Ḥalab and proceed thither, and relinquish Damashk and Shām to him, since fear of him has taken root in people's hearts

⁷ A novel mode of expressing his gratitude. A traitor in Damashk, who had been gained over by Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, gave out that Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn was coming merely to adjust the affairs of the child. Our author either forgets to allude to, or did not know of, the hostilities that took place between Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn and Saif-ud-Dīn-i-Ghāzī, the latter of whom sent his troops to aid his brother 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd [they were sons of Maudūd, sons of Zangī, cousins of Malık-uş-Şālīh], who advanced to Halab, and, taking his cousin Malık-us-Sālīh and the latter's troops with him, marched to give battle to Salāh-ud-Dīn. The latter offered peace, which 'Izz-ud-Dīn refused, and, in Ramazān of 570 H., a battle took place near Hāmāh, in which Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn was victorious. After this, Malık-us-Sālīh entered into terms with him for Halab and some other places. Further hostilities took place between Saif-ud-Dīn-i-Ghāzī, supported by his brother, and—but I might fill a volume by merely naming our author's misstatements, and other important matters which he has left out, without giving any details of the facts. He omits nothing that is childish and ridiculous, the ball, for example, overshadowing the sun [p. 215], the rings for the Christian captives [p. 221], and such like nonsense. It is the important events only that he eschews. Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn subsequently endeavoured further to “express his gratitude,” by attempting, in 571 H., to gain possession of Halab. He remained a long time before it, without being able to take it. At last, a daughter of the late Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn was made over to him, and, for her sake, he left Malık-uş-Şālīh unmolested.

He has great resources and a large army, and he is able to reduce the territories under his sway. He is likewise legitimately born, and has a well-disposed mind and will respect your rights and the gratitude he owes to your father. If you should enter into hostilities with him, you have neither the means nor the power to oppose nor to resist him." The opinion of Malik uş-Şālīḥ was in accord with this fact, and he left Damashḳ and retired to Halab and consigned the territory of Shām into the hands of Şālāḥ-ud-Dīn.

Malik uş-Şālīḥ passed the remainder of his lifetime at Halab and Şālāḥ ud Dīn served him in all honour and reverence, guarded his rights, and in the observance of the laws of good faith and the fulfilment of his engagements, he failed neither to observe nor to neglect the most minute thing.

III. MALIK AIYÜB, SON OF SHĀDĪ.*

This Malik Aiyüb, son of Shādī, and his brother, Malik Asad ud Dīn, were two brothers, and sons of one of the

* The correct titles and name of Şālāḥ-ud Dīn's father were Malik-ul Afşal, Najm-ud Dīn, Abū-Laghkar i Aiyüb.

Shādī, their father son of Mardān, was born in a village of Aparbūjān, and belonged to a Kurdish tribe, which he left and proceeded to Baghdād, with his two sons, Asad-ud Dīn, Sher i Koh, and Najm-ud-Dīn, Aiyüb. The sons entered the service of Bahrūz, the prefect of Baghdād, and were entrusted by him with the charge of the fortress of Takrīt, and there Shādī died. His tomb was still to be seen there when Yāfa'ī wrote and within the walls of that stronghold Şālāḥ-ud Dīn was born. The brothers continued there for a considerable period; and, at the time when 'Imād ud Dīn, Zangī, in 526 H. came to the aid of Sulṭān Mas'ūd, Saljūqī, and his brother Saljūq Shāh, and his Atā bak, Kartājah, the cup-bearer were routed, Zangī passed the Tigris near the fort of Takrīt, by means of boats provided by the brothers. Subsequently Asad ud Dīn having slain a person, they had to leave the fortress of Takrīt, and they proceeded to Manşīl, and presented themselves at the Court of Zangī. He received them with great favour and bestowed fiefs upon each of them.

Subsequently when Zangī was assassinated, and his son, Saif-ud Dīn-i Ghāzī, succeeded him as ruler over Manşīl, Najm-ud Dīn-i Aiyüb, who had been assigned the territory of Ra albak by Zangī, finding Saif-ud Dīn-i-Ghāzī unable to protect him, had to give it up, and went and entered the service of the then ruler of Damashḳ, named Majr ud Dīn, Artūḳ [Artūḳshāh], who gave him a fief. Asad-ud Dīn, Sher-i Koh, Aiyüb's brother went to Halab and took service under Nūr-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd, Saif-ud Dīn's brother who had seen the honour with which he had been treated in his father's time, and he raised Asad ud Dīn to the highest position among his nobles; and, at the

Kurdish chieftains in the territory of Shām, and they passed a number of years in the service of Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn. They performed great deeds, and on the confines of Maghrab and of Shām, with numerous forces, they waged holy war, and fought engagements against unbelievers.

When Malik Aiyūb, son of Shādī, departed this life, he left four sons behind him: first, Malik Salāh-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, second, Malik 'Ādil-i-Abū-Bīkr, third, Shāhan-shāh, and fourth, Saif-ul-Islām⁹ and Malik Asad-ud-Dīn, son of Shādī, as before stated, was the brother of Malik Aiyūb¹.

When the latter died, his sons were in the service of their uncle, Malik Asad-ud-Dīn, and the first person among them [*sic* in MSS.] who became sovereign of Miṣr was this same Asad-ud-Dīn, and the first one who acquired sovereignty in Shām was Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, son of Aiyūb, as will, please God, be hereafter recorded.²

IV MALIK ASAD UD-DĪN³, SON OF SHĀDĪ, IN MIṢR.⁴

Trustworthy persons have related after this manner that a body of Maghrabī 'Alawīs laid claim to the Khilāfat⁴,

taking of Damashk, Asad-ud-Dīn, Sher-i Koh, and Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, were in Nūr-ud-Dīn's service, and the former held the government of Hims.

⁹ Abū Lashkar-i-Aiyūb had *six* renowned sons, the titles and names of whom, according to the years of their birth, are as follow — 1. Amīr-Nūr-ud-Daulah, Shāhan-Shāh 2. Malik-ul-Muaẓẓam, Shams-ud-Daulah, Tūrān Shāh 3. Malik-un-Nāṣir, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf 4. Malik-ul-'Ādil, Saif-ud-Dīn [Daulah], Abū Bīkr, Muḥammad 5. Malik ul-'Azīz, Zahīr-ud-Dīn, Abū Farās 1. Tugh-Tighīn, Saif ul-Islām 6. Tāj-ul-Mulūk, Majd-ud-Dīn — the least in years, the greatest in learning and accomplishments.

¹ Any one reading this would imagine that Aiyūb had been an independent ruler in Shām, and one of the dynasty, and that he had died before Asad-ud-Dīn, and before Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn rose to power, but neither of these is the fact. Aiyūb merely held Ba'albak of Zangī and another fief under his son. See note ⁹, page 215.

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³ His correct name and titles are Abū-l-Hārīs, Sher-i Koh [the Lion of the Mountains], Asad-ud-Dīn, surnamed Al-Malik-ul-Manṣūr.

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and brought an army from Maghrab into Miṣr and wrested it out of the hands of the governors and nobles of the Abbāsi Khālifs.

The chief of them was named Al Muntaḡir³ and some theologians regard them as Ḳarāmīyahs. The territory of Miṣr had continued in the possession of his descendants up to the period that an army of Afranj set out towards Miṣr and plundered and sacked the country. The Alawīs of Miṣr had not the power to resist them nor to drive out that host of infidels, so they solicited aid from Sulṭān Nūr-ud Dīn of Shām. He nominated Malik Asad ud Dīn, son of Shādl, to proceed into Miṣr and expel the Afranj infidels from that country⁴.

Dīn into Miṣr viz. in 296 H. In 351 H. they removed from the territory styled Maghrab, and took up their abode in the former country.

³ Abū Tamīm-i-Sād, Al Mustanṣir Dīllah was the eighth of the Ismā'īlīyahs or Fāṭimītes. They had been in Egypt, and had founded Kāhīrah upwards of sixty years before Al Mustanṣir succeeded to the Khilāfat. All the copies of the text have "Muntaḡir."

⁴ Our author's statements here are totally incorrect. Asad-ud Dīn, Sher-i Koh was despatched into Miṣr—or more correctly Diyār-i Miṣriyah, for Miṣr is the name of the ancient capital of Egypt, and Yafa and others make this distinction—upon three different occasions. The first occasion was in this wise: Shā'ūr the Waṣīr of Miṣr who held the chief power for the Ismā'īlīyah Khālifs appear to have possessed little authority had been ousted from office by a powerful rival, Zīr ghām by name, who obtained the chief authority and put Shā'ūr's son, Tac, to death. On this, Shā'ūr came to the presence of Nūr-ud Dīn to solicit his aid in restoring him to power; and, in Ramaṣān, 558 H. [according to some in 559 H.], Nūr-ud Dīn despatched a numerous army into Miṣriyah for the purpose, under Asad-ud Dīn, Sher-i Koh, and Ṣalīḥ-ud Dīn his nephew accompanied him.

The objects of Nūr-ud Dīn, in sending this expedition, were twofold. One was to aid Shā'ūr and the second was his desire to know the exact state of the affairs of that country as he had been informed that there was really no ruler in it, and that it might be easily annexed. Asad was therefore selected to command as Nūr-ud Dīn had implicit confidence in him. He accordingly entered the Miṣriyah territory in Jamādī-ul Ākhir 559 H. [some say in 558 H.], and Zīr ghām was put to death his head placed on a spear and his body left to the dogs and jackals; but his remains were subsequently buried. Shā'ūr again assumed the Waṣīr ship, but, finding the presence of Asad and his army irksome, and fearing treachery on Asad's part he sought an alliance with the Farangī [Latin Christians of Jerusalem] to counteract it. Asad in consequence was unable to hold his own in the Miṣriyah territory and he accordingly retired into Shām again and returned to Damaṣḥ and entered it in Zīl Hijjah 559 H. [some say in 558 H.]. Asad-ud-Dīn's thoughts, however were concentrated on Miṣriyah, and he was constantly pondering the subject. Shā'ūr becoming aware of his ambition and covetous designs, entered into a treaty with the Farangī to aid him, in case of need, against the ruler of Shām.

On the news of these negotiations reaching the ears of Nūr-ud Dīn and

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IV MALIK ASAD UD-DĪN³, SON OF SHĀDĪ, IN MĪṢR⁴

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¹ Abū Tamīm-i-Sad Al Mustanṣir Billah was the eighth of the Ismā'īlīyah or Fāṭimīyah. They had been in Egypt, and had founded Kāhīrah upwards of sixty years before Al Mustanṣir succeeded to the Khilāfah. All the copies of the text have "Muntaṣir."

² Our author's statements here are totally incorrect. Asad ud Dīn, Sher-i Koh was despatched into Miṣr—or more correctly Diyar-i-Miṣriyah, for Miṣr is the name of the ancient capital of Egypt, and Yāsa'ī and others make this distinction—upon three different occasions. The first occasion was in this wise: Shā'ūr the Wazīr of Miṣr who held the chief power for the Ismā'īlī Khalfahs appear to have possessed little authority had been ousted from office by a powerful rival, Zīr ghām by name, who obtained the chief authority and put Shā'ūr's son, Tāz, to death. On this, Shā'ūr came to the presence of Nūr-ud Dīn to solicit his aid in restoring him to power and, in Ramazān, 558 H. [according to some in 559 H.], Nūr-ud Dīn despatched a numerous army into Miṣriyah for the purpose, under Asad ud Dīn, Sher-i Koh, and Shāh-ud Dīn his nephew accompanied him.

The objects of Nūr-ud Dīn, in sending this expedition, were twofold. One was to aid Shā'ūr and the second was his desire to know the exact state of the affairs of that country as he had been informed that there was really no ruler in it, and that it might be easily annexed. Asad was therefore selected to command as Nūr-ud Dīn had implicit confidence in him. He accordingly entered the Miṣriyah territory in Jamādī ul Aḥḥir 559 H. [some say in 558 H.], and Zīr ghām was put to death his head placed on a spear and his body left to the dogs and jackals; but his remains were subsequently buried. Shā'ūr again assumed the Wazīr ship, but, finding the presence of Asad and his army irksome, and fearing treachery on Asad's part he sought an alliance with the Farangī [Latin Christians of Jerusalem] to counteract it. Asad in consequence was unable to hold his own in the Miṣriyah territory and he accordingly retired into Shām again and returned to Damaghk and entered it in Zī Hījāh 559 H. [some say in 558 H.]. Asad-ud Dīn's thoughts, however were concentrated on Miṣriyah, and he was constantly pondering the subject. Shā'ūr becoming aware of his ambition and covetous designs, entered into a treaty with the Farangī to aid him, in case of need, against the ruler of Shām.

On the news of these negotiations reaching the ears of Nūr-ud-Dīn and

Malik Asad-ud-Dīn preferred a request to the Sultān that he would appoint Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, his nephew, to accompany him on the expedition. This was granted, and Malik Asad-ud-Dīn, along with Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, set out from Shām towards Mīsr.

When they reached the frontier of that country, the infidel Afranj, having gained information of the arrival of the troops of Shām, reined in the bridle of their audacity, and they halted in that part of the country which they had then reached.

The troops of Shām entered the territory of Mīṣr, and acquired predominance over it, and, as they possessed great power and magnificence, the 'Alawīs of Mīṣr became timid of them, and repented of ever having sought their assistance, as they were not sufficiently strong to hinder them [the Shāmīs] from the usurpation of power and authority over the country.

The Sayyid, who filled the *masnad* of the Khilāfat in Mīṣr, had a Wazīr, who bore the name of Shā-ūr, and he summoned him privily, and commanded that he should write a letter, secretly, to the infidel Farangs, and tell them "neither we nor our troops will render any help to the Shāmīs, and we will not send them sufficient succour. It behoveth you to advance upon them, put forth your strength, and drive them out of this country, and all the

Asad, they consulted together, and the former, fearing lest the Farangs might gain a footing in Mīṣrīah, and thereby acquire dominion over the whole of the parts adjacent, determined to despatch Asad with a large army against Shā-ūr, which commenced its march in Rabi'-ul-Awwal, 562 H, and Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn attended him, being in his service.

Shā-ūr, on this movement, called in the Farangs, and, with those allies, encountered Asad and his forces in several engagements, but without decisive advantage on either side. Nūr-ud-Dīn now created a diversion by sending a force against the Farangī territory, and succeeded in taking Montreal [مسطرة]. The news of this having reached Almeric [عرق], king of Jerusalem, an accommodation was entered into by the contending parties, under the agreement that not a man of either the Shāmīs or Farangs should remain in the Mīṣrīah territory, and that both armies should retire into their respective countries.

Asad-ud-Dīn, Sher-i-Koh, in 564 H, again advanced into the Mīṣrīah territory, accompanied by his nephew, Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, and a large army, and sought to subdue it. Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn succeeded in getting possession of Iskandarīah, but Shā-ūr invested him therein with the forces of Mīṣr, and Asad had to evacuate Sa'id and march to his succour. At last a peace was come to, and Asad and Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn returned to Shām again. For an account of the third expedition see note ¹, page 212.

spoil taken from them shall be yours. In short, the Miṣrīs sought, by such like treachery to betray the army of Shām into the hands of the troops of the infidels of Rūm⁷ and the Farangs⁸

In accordance with the solicitation contained in the letter referred to the Farang infidels advanced upon the forces of Shām to give them battle, and drive them out of Miṣr. The army of the infidel Farangs amounted to 80,000 men, and that of Shām numbered 700 horse⁹

When the two armies came into contact with each other and the conflict and struggle began, the troops of Shām, on account of the smallness of their numbers were unable to withstand their opponents, and, as a matter of necessity, they were discomfited and fled, fighting from the gate of Miṣr until they reached a place which is called Talbis. This place had a fortified wall all round it, and a citadel and in it, they sought shelter and they shut themselves up within the walls. The troops of the infidel Farangs completely surrounded it, pitched their camp, and commenced their preparations for taking the place.

When the Shāml forces perceived the extreme danger they were in and that they were completely invested besides the treachery of the Alawīs of Miṣr they all of one accord, deliberated together and discussed a plan of escape. Malīk Asad ud Dīn and Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn told them saying —“The plan of saving yourselves consists in staking your lives, in victory or death.” They all accordingly agreed together and placing their hands within the open grasp of confidence, and with full trust in the Most High and Holy God they having quite resigned themselves to sacrifice sweet life if necessary suddenly and unawares issued from the place and commenced fighting the infidels as by orthodox law prescribed and heavenly succour came to their aid, and according to the promise of Him who promised victory to

⁷ No troops whatever of the Greek empire were employed on the occasion; but, the fact is, our author was not acquainted with his subject at all, and has concocted much nonsense.

⁸ The words Afranj and Farang are often used here indiscriminately

⁹ On the preceding page he says Asad-ud Dīn's troops acquired predominance over the territory of Miṣr and Shām had to call in the Christians to expel them and immediately after tells this impudent falsehood. A very trustworthy writer certainly!

the true believers, He sent succour, and the army of the infidels was put to the rout, and the defenders of the truth gained the victory, and from that place to the gate of Miṣr¹, and in the vicinity, and in the parts round about,

¹ The cause of the third expedition was that, in 564 H, the Farangs [King Almeric and the Hospitallers, A.D. 1168] invaded the Miṣriāh territory, intending to seize it for themselves. They marched to Balbīs [the ancient Pelusium], took it, and put the inhabitants to the sword. Again Shā'ūr sought aid from Nūr-ud-Dīn, who, fearing the Farangs and their designs, and possessing vast resources, sent a *countless* army [not 700 horse probably] thither under Asad-ud-Dīn, who, on this occasion, took with him his brethren [*sic* in MS] and kinsmen, including Salāh-ud-Dīn. The account of the advance of this host having been conveyed to the Farangs, they desisted from further operations, evacuated Balbīs, and retired from the country, pressed hard in their retreat by Nūr-ud-Dīn's Turkmāns. The author, from whom I have been taking these extracts chiefly, says, "Salāh-ud-Dīn *told me himself* that he [Salāh-ud-Dīn] did not accompany his uncle of his own choice, and further, that Shā'ūr used to promise to defray all the expenses of this expedition, undertaken on his account, but he did not fulfil his promises, and sometimes he would be with the Farangs, and at times he would be with the Amīr [Asad-ud-Dīn]. Fearing the perfidy and double-dealing of Shā'ūr, Amīr Asad resolved to seize him, and, one day, when Shā'ūr, attended with drums and trumpets and banners, as is the custom with the Wazīrs of Miṣr, mounted and set out with a cavalcade to visit Asad-ud-Dīn, the latter also mounted and rode forth to receive him, but, when they met, he seized Shā'ūr by the collar, and gave a sign to his own followers to secure him. This was done, and Shā'ūr was detained as a prisoner in a tent. Shortly after, a body-servant arrived from the sovereign of Miṣriāh [Abū Muhammad-i-'Abd-ullah, entitled 'Āẓid, the last of the Ismā'ilīs of Egypt] signifying his desire that the head of Shā'ūr should be sent to him. This was in accordance with the custom of the country, that any one who, by force, seized the Wazīr's person, and cut off his head and sent it to the ruler, should have the robe of Wazīr-ship forthwith brought to him, and, according to that custom, Asad cut off the head of Shā'ūr [had it cut off] and sent it, and on the same day he assumed the robe of Wazīr-ship, and the supreme direction of the affairs of the country." This occurred 17th of Rabī'-ul-Ākḥir, 564 H.

Another account of the events ending in the death of Shā'ūr, quoted in Yāfa'ī, is not unworthy of a brief record here, and, in all probability, is the most correct. When Asad-ud-Dīn reached the Miṣriāh territory, and entered Kāhīrah on the 17th of Rabī'-ul-Ākḥir, 564 H, 'Āẓid-i-'Abd-ullah, the last of the Ismā'ilī *Khalīfahs*, on the Friday following, came forth and held an interview with Asad, and had him arrayed in a dress of honour, and treated him with great distinction. Asad now requested Shā'ūr to disburse the expenses incurred on his account, which he had agreed to defray, but Shā'ūr delayed. Asad sent a person to him with a message, saying, "My troops, through want of their pay, are much incensed against you, therefore be careful." Shā'ūr evinced no fear, and resolved to invite Asad to an entertainment in order to seize his person. This design having come to Asad's knowledge, Amīr 'Izz-ud-Dīn, one of Nūr-ud-Dīn's nobles, and Salāh-ud-Dīn, agreed together to kill Shā'ūr, and communicated the design to Asad, who forbade them to do so. Shā'ūr, subsequently, in order to visit Asad, without any

they made heaps of the slain. Praise be unto God! May victory ever be theirs!

The troops of Islām having gained such a victory at once appeared before the gate of Miṣr. The Wazīr of Miṣr who was named Shā'ūr performed the ceremonies of going to receive them but, as soon as the sight of that victorious Sulṭān³ Salāḥ ud Dīn fell upon him he, in the presence of Malik Asad ud Dīn, with his own august hand, struck off with his sword the wretched head from that accursed one's body.

The whole of the people of Miṣr and the forces of Shām agreed together with one accord, to raise Malik Asad ud Dīn to the sovereignty, and he became sovereign of Miṣr accordingly and obtained the throne of that country⁴.

The Alawīs of Miṣr without molestation or impediment were placed in seclusion, and the Khuṭbah was read for them in the same manner as before⁵.

The news of this success was despatched to Shām and the territory of Miṣr together with its coasts and confines, was taken possession of by Malik Asad ud Dīn, who resided there for a considerable time and he died⁶.

suspicion, came to the bank of the Nīl where his [Asad's] tents were pitched to enable his followers to visit conveniently the tomb of Imām Shāfi' Amīr 'Izz-ud-Dīn and Salāḥ-ud Dīn, after they had received Shā'ūr and the usual salutation of "Peace be unto thee, &c." had passed—Asad was not present at the time—dragged him from his horse, upon which his followers fled. They then handcuffed him, and kept him a prisoner in one of the tents, but did not dare to put him to death without the permission of Nūr ud Dīn [Asad?]. In the meantime, Āṣid, the Ismā'īlī, sent an order to put Shā'ūr to death [according to the custom before mentioned], on which his head was cut off [by two slaves of Nūr ud Dīn] and sent to Āṣid on a spear. After this Āṣid summoned Asad-ud Dīn to his presence who went; and the Wazīr's robe was conferred upon him, with the title of Al Malik ul Manṣūr Amīr ul Junūḥ.

³ At this time this "victorious Sulṭān" was serving under his uncle, who was himself serving Nūr-ud Dīn.

⁴ Asad-ud Dīn was not raised to the sovereignty and never occupied the throne of Miṣr. For the refutation of this absurd and untrue statement, see preceding note ¹.

⁵ At page 215 our author contradicts his own statement.

⁶ Asad did not enjoy his Wazīr-ship very long, for on the 22nd [some say 26th] of Jamādī-ul Ākhir of the same year two months and five days after he obtained it—a "considerable time" truly—he died suddenly at Ḥāḥirah. He was first buried there, but subsequently according to his last wishes, his remains were removed to Madīnah. The Lion of the Mountains left a son, Nāṣir ud Dīn, Muḥammad, Sher-i Koh, entitled Al Malik-ul Ḥāḥirah. When his father died, Sulṭān Nūr-ud Dīn of Shām, deprived him of the seat of

V SULTĀN ṢALĀH-UD-DĪN, YŪSUF, SON OF AIYŪB-AL-KURDĪ

Sultān Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn was a great and illustrious monarch, and he waged holy wars and undertook many religious expeditions, and the Kaisar of Rūm and the infidel Farangs, he encountered in many conflicts. It was most probable, that in all his doings, and throughout the whole of his career, the sword of heavenly success and divine victory attended him. The territories of Shām, Kudsī [the Holy Land], Miṣr, Huāz, and Yāman, all came under his rule.

As the Most High God willed that, at this, the end of time⁷, His true religion should be manifested, and that the empire of Islām should be victorious, from every illustrious family He made choice of one sovereign, His servant, and, by means of the key of holy war waged by him, caused the gates of conquest of the countries of the infidels to be thrown open. In the same manner as in the countries of the East He distinguished Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, Shansabī [Shansabānī], Ghūrī, by great victories in the country of Hindūstān, as far as the boundaries of Chīn, in the territories of the West, and in the country of Shām, He made Sultān Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, the Kurd, exalted by the conquests of the territories of Maghrab, and of the Afranj⁸, so that great victories were achieved by him.

He brought back again the realm of Miṣr from the hands

Hims, but, when Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, his cousin, gained possession of Shām, he restored Hims to him, and there he died in 581 H.

⁶ Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn had an elder brother named Malik ul-Muazzam, Shams ud-Daulah, Tūrān Shāh, and greatly esteemed by that Sultān. He employed him in an expedition into Yaman, and subsequently sent him into Nūbah [Nubia of Europeans], and he was afterwards placed in charge of Damashk. He died in Ṣafar, 576 H, and was buried in the Madrasah in sight of Damashk, which he had himself founded.

⁷ Our author has been as unsuccessful in foretelling the end of the world, as some others, his successors, who pretend to know the secrets of futurity and the will of Providence.

⁸ It is somewhat new to find that Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn made conquests in Europe. He does not mean conquests in Palestine or the Greek empire, for he mentions them a little farther on. This is merely another of his audacious falsehoods. The words he uses are, سلطان الدین یوسف کردی را بشنوع دیار معرب و اعرص محمودی کرداید.

of the Mişrî Alawîs, whō were the chiefs and heads of the Bāṭinah and Karāmīṭah heretics, under the sway of the Khallifahs of the house of Abbās, and Kuds [the Holy City] Akkah [Acre] and a great portion of the territories of Rūm and Filistīn, he liberated from the hands of the infidel Farangs.

The beginning of his career was this. When his father Malik Aiyūb son of Shādī departed this life¹ he was in the service of his uncle, Malik Asad ud Dīn as has been already stated in what has been previously recorded and used to be constant in his attendance at the Court of Sulṭān Nūr ud Dīn. He had acquired great fame for his manhood his activity and his sagacity. He had also become an associate with Sulṭān Nūr ud Dīn in the game of *Chaugān*, and playing at ball on the course¹.

One of the trustworthy has related after the following manner—One day Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn was engaged with Sulṭān Nūr-ud Dīn in the game at ball, and the ball fell between him and the Sulṭān. By his strength and agility Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn with one blow bore away the ball from the Sulṭān in such a way that, from the immense force with which his *Chaugān* struck it, the ball flew into the air so far that it became immersed in the light of the sun and the shadow of it fell upon Nūr ud Dīn². When the Sulṭān noticed this circumstance, his heart became so overpowered with wrath that he threw down his *Chaugān* in a rage and left the course. This circumstance filled Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn with fear and apprehension and he began to conceal himself from

¹ Here is another specimen of the false statements of our author so "trust worthy." Asad died in 564 H. and Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn's father Abū-Laghkar I. Aiyūb, joined his son in Egypt in the following year when Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn had succeeded to the Wazirship held previously by his uncle. Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn wished his father to accept the office, but Aiyūb refused, saying "The Almighty hath chosen thee, my son, for this office, and consequently no one else is worthy of it." Aiyūb was killed from injuries sustained by a fall from his horse, which threw him when he was viewing Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn's troops file past before the Bab-un Naṣr [the Naṣr Gate] of Kāhirah, on an expedition against Karak, in 7i Hijjah, 567 H. about three years after Asad's death. Aiyūb entered Kāhirah in Rajab 565 H. and Aḥid, the Ismā'īlīn Khallifah, in order to gratify Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn, came forth to receive his father whom he treated with great reverence and distinction.

² See in MSS.

³ Our author must have been a very simple minded man indeed if he believed this; but many of his statements are equally childish and absurd.

the Sultān's sight, and seldom used to present himself to the Sultān's observation

The author heard from Khwājah Muzhīr, a merchant, that, at the period in question, one night Sultān Salāh-ud-Dīn saw, in a dream, that he was in Mīṣr, and that, at night, some people seized him, and took him away to the palace of the sovereign, and, having placed a tent-rope around his neck, they hung him up from the battlements of the palace. The terror which this produced awoke him from his sleep, and his apprehension became still greater than before, and he was constantly overwhelmed with anxiety³. Unexpectedly, the envoy from the 'Alawīs of Mīṣr arrived to solicit aid from Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn, as has been related previously. The Sultān appointed Salāh-ud-Dīn's uncle, Malīk Asad-ud-Dīn, to proceed thither, and he solicited that his nephew, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, should be allowed to accompany him.

The latter was so overcome with fear, caused by this dream, that he went to an interpreter of dreams, and related the dream to him. The interpreter said —“May the sovereignty of Mīṣr be propitious! Allow no anxiety to find a way into thy mind, for the Almighty God will make thee a great king.” On the strength of that interpretation, with a buoyant heart and with expanded hope, he reached Mīṣr, where all those circumstances happened to him and to his uncle, as already stated.

When his uncle died, the people of Mīṣr and the troops of Shām were agreeable to his assuming the sovereignty, but he would not in any way assent to it⁴. When the

³ These are the exact words of our author, but the story is related somewhat differently. “One night, before he had gone to Mīṣr, he saw in a dream that a party of people, having put a tent-rope about his neck, drew him up to the battlements of the metropolis of Mīṣr by the neck. When Asad-ud-Dīn was about to proceed into that country, he used to endeavour to persuade Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn to accompany him, but the latter, on account of this dream, which he kept secret, used to manifest great disinclination to accede. At length, having communicated the dream to an interpreter of dreams, he was told that it signified he should become ruler of that country, and after this he was quite willing to go.”

⁴ Another of our author's absurdities or wilful perversions of facts. After the death of Asad-ud-Dīn, his nephew, Salāḥ-ud-Dīn, was chosen Wazīr, from among several candidates, by the Ismā'īlī Khalīfah, 'Āzīd, as he considered Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn rather weak in intellect, and less to be feared than the others, in which he greatly deceived himself. Instead of seizing people's

importunity of people, however exceeded all bounds, Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn commanded saying — I will comply

property and effects, Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn began to appropriate their hearts, by making them his own; and he likewise resolved to lead a new life, and renounced wine and women, riotous living and amusements, and other vicious practices. Having obtained the direction of the affairs of the country Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn issued commands to read the *Khuṭbah* for Nūr-ud Dīn; and the latter addressed him in all his communications as the Amīr i Sipah-salār [*Āqīd* having previously given him the title of *Malik un Naṣir*]. As Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn acquired the attachment of the people, *Āqīd* lost it and he now sent for his brothers, who were in the service of Nūr-ud Dīn, who would not allow them to go, mentioning, as his reason, his fear lest either of them should become hostile to his brother Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn but the truth was Nūr-ud Dīn suspected his motives. However when Nūr-ud Dīn subsequently despatched his troops to operate against the Farangs, who had invaded the Miṣrīah territory he entrusted Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn's elder brother Shams ud Daulah, Tūrān Shāh with a command in that army but with orders that he was not to consider *Yūsuf* [Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn] as his younger brother but as the lord of Miṣr and his [Nūr-ud Dīn's] lieutenant and representative; and this order Tūrān Shāh agreed to obey.

Ibn Aṣḥr says, that, when Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn had become firmly established, Nūr-ud Dīn sent to command him to give up reading the *Khuṭbah* for *Āqīd*, and to read it for the Abbāsī Khalfah. Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn excused himself by saying that the people were well-inclined towards the present family and he feared, if he obeyed that an insurrection would take place. Nūr-ud Dīn however wrote the second and the third time to order him to do so, and Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn, not daring to disobey the reiterated commands of his suzerain, was in a dilemma, but it so happened that *Āqīd* was about this time taken ill. Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn now consulted with the chiefs and nobles as to what should be done; but some said one thing and some another and the difficulty was as great as before. At this juncture a person of some note named Amīr i-Ālim [Gusfah calls him Najm ud Dīn], an Ajamī, who had come to Miṣr offered to take the initiative, if permitted; and, on the first Friday in the month of Muḥarram, before the *Khaṭīb* [the preacher who pronounces the *Khuṭbah*] entered the pulpit, this Ajamī got into it, and prayed for the Abbāsī Khalfah, Imām Mustafī D'nūr Ullah. The Miṣrīs who were present made no objection, and the next Friday Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn directed that the *Khuṭbah* for *Āqīd* should be discontinued at Kāhīrah and at Miṣr [the old capital] and that for Mustafī D'nūr Ullah adopted, and also in other parts of the Dīyār i Miṣrīah. The disorder of *Āqīd* had increased, and this matter was in consequence not communicated to him, because in case he ever arose from his bed again, he would soon hear of it, and if not, of what use was it to afflict him? Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn took care, however to separate the family slaves, and dependents of *Āqīd* from each other and to provide for the security of the dying man's wealth and effects. Before his death *Āqīd* sent for him; but, fearing treachery as he pretended Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn did not go, and regretted it afterwards. *Āqīd* died 10th of Muḥarram, 567 H. [*Faṭḥ* i says 565 H.], and the Ubaldī Ismā'īlī dynasty terminated. [According to VERTOT vol. II. p. 209, Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn had the *Khālifah* murdered in or out of his bath and says it was narrated freely by the Christians, but that the Moslems were silent on the matter.] When the Abbāsī Khālifah, Al Mustafī D'nūr Ullah, received information that the *Khuṭbah* had been read for him in Miṣrīah, he despatched Imād ud Dīn, a

the Sultān's sight, and seldom used to present himself to the Sultān's observation

The author heard from Khwājah Muzhir, a merchant, that, at the period in question, one night Sultān Salāh-ud-Dīn saw, in a dream, that he was in Mīsr, and that, at night, some people seized him, and took him away to the palace of the sovereign, and, having placed a tent-rope around his neck, they hung him up from the battlements of the palace. The terror which this produced awoke him from his sleep, and his apprehension became still greater than before, and he was constantly overwhelmed with anxiety⁵. Unexpectedly, the envoy from the 'Alawīs of Mīsr arrived to solicit aid from Sultān Nūr-ud-Dīn, as has been related previously. The Sultān appointed Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn's uncle, Malik Asad-ud-Dīn, to proceed thither, and he was ~~promised~~ his nephew, Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, should be allowed despatch announcing this triumph.

dād, the capital of the Khalīfahs, together, caused by this of the Farangs, inverted, and the flags of the ~~related~~ heretics, to the presence of the Khalīfah, Al-Mustazī B'amr-Ullah

From the capital of Islām, Salāh-ud-Dīn received the title of Malik-un-Nāṣir⁶, and he became sovereign of Mīsr,

venerable and illustrious dependent of the 'Abbāsī dynasty, to Shām, with rich dresses of honour for Nūr ud-Dīn—to the sovereign, not to his lieutenant, Ṣalāḥ ud-Dīn,—but robes of honour were also despatched to Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, together with black hangings for the pulpits of Mīsrīah, as the Ismā'īlī colour was green

In 569 H Nūr-ud-Dīn directed Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn to assemble the forces of Mīsrīah, and march against the Christian territory, and invest Karak, and promised to come himself likewise. Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn reported his departure 20th of Mubarrum, from Kāhīrah, and Nūr-ud Dīn, on receipt of his despatch at Damashq, marched towards Karak, and, having reached it, fully expected the arrival of Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn and his forces. He was, however, too cunning to trust himself in the power of his master, and wrote excusing himself on account of pretended disaffection in Mīsrīah. Nūr-ud-Dīn repeated his commands without avail, and had serious intentions of marching into the country and removing his disobedient lieutenant. Ibn-i-Shadād gives a different account of this circumstance, which is too long for insertion here, and says it happened in 568 H. Nūr-ud-Dīn died in 569 H.

⁵ Faṣīḥ-i says that, the first time the Khuṭbah was read in the Diyār-i Mīsrīah, it was read for Al Mustanjid, who died in the beginning of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 566 H, but, subsequently, the news of his death, and the accession of his son Al-Mustazī B'nūr-Ullah [not B'amr-Ullah] was received

⁶ This statement is totally incorrect. the title was conferred upon him by 'Āzīd, the Ismā'īlī Khalīfah, when Salāḥ ud-Dīn became his Wazīr

importunity of people, however exceeded all bounds, Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn commanded saying — "I will comply

properly and effects, Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn began to appropriate their hearts, by making them his own; and he likewise resolved to lead a new life, and renounced wine and women, riotous living and amusements, and other vicious practices. Having obtained the direction of the affairs of the country Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn issued commands to read the Khutbah for Nūr ud Dīn; and the latter addressed him in all his communications as the Amīr-i Sipah-salār [Agīd having previously given him the title of Malik un Naṣr]. As Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn acquired the attachment of the people Agīd lost it and he now sent for his brothers, who were in the service of Nūr ud Dīn, who would not allow them to go, mentioning, as his reason, his fear lest either of them should become hostile to his brother Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn but the truth was Nūr ud Dīn suspected his motives. However when Nūr ud Dīn subsequently despatched his troops to operate against the Farangī, who had invaded the Mīrshah territory he entrusted Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn's elder brother Shams ud Daulah, Tūrān Shāh with a command in that army but with orders that he was not to consider Nūsuf [Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn] as his younger brother but as the lord of Mīr and his [Nūr ud Dīn's] lieutenant and representative and this order Tūrān Shāh preserved obey.

His Agīd says, that, when Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn sent to command the place, and the Musal-
ud Dīn sent to command the calamity and misery
to read it for Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn assembled the inhabitants of Dam-
ashk in a certain place, in order to induce them to pledge
themselves to make holy war upon the infidels and to
attack them and drive them away. He deputed one of the
godly Ulamā to ascend the pulpit, to speak a few words
in order to incite the people to holy warfare, and urge them

* Nūr ud Dīn did not die until 569 H. and the Khutbah was read for the Abbāsid in 567 H.

* The plural form is used in all the copies of the text collated.

* This assertion is totally false: during the whole of the reign of Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn, and the numerous battles that took place therein, no battle was ever fought before Damashk between him and the Farangī. The rest of our author's statement may be depended upon accordingly. It is something like 700 horse, 80,000 Crusaders, and their dead lying in heaps for miles. Our worthy author probably considered, when he wrote this, that, as Ilhodūqān was such a far-off country he might make any statement for the glorification of the Mūsalmān faith with impunity. The great battles that took place during the reign of Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn, of course, are not mentioned, and were probably unknown to Mīnhāj-i-Sarj, who was so industrious in collecting information from trustworthy persons, and who often [very] mentions his authority for the facts he records — of which probably the matter of the rings for the ears of the Crusaders farther on is one. Our author has evidently been confused about the investment of Damashk in the year 543 H. some years before Sulṭān Nūr ud Dīn obtained possession of it, when Ṣalāḥ ud Dīn was in his *eleventh* year and in the defence of which city his *eldest* brother Amīr Nūr ud Daulah Shīhan Shāh, so greatly distinguished himself and died of the wounds he received on that occasion.

to enter into conflict with the infidels¹ The godly ecclesiastic, with all sincerity of heart, turned his face towards Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, and said —“ Oh, Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn, from thy mouth, thy tongue, and thy person, emanateth the effluvium of Satan's urine¹ How canst thou expect that the Most High God will ratify thy vow? how can it be regarded as real and sincere?”

This reproof, by the grace of God, took effect upon the august heart of Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn He got up, and on the hand of that godly ecclesiastic he expressed contrition, and renounced wine and all other sins² The people, with sincere eagerness and willingness, renewed to him their vows to undertake holy war, and from that very spot they turned their faces in the direction of the scene of holy warfare The whole of the people issued from the city, and they fell upon the army of the infidels The Most High God sent them heavenly assistance, and the enemies of the faith were defeated and overthrown, and such a vast number of them were sent to Hell by the stroke of the sword of the defenders of the true faith, as cannot be numbered or computed³. The whole of the Maliks⁴ [princes], and

¹ Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn was too wise to trust to “the people” to make holy war and defend his cities He depended more upon his hardy troops, well knowing that rabble cannot be turned into soldiers at a nod of the head.

² See beginning of note ⁴, p 216 Our author confounds both times as well as events

³ Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn's total overthrow, near 'Asḱalān, at the head of an immense force by the sick king Baldwin IV —at the time that Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn marched against Jerusalem in Nov 1179 A D = 575 H, when Odo de St. Amand, the Master of the Temple, at the head of eighty of his knights rode through Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn's Mamlūk body guard of a thousand picked men, in coats of mail and saffron coloured mantles, and penetrated to Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn's own tent, from which he with difficulty escaped almost naked, and had scarcely time to scramble up the back of a fleet dromedary and make for the desert—is an event which our author would scorn to chronicle. On this occasion, pigeons spread over Egypt the triumphant news of a victory, in order, as the Arab chroniclers say, “*to quiet the minds of the people,*” although scarcely one of the Egyptian army ever got back to Egypt again. Neither would our author condescend to chronicle the crushing defeat, inflicted upon Ṣalāh-ud-Dīn and his immense host, by Richard Cœur-de-Lion, and his French and Burgundian allies, near Arsūf, in 1191 A D = 587 H, nor the alacrity with which, soon after, he agreed to enter into a treaty with Richard [who had rebellion at home to crush], when his forces were in such a woeful plight, but the real state of his affairs unknown to the Christians

⁴ The word Malik may mean king here, and our author might have desired his readers to believe that *all* the kings of the Franks were made captive

nobles and chief personages among the Farangs were made captives.

The Islāmīs having become victorious and triumphant Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn directed every one to devise [means] for the disposal of the Farang captives. At last the Sulṭān determined to set the whole of them at liberty and they were set free accordingly, and he made them signify their repentance, and conferred gifts upon them. After they had departed to the distance of a day's journey, they sent a representation to the Sulṭān saying — "We are all your servants, set at liberty by you send to each of us a ring that we may insert it in our ears⁶ and then we will depart. The Sulṭān commanded that a sufficient number of rings should be prepared of pure gold sufficient to supply every one of them with one of the weight of one miḡkāl⁷, and they were sent to them, and the whole of the liberated captives inserted the rings in their ears and they went away and of that host not one person ever again came to fight against the Sulṭān's troops.

Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn became firmly established, and his illustrious deeds in Islām will endure. He reigned for a very long period and died. He had six sons, whose titles were as follows⁷ — Malik uḡ Zāhir Malik ul Afzal

Probably he heard something about Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn's encounters with the Latin Christians and the battle of Tiberias, just before the capitulation of Jerusalem in 583 H. and has confounded them with the investment of Damaghk by the Emperor Conrad and Louis VII in 541 H. some years before the death of Zangī, Nūr-ud Dīn's father when Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn was about *nine years old*. He has made a precious hash of the account of the Kurdīsh rulers, and of Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn's reign in particular.

⁶ Rings in the ears are emblems of slavery. Bigoted Mullas, like our author stick at no falsehoods in their endeavours to enhance the deeds of their co-religionists; but the Arab chroniclers of the Crusades are very different, and their writings, generally bear the stamp of truth. I need scarcely say that their accounts are very different to our author's, and that such an absurd statement will not be found in any of their writings.

⁷ He knows all about the rings and their weight, but he does not know how long Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn ruled, or when he died. All his sovereigns reign "for a long period, and die;" and the same stereotyped expression answers for Aḥad-ud Dīn, Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn's uncle, who never reigned at all, but was the Wazir of Egypt for sixty-five days, and for Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn who reigned [after Nūr-ud Dīn's death] from 569 to 589 H.

⁷ Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn had a number of sons, but the names of six only have been recorded; the others may have died very young. The correct titles and names of the six referred to are as follows:—

1. Abū-l Ḥasan i Aḥī Malik ul Afzal, Nūr-ud Dīn, who was the eldest

Malik-ul-'Azīz, Malik-ul-Muhsin, Malik-ul-Mushtammir, and Malik-uş-Şālīh

VI MALIK-UL-AFZAL², 'ALĪ, SON OF ŞALĀH-UD-DĪN, YŪSUF, SON OF AIYŪB, AL-KURDĪ

Malik-ul-Afzal, 'Alī, was the heir of Sultān Şalāh-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, and on the death of the Sultān he ascended the throne of the territories of Damashk and Shām⁹

All presentēd themselves before him, and paid him homage, and submitted to him, with the exception of Malik-ul-'Azīz, his brother, who was ruler of Mişr. He led an army into Shām in order to claim the sovereignty from 'Azīz, and Malik-ul-'Ādīl, Abū-Bīkr, son of Aiyūb, the brother of [the late] Şalāh-ud-Dīn, and who held the territory of Diyār-ı-Bakr, took part with [his nephew] Malik-ul-'Azīz. They invested Malik-ul-Afzal within the walls of Damashk, and for a considerable time contention continued between them. At length it was agreed that Damashk should be given up to Malik-ul-'Azīz, and peace was effected. The territory of Sar-hadd¹, which is a tract of country in Shām, was assigned to Malik-ul-Afzal.

son, and the heir-apparent 2 Malik-ul-'Azīz, 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Abū l-Faṭḥ, 'Uşmān, who was the favourite son 3 Malik-uṭ-Ṭāhūr, Ghıyās-ud-Dīn, Abū-Manşūr-ı Ghāzī, 4. Malik-uṣ-Zāfir, Al-Muşhtammir, Muzaḥḥar-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Kāsim, Abū-l-'Abbās-ı-Huṣr, full brother of Zāfir 5 Malik uṣ-Zāhūr, the remainder of whose titles and names are not mentioned, neither are the titles "Malik-ul-Muhsin," nor "Malik-uş-Şālīh" mentioned except by our author 6 Malik-uṣ-Zāhid, Majīr-ud-Dīn, Abū-Sulimān-ı-Dāūd. He was the *twelfth* son of Şalāh-ud-Dīn, and full brother of Zāhūr.

⁸ For his correct name and titles see note 7 above. He was the eldest son of Sultān Şalāh-ud-Dīn, and his father's heir-apparent. On the death of his father, at Damashk, where Afzal then was, and which he held the government of, he assumed the sovereignty over that territory, whilst his brother, 'Azīz, assumed sovereignty over the Diyār-ı-Misriah, of which he held charge. Another brother, Malik-uṣ-Zāhūr, held Halab. Contention went on between the brothers, Afzal and 'Azīz, the latter supported by his uncle 'Ādīl, for a considerable time, the details of which are too long for insertion here. At last, Afzal was invested in Damashk and made prisoner, and a portion of territory on the frontier was assigned to him.

⁹ Other writers place Malik-ul-'Azīz next after his father, as he assumed the sovereignty over the territory of Misriah, and overcame his brother, Malik-ul-Afzal, who held Shām.

¹ The word here used is unintelligible. It is written in different ways in nearly every copy سکت سکت سکت and also مسکت. Yāfa'ī says, مقام سرحد which means "a place on the frontier." There is a place called "Şar-khad."

He was a learned and very enlightened man³, and composed beautiful poetry. The situation in which he was [now] placed, together with the condition of his brother who was named Uḡmān [Malik ul Azīz] and their uncle, Abū Bīkr [Malik ul Adīl] he depicted in the two following couplets, and sent them to the Court of Baghdad to the Khallifah Un Nāṣir ud Dīn Ullāh, for the office of Khallifah had fallen to Imām Un Nāṣir. The two couplets are as follows —

My lord ! Abū Bīkr and his companion, Uḡmān
Have, by the sword, deprived All of his right.
Remark the fatality of the name ; how it suffers, from the last,
The same wrong as from the first [generation] it endured⁴."

After some time expired Malik ul Azīz died and Malik ul Afzal was entreated to come into⁵ Miṣr. He proceeded thither and from thence he brought an army into Shām. Malik ul Azīz had made over Shām to his uncle, Malik ul Adīl and he and Malik ul Afzal came to a battle and the latter was defeated⁶. At length however Malik ul Afzal chanced to have a meeting with his uncle, who gave him Samīṣāt⁷. He remained there for a long time and he died⁸.

VII. MALIK UL-AZIZ, UḡMĀN SON OF ṢALĀH UD DĪN YŪSUF SON OF AYYŪB AL-KURDĪ.

The name of Malik ul Azīz was Uḡmān and when Sulṭān Ṣalāh ud Dīn came to the throne of Shām and the

Other writers say Afzal was a state prisoner when his brother died and that he was invited to Miṣr to act as Allāh's link to Azīz's son, Malik-ul Manṣūr.

³ The celebrated historian the learned Abū l Faṭḥ-i Naṣrullah son of Zīyā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, Shīrāzī, surnamed Ibn Aṣīr was Malik ul Afzal's Wazīr.

⁴ Yaṣīr has four lines more. The reference of course is to the Khallifah All and the two first Khallifahs.

⁵ All the copies of the text are alike here ; but, as Azīz died in Miṣr Afzal was invited to come to Miṣr. See last paragraph of the next reign, page 224.

⁶ After assuming the throne of Miṣr after Azīz's death, Afzal invested his uncle, Adīl, within the walls of Damaghk, and reduced him to great straits ; but his son, Kīmīl, having advanced from the eastern parts with an army raised the investment, and the father and son overcame Afzal, and deprived him of Miṣr and he was fain to content himself with Samīṣāt.

⁷ Some write this name Samīṣāt; others, Shāmīṣāt, and some Ṣamīṣāt. The last, however seems most correct.

⁸ In 623 H.

dominions of Shām and the territories of Mīsr, Diyār-i-Bakr, Fīlīstīn, and Sīkandariāh came under his sway, he conferred the throne of Mīsr upon his eldest son⁸, who bore the title of Malīk-ul-'Azīz. He brought that country under subjection, and was a man of tact and capacity, and in the guardianship of that country, he showed many laudable dispositions

When his father, Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn, died, Malīk-ul-'Azīz led an army from Mīsr and appeared before Damashk; and his uncle, Malīk-ul-'Ādil, joined him. He wrested the territories of Diyār-i-Bakr and Damashk⁹ out of the hands of his brother, Malīk-ul-Afzal, and gave up to his uncle, Malīk-ul-'Ādil, Shām and Damashk and the whole of that region, and returned again to Mīsr

A short time afterwards the decree of destiny overtook him, and he sustained a fall from his horse, and broke his neck, and he died. After this occurrence, Malīk-ul-Afzal came into Mīsr, and took possession of that country¹

VIII. MALIK-UL-'ĀDIL, ABŪ-BIKR², SON OF AIYŪB, SON OF SHĀDĪ, AL-KURDĪ

Some time subsequent to Malīk-ul-'Ādil's having ascended the throne of the kingdom of Shām, and after he had defeated Malīk-ul-Afzal, who had brought an army from the side of Mīsr, and he ['Ādil] had reduced the various provinces of the territory [entrusted to him] under his sway, the daughter of a Kāiṣār of the Farangs³ entered

⁸ 'Azīz was the second, not the eldest son. Afzal was the eldest of Ṣalāḥ-ud-Dīn's sons, according to Yāfa'ī and other chroniclers. See note 7 p 221. 'Azīz was merely his father's lieutenant in Mīsr

⁹ The first attempt on the part of 'Azīz to deprive his brother of Damashk did not succeed; but on the second occasion he succeeded

¹ See page 223, and note 4

² His correct titles and name are, Malīk-ul-'Ādil, Saif-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr-i-Muhammad

³ Our author has neglected—for a very good reason, doubtless—to name his “trustworthy” authority for this statement, of a piece with the “rings,” and the like. There is nothing whatever contained in any of the authorities I have consulted to warrant such an assertion, not even that a Christian female had had the misfortune to be his captive, and was immured in his haram, much less a Christian princess. Such a circumstance, if true, was not likely to have been passed over in silence

his *haram*, and he married her, and that daughter bore him several children

This Malik ul Ādil was a sagacious, discerning competent, experienced, and crafty man and he ruled for a great number of years. He held possession of the different parts [of his territory] to the best of his judgment and ability and his adversaries kept quietly and peaceably each within his own dominions and hence he had but seldom to carry on hostilities⁴

He had several distinguished sons, who acquired great

⁴ Malik-ul Ādil accompanied his uncle, Asad ud Dīn, when the latter was despatched into Mīṣr by Nūr-ud Dīn, at which time Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn also went, as previously related. When Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn acquired power in that country he sent his brother Ādil as his representative into Shām; and, when Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn marched against Ḥarak, in Rabī-ul Awwal, 579 H. Ādil was left in Mīṣr but he was summoned from thence, with all the available troops, to join Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn, as the Christians had assembled in strong force with hostile intent against the Muslims. Ādil joined him there accordingly with an immense army in Sha'ban of the same year. When Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn gained possession of Ḥalab, in the same year he bestowed it upon Ādil, having taken it from his own son Malik-ul Tāḥir to whom he had just before entrusted it. Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn was in the habit of placing his strongholds in charge of his brothers and nephews and other kinsmen, and not of entrusting them to his sons. At last, Sulṣmān, one of the Amīrs [nobles] of Ḥalab, an old friend of Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn, expostulated with him on the subject and it took effect and he at once gave back Ḥalab to Tāḥir. When Sulṣmān Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn went against Maṣṣil, in Sha'ban, 581 H. and was taken ill, and a peace was concluded between him and Izz ud Dīn Mas'ūd, of Maṣṣil, he was joined at Harrān, by his brother Ādil, on whom he had conferred the fiefs of Harrān, Raḥā [Edessa], and Mīṣṣirīn [Martyropolis], after which the Sulṣmān returned to Damaghk.

After the Crusaders, under Richard Cœur-de Lion and Philip Augustus, took Akā [Acre], in Jamādī-ul Āḥḥir 587 H., when the Muslims sustained such a great calamity⁵ and the Christians were preparing to march against Asḥkalīn [Ascalon], Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn, in consultation with the chiefs of his forces, determined to entrust his brother Ādil with a portion of his army to hold the Christians in check, whilst he himself with the remainder proceeded to Asḥkalīn to raise it, in order to deter the enemy from marching thither. Whilst engaged in this operation, during the same night, a messenger arrived from Malik-ul Ādil, saying that the Christians were willing to make peace, if the coast towns were ceded to them. Ṣalāḥ-ud Dīn, finding his troops so disorganized and dispirited, was under the necessity of agreeing, and he wrote to Ādil to make an accommodation on the best terms he could. The authorities, from which these details are taken, agree generally with European chroniclers of the Crusades at this period, and their writings are free from such nonsense as our author writes.

Ādil did not succeed to the sovereignty of Egypt and Damaghk until after the death of his nephew Aḥīz, and ousting the latter son, Malik-ul Maṣṣūr under pretence of serving whom he came into Mīṣr from the former country. The Khushbah was read for him there in Shawwāl 596 H. and at Ḥalab, in 598 H., when he obtained sway over it and other parts of Shām and the eastern provinces.

renown, such as Malīk-ul-Kāmil, Malīk-ul-Muazzam-i-'Īsā, Malīk-ul-Ashraf, Malīk-ul-Fā'iz⁵, Malīk-ul-Ghāzī⁶, Malīk-ul-Awhad, Malīk-ul-Mamdūd, Malīk-ul-Amjad, and Malīk-uṣ-Ṣālīh-i-Ismā'īl. Each one of them was a sovereign⁷ over a different tract of territory comprised within his dominions, and the annals of the good works, and the circumstances of the sovereignty of his sons, will remain [inscribed] on the pages of time, in the countries of Hījāz, Shām, and Yaman, until the resurrection at the last day.

Each of the different portions of his dominions Malīk-ul-'Ādil conferred upon one of his sons, whilst he himself continually moved about from one part to another with his forces, and, with equity and sagacity, guarded and watched over them.

He always had a bow at his side, and such was his great strength, that no one in that part, or at that time, could bend his bow on account of its great tallness. He was noted, both by friend and foe, for his truthfulness of word. The whole of the enemies of his country, who were the infidels of Rūm and the Farangs, placed implicit trust in his word, for the dust of falsehood had never soiled the skirts of the robe of his word and his promise. Throughout his dominions no human being suffered from tyranny or oppression.

He reigned in tranquillity and affluence for a period of thirty odd years, and died⁸.

⁵ 'Ābid, in one copy

⁶ Ghānī, in two copies

⁷ The word used by our author is "Bādshāhs," but his sons were only his lieutenants charged with the administration, subject to his control. When he became firmly established in his dominions, he divided them among his sons, giving each of them charge of one or more provinces. To Malīk-ul-Kāmil he assigned the Diyār-i-Misriyah, to Malīk-ul-Muazzam the territory of Shāmīyah, to Malīk-ul-Ashraf the Shārkīyah [the eastern parts], and to Malīk-ul-Awhad the territory of Mīāfārkin, and, in 610 H, after he had established his authority over Yaman, and Awhad had been sent to Mīāfārkin, another son, Malīk-ul-Mas'ūd, was sent to Yaman.

⁸ Malīk-ul-'Ādil died in Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 615 H, near the village of 'Ālfin, in sight of Damashk, when moving against the Christians, who had entered the coasts of Shām. Hearing of his death, they gave up their designs on Shām, and turned their thoughts towards Egypt, and appeared before Dimyāt [Damietta]. He was a man of great wisdom and intellect, of considerable judgment and conception, of good disposition and temperament, constant to his religious duties and attendance at public worship, a follower of the orthodox, inclined to learned men, and, altogether, a fortunate and august personage. He was alike abstemious in his food, and moderate in his passions.

IX. MALIK UL-MUAZZAM* ISĀ SON OF ABŪ BIKR SON OF
 AYYŪB SON OF SHĀDĪ AL-KURDĪ.

Malik ul Muazzam was a learned monarch, and endowed with great accomplishments, and Almighty God had dignified him with great attainments.

Among the sons of Malik ul Ādil, who observed the ordinances of the followers of the traditions of the sect of Shāfiʿī Malik ul Muazzam¹ was the only one who was of the sect of the great Imām Abū Hanīfah i Nu mān son of Šābit Al Kašī.

During the troubles in the territories of Ajam when the Ulamā of Khurāsān and Māwar un Nahr became dispersed at the period of the inroad of the infidels of Chīn, Imām Šharaf ud Dīn Adīmī who was a prodigy in the science of theology and religious jurisprudence and Imām Jamāl ud Dīn Haširī² who was a master in the science of physiognomy came and presented themselves at his Court. Malik ul Muazzam became the disciple of these two great Imāms, and other eminent Ulamā,—the mercy of the Almighty be upon the whole of them!—and assigned them emoluments and rewards and fixed places for their abode. He, however sought mostly to secure the presence of Muḥammad Husain³ Shībānī.

The brother of Malik ul Muazzam Malik ul Ādil was by the same mother as himself and for a long time was

* Most other writers place Malik-ul Kāmil, the other son of Ādil, next after his father as ruler of Mīr; but our author has reversed them. Malik ul-Muazzam's proper titles and name are, Al Malik-ul Muazzam, Šharaf-ud Dīn, Isā. To read our author's account of him one would imagine that he reigned over the whole of his father's territories, but such was not the case. He held a large portion of Shām, but never reigned in Mīr at all; and, at his death, at Damagh in 624 H. his son, Malik un Nāšir Šalāḥ-ud Dīn-i Dā'ūd, succeeded him as ruler of that territory. The latter died in 650 H.

¹ One author says of him:— He was a man of great firmness and resolution, bold and intrepid, of great stateliness and gravity high minded and endowed with many virtues and excellencies, the friend and patron of ecclesiastics and learned men, strongly attached to the doctrines of the Hanīfah sect, in fact, the only one of the race of Ayyūb who was a follower of Abū Hanīfah. He had performed the pilgrimage to Makkah and Madīnah, and was, altogether one of the best and the most inestimable of men.

² Also written, Haširī.

³ In two copies, Ḥasan.

his brother's associate and lieutenant in the territory of Dāmashk [?]

Malik-ul-Muazzam reigned for a considerable period, and died

X MALIK-UL-KĀMIL⁴, SON OF ABŪ-BIKR, SON OF AIYŪB,
SON OF SHĀDĪ, AL-KURDĪ

Malik-ul-Kāmīl was his father's heir, and ascended the throne of Mīsr after his father's death. On the decease of his brother, Malik-ul-Muazzam, he brought the territories of Shām under his jurisdiction. He conferred the sovereignty of the territory of Yaman upon his son, who was named Malik Mas'ūd, and also brought Hījāz under his sway.

⁴ His names are Abū-l-Ma'ālī, Muḥammad, entitled Al-Malik-ul-Kāmīl, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn. He was about the greatest of his family, and, of course, our author has said the least about him. He held the government of the territory of Mīsr during his father's lifetime, and at his death assumed the sovereignty over it. It will be remembered that his father, Malik-ul-'Ādil, died when on his way to oppose the Christians, who, on hearing of his death, turned their arms against Mīsr. They had now reached Dimyāt. Malik-ul-Kāmīl assembled a large force to repel them, and was joined by his brother, Malik-ul-Muazzam, Lord of Dāmashk, who by his tact prevented Kāmīl's being dethroned by his own nobles, and his brother Malik-ul-Fā'iz, Sābiḳ-ud-Dīn, Ibrāhīm. After the Christians had taken Dimyāt, they determined to advance to Kāhīrah and Mīsr, but the Almighty gave Kāmīl success, and the Christians abandoned the strong position they had taken up in the prosecution of their design, and an accommodation was come to 11th of Rajab, 618 H, and the Christians returned to their own territories, after they had remained between Shām and Mīsr for forty months [four?] and seventeen days.

Malik-ul-Kāmīl raised a dome over the tomb of Imām Shāfi'ī, on the banks of the Nīl, and, when his brother, Malik-ul-Muazzam of Shām, died, and the latter's son, Malik-un-Nāṣir, succeeded him, Kāmīl marched from Mīsr to deprive him of his territory. He was joined by another brother, Malik ul-Aṣḥraf, Muḡaffar-ud-Dīn, Mūsā, and, having subdued Shām in 625 H, he bestowed it upon Aṣḥraf instead of the eastern provinces, which he resumed, and set out for those parts. It was at this time that Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Khwārazm Shāh, invested Khalāt [also called Aḳhlāt]. Kāmīl subsequently made his son, Najm-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Muḡaffar, Aiyūb, his lieutenant over the eastern parts, and his youngest son, Saif-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, lieutenant in the Mīsrīah territory, and another son, Mas'ūd, he sent into Yaman. The latter annexed Makkah, and the Hījāz territory, and the empire of Kāmīl became of vast extent. When the Khaṭīb of Makkah, on Fridays, prayed for him, he styled him, "Lord of Makkah, 'Ubaidīān, Yaman, Baidān, Mīsr, Sa'īdān, Shām, Ṣanādīān, the Jazīrah, and Walīdān, Sulṭān-ul-Kabīlatayn wa Rabb-ul-'Ālāmatain-ush-Sharīf, Abū-l-Ma'ālī, Muḥammad, Al-Malik-ul-Kāmīl, Nāṣir-ud Dīn, Khalīl-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn." I have not space to say more. He died at Dāmashk in Rājab, 635 H.

throne of Mīsr, and took possession of the dominions of his father and his grandfather

According to the best of his capability, he provided for and advanced the sons of his uncles, and his own brothers, and took measures for the safety of his dominions, but his life was a brief one, and, after a short time, he died, leaving young children behind him

Trustworthy persons have related, that, during the calamities and troubles which happened in Irān, when the irruption of Chingiz Khān took place, a body of Turks of Khawārazm, and [several] nobles of the Khawārazm-Shāhī dynasty, retiring before the infidels of Chīn, after the defeat of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, son of Muhammad, Khawārazm Shāh, reached the territories of Shām and Mīsr, and possessed themselves of the dominions of the 'Ādilī dynasty. Some they slew, some passed away, and some remained. May the Almighty have mercy upon the whole of them!

Tūrān Shāh did not get on with his father's slaves [nobles and chiefs], and, after he had put some of them to death for their rebellious conduct, the remainder combined against him, and put him to death in Muḥarram, 648 H.

Malik ul-'Ādil died in confinement in 646 H, and left a young son named Mughīṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Umr. He subsequently had possession of Karak and its dependencies, but was invested therein by the rebel slaves, and capitulated on terms in 662 H, but was put to death by the usurper of the Mīsrīah throne. Most authors consider the Aiyūb dynasty to have ended with Malik-ul-Muaz-gam, Tūrān Shāh. There were other branches of the same family, who ruled in different parts until the irruption of the Mughals, but I have not space to mention them here.

SECTION XVI

THE MALIKS OF THE KHWĀRAZM-SHĀHĪYĀH DYNASTY

RESPECTING this notice of the Maliks of the Turks, and the Sultāns of Khwārazm, the Almighty's humble servant Minhāj-i-Sarāj Jurjānī, states that, as the account of the rulers of the different nations, from first to last, is now being compiled in the name of his Majesty the Sultān of Sultāns of both Turk and Ajam Nāṣir ud Dunyā wa ud Dīn Abū l Muḡaffar i Maḥmūd son of the Sultān I yal tūmīsh—May the Almighty perpetuate his dominion and his sovereignty!—he thinks it expedient to enter here the account of the dynasty of the Sultāns and Maliks of Khwārazm the standards of whose sovereignty after the decline of the Sanjarī dynasty began to float on high into whose possession the whole of the territories of Irān came after the extinction of the dominion of the Maliks of Ghūr and Ghaznī who undertook numerous expeditions against infidels, and waged many holy wars, the monuments of the goodness of whom abound in the land of Irān, and, who in fact, were the last of the Sultāns of Islām¹

L KUTB-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN I BAK, THE TURK²

The ancestry of these Maliks was related by Malik

¹ What of the slave who reigned at Dihlī, who refused shelter to Sultān Jalāl-ud Dīn—he who is, and whose descendants are, so often styled "Sultān over both Turk and Ajam," and "Sultān of Sultāns of Islām"?

Our author in his account of the first two personages of this dynasty differs wholly from other writers; and, as he has constantly made great blunders respecting other dynasties, and at times quoted authors incorrectly his statements here, although obtained, as he asserts, from a descendant of those rulers, must be received at their worth.

Balḥāḡī, quoting from Bū Rīḥān, mentions that the territory of Khwārazm always formed a separate sovereignty from the period when a kinsman of Bahrām-Gūr the famous monarch of Ajam, acquired power over it, and also after its conquest by the Arabs; and further that even after the Arab conquest it was not considered as a dependency of Khurāsān, like Khutlān and

Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bīnāl-Tigīn, who came from the border of Kīr-

Chaghānīān were, even in the time of the Tāhirīs Rulers bearing the title of Khwārazm Shāh are mentioned upwards of a century and a half previous to the dynasty now under notice, which I must briefly refer to. Our author himself adverts [page 38] to 'Abd-ullah, son of Ashkān, Khwārazm Shāh, as early as 332 H, and in the present Section farther on [page 233] again refers to them. In 386 H, mention is made of another 'Abd-ullah, styled Khwārazm Shāh, who in that year was made prisoner by the forces of Māmūn, son of Muhammad, Lord of Jūrjānīah of Khwārazm. 'Abd-ullah was taken in fetters to Jūrjānīah, and subsequently beheaded, and the whole of Khwārazm passed under the rule of Māmūn, son of Muhammad. The territories of Khwārazm and Jūrjānīah, had, for a considerable time, been in the possession of this family, who are styled Farīghūnī, subordinate to the Sāmānī sovereigns. In 387 H, the same year in which Nūh, son of Manṣūr, Sāmānī, Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn, and Fakhr-ud-Daulah, Dīlamī, died, Māmūn, Farīghūnī, died also, and was succeeded by his son, Abū 'Alī, who was married to a sister of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn. 'Alī died in 390 H, and was succeeded by his brother, Abū-l-'Abbās-i-Māmūn [son of Māmūn]. He despatched an envoy to Maḥmūd, asking the latter's consent to his [Abū-l-'Abbās] espousing his brother's widow, the sister of Maḥmūd, which request was acquiesced in. This Abū-l-'Abbās was the patron of Bū-Rīhān, who passed seven years in his service. The Khalīfah, Kādīr B'illah, sent him a dress of honour, a title, and addressed him as Khwārazm Shāh, but, such was 'Abbās' attachment to [or fear of?] Maḥmūd, that he did not make this matter known. In 407 H his nobles and troops rose against him, because he meditated acknowledging the suzerainty of Maḥmūd, put him to death, and set up his nephew in his stead. Maḥmūd marched into Khwārazm, to revenge his brother-in-law, slew Alb-Tigīn [some call him Nīāl-Tigīn] 'Abbās' chamberlain, and other ringleaders, and the murderers of 'Abbās, annexed the territory, and conferred the government of it upon his [own] Great Chamberlain, Altūn-Tāsh, with the designation of Khwārazm Shāh. Abū Naṣr, son of 'Abd-ul-Hīrs, Farīghūnī, Wālī of Jūrjānān and the territory of Jawzjānān, of the same family, had died in 402 H, upon which Maḥmūd had annexed that territory, and had sent a Dīwān of his own to administer its affairs.

Altūn-Tāsh, Khwārazm Shāh, presented himself at the court of his sovereign, Sulṭān Mas'ūd, in 422 H, and died from the effects of a wound received in battle in 424 H. His son Hārūn, who succeeded, became disaffected towards Sulṭān Mas'ūd, in 425 H, assumed independence, and intrigued with the Turk-māns and Saljūks. This fact our author alludes to at pages 120 and 121, but says nothing further. Hārūn was killed in 426 H, and was succeeded by his brother, Ismā'il, who held Khwārazm for a short time, but he was soon after ousted by Shāh Malik, a neighbouring chief, upon whom Sulṭān Mas'ūd conferred it, provided he could drive out Ismā'il. Ismā'il, accordingly, having been driven out, took shelter with the Saljūks in Khurāsān. In 434 H Sulṭān Tughrīl annexed Khwārazm to his dominions, and but little is said about it afterwards until 475 H, when Malik Shāh, Saljūkī, conferred the Intendancy of Khwārazm upon the slave, Nūsh-Tigīn-i-Gharjah, the father of Kuṭb ud-Dīn, Muhammad, the first ruler of the dynasty mentioned by our author.

Ballā-Tigīn [Guzīdah and Jahān-Ārā style him Malkā-Tigīn, but it is an error], one of the slaves and grandees of the court of Malik Shāh, who held the office of Taṣht-dār, or Purveyor, purchased Nūsh-Tigīn, much in the same manner as Alb-Tigīn, the slave of the Sāmānīs, purchased Sabuk-Tigīn

mān in the year 622 H.³ to the aid of the sons⁴ of the Maliks of Nīmroz and arrived in that country and the territories of Nīmroz were left in his possession.

The author of this book came from Khāesār of Ghūr on a mission from the august Malik Rukn ud Dīn, Muḥammad, Uṣmān, Maraghanī, in order to secure a compact, and arrived at Farāh of Sīstān and proceeded to the presence of Malik Tāj ud Dīn Bināl Tigīn.

During the conversation at the interview Malik Taj ud Dīn mentioned that Malik Kuṭb-ud Dīn, I bak the Turk⁵ came, with his tribe and kindred towards Jund and Khwārazm from the side of Šuḥārī⁶ [or Šaḥārī] and from among the tribes of Kūfchāk⁷ and Kankulī and for a considerable period, dwelt in those tracts subject to the Khwārazm Šāhī rulers, Abū Ja far and Mamūn⁷ and their posterity, and used to subsist in the wilds and pasture lands.

upwards of a century before, at Gharjah of Samarkand. Some consider he was of I ghūr descent, and that he was of the Bekdālī [or Begdālī] tribe. After the decease of Balkā Tigīn, his slave, Nūsh Tigīn, who through his talents and sagacity had risen to distinction, succeeded to the office of Taḥt dār and as the revenues of the Khwārazm territory were assigned to defray the expenses of the Purveyorship, in the same manner as those of Khūristān were assigned for the expenses of the wardrobe, the government of the territory whence the expenses of the Purveyorship were drawn was conferred upon Nūsh Tigīn, with the title of Khwārazm Shāh.

He placed his eldest son, Kuṭb-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, with a preceptor at Marw to be educated in a manner becoming his station, and on the death of Nūsh Tigīn, his father in 490 H. [some writers say in 491 H.], the lieutenant of Sulṭān Barḳātūrḳ, in Khūristān, at the recommendation of Sanjar Barḳātūrḳ brother—for Sanjar did not obtain the sovereignty until many years after—appointed Kuṭb-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, Nūsh Tigīn's son, after the removal of Alanjī, son of Taghdār [some call him Fāḥkār] to the government of Khwārazm; and the title which his father had held was also conferred upon him. See page 169, and note⁸

³ See page 199.

⁴ To the aid of one only; but all the copies have sons of the Maliks, as above. See page 200.

⁵ One copy has Hāḥārī [ههاری] which may be the most correct; but the majority of copies of the text have Šuḥārī, or Šaḥārī [شاهاری]. Neither of these names occurs in the MASĀLIK wa MAMĀLIK. The latter word, if not a proper name, may be the plural of Arabic سمر signifying "extending, wide [as plains] wild, desert" in which case the broad and extensive deserts of Turkistān would be meant. Yāsa f mentions Šuḥārī in one or two places.

⁶ In some few copies of the original, and in Yāsa f, this name is written with kh—Khūfchāk. It is the name of a tribe of Turks, and of a desert of Turkistān, commonly called Daḡht i Kūfchāk.

⁷ These were of the Farīghūnī family mentioned in note³ preceding page.

As Kuṭb-ud-Dīn was a spirited, enterprising, and high-minded chief, and of admirable temperament, the leadership of the forces of the Maliks of Khwārazm was entrusted to him, until, as Providence had decreed, the ruler of Khwārazm at that period died, and no son of his survived who could take his place, and his dominions were left without a sovereign. A daughter, however, survived him, and the whole of the great nobles of Khwārazm agreed among themselves, and gave that daughter in marriage to Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn. The espousals having been concluded, the name of sovereign was assigned to that daughter, and the viceroyalty was conferred upon Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, the Turk, her husband.

He brought the whole of the territory of Khwārazm under his jurisdiction, and the tracts on the confines under subjection⁸, and by his alertness, and his sagacity, restrained enemies and tyrants from violence and sedition. He also guarded the frontiers of Khwārazm Shāh from the infidels of Saksīr, Bulghār, and Kīfchāk.

The Almighty so decreed that Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn had a son born to him by that lady [the daughter of the late ruler], and they gave him the name of Muhammad, and, after the termination of the lives of his mother and father, the sovereignty of Khwārazm devolved upon him.

II MALIK TĀJ-UD-DĪN, MUHAMMAD⁹, SON OF Ī-BAK

When the mother of Tāj-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, passed away, and his father died, he became ruler of the kingdom.

⁸ From what our author says, the reader would imagine that Kuṭb-ud-Dīn was an independent ruler, but such was not the case. He was ever loyal to his Saljūqī suzerain, and was in the constant habit of attending the court of Sultān Sanjar every other year. When he returned to Khwārazm, his son, who succeeded him, Itsiz called Utsuz by our author, and, by his account, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn's grandson—took his father's place at court, nominally as his representative, but in reality as security for his father's good-faith. Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, died in 521 H [some say in 522 H], and was succeeded by Itsiz. By no other writer is Kuṭb-ud-Dīn styled Ī bak. Our author's account of him is confused, and he has evidently lost himself here again. At page 148 he says Sanjar "conferred" Khwārazm "upon the son of Khwārazm Shāh, who was one of his servants, who was the father of I-yāl-Arsalān, who was the father of Takīsh, father of Muhammad," and, at page 169, states that he gave the throne of Khwārazm to Malik Utsuz.

⁹ The father of Itsiz [Utsuz of our author], according to all authors of

of Khwārazm in succession to them. He also had a brother and of his own father and mother younger than himself, and upon him he conferred the government of the tribes of Ḳankulī and Ḳisḡhāk, from which their own race had sprung his brother having solicited it, and Malik Tāj ud Dīn acceded to his request.

That same brother had sons¹ who acquired great distinction and became powerful Maliks in Khurāsān and Irāk. During the time of Sultān Takīsh : Khwārazm Shāh and his son Sultān Muḥammad they were Maliks of Khurāsān like as was Ulugh Khān : Abī, Muḥammad Khān of Guzarwān². Subsequently he became Khān of Irāk under the name of Atā bak or preceptor of the great Sultān Rukn ud Dīn Ghūrī Shānastī, son of Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh.

Ulugh Khān : Abī, Muḥammad had two sons the eldest, Tāj ud Dīn, Azabar³ Shāh and the younger Nuṣrat ud Dīn Ḳutlagh Shāh and there were likewise brothers sons of Ulugh Khān : Abī, Muḥammad in Hindūstān, such as Malik Fīrūz : I yal tīmīsh son of Sālār and Malik Tāj ud Dīn Bīnāl Tīgīn, who left Hindūstān and became Malik of Sīstān and whose narrative this is.

This Malik Tāj ud Dīn Muḥammad son of I bak was an intrepid just, and resolute sovereign and he came to the Court of the Saljūḡ sovereigns, and paid homage to

authority—in fact, according to all writers but our author—was Ḳutb-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Nūsh Tīgīn : Gharjah, the first of the dynasty; and no person of the above name and title is mentioned by any other writer among the rulers of Khwārazm. I suspect our author has done much the same here as he has in his account of the Saljūḡs of Rūm—mixed up the affairs of two dynasties.

¹ As other authors do not mention the name of any such ruler as Malik Tāj-ud Dīn, Itaz being the second of the dynasty and as our author himself gives no name to this said brother although he gives names to his sons it will be easily imagined that other authors do not name either the brother or his sons.

² This name is somewhat doubtful, but the majority of copies have it as above written; and, in all probability it is the place referred to by Yāsa f up the valley of the Murghāb river which he writes Juzarwān. The other copies of the text have Gurdwān, G mawān, and Gūrwan and one, which is generally pretty correct, has Guljarwān—g and j are interchangeable, and j is often used for z.

³ This name too is doubtful: there are scarcely two copies alike. One has Urzaft which is a proper name as well as Hijābr.

them He performed great deeds, and ruled the people with equity and beneficence

He reigned for a long time, subordinate to the Saljūks, and died.

III MALIK JALĀL-UD-DĪN, UTSŪZ⁴, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH, SON OF TĀJ-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD

Utsuz-i-Khwārazm Shāh, after the death of his father⁵, Muhammad, brought the dominions of Khwārazm under his authority, and ruled over its people with uprightness, justice, and beneficence

On several occasions he had to move⁶ from Khwārazm,

⁴ Written Itsiz and Itsiz by others [and Ātsiz by Guzīdah], signifying in Turkī "lean, fleshless, thin" His title was Muẓaffar-ud-Dīn, but some writers say it was Abū-l-Muẓaffar, 'Alā-ud Dīn He succeeded his father by farmān of Sulṭān Sanjar, his suzerain

⁵ Kutb ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Nūsh-Tigīn, and father of Itsiz, died in 521 H [some say in 522 H], after a reign of thirty years, and was noted for his loyalty to Sulṭān Sanjar

⁶ He had really to fly, but our author softens it down In the beginning of his career and government of Khwārazm, no one could have been more loyal towards Sulṭān Sanjar than Itsiz was, and Sanjar was also much attached to him, more particularly because Itsiz had once saved his life. This moved the envious to sow the seeds of distrust and suspicion between them In 527 H [some say when Sanjar marched against Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznīn, but this can scarcely be, as that event occurred three years after], Itsiz obtained permission to proceed to his government, although Sanjar suspected his loyalty, and in a short time after he openly showed his disaffection Sulṭān Sanjar marched against him in 533 H, and invested Hazār Asp, which was taken Itsiz was totally defeated, and fled, and the Sulṭān installed his nephew, Sulīmān Shāh, son of Muhammad, as ruler of Khwārazm As soon, however, as Sanjar returned to Khurāsān, Itsiz again appeared, and Sulīmān Shāh, not being sufficiently powerful to oppose him, evacuated Khwārazm, and returned to his uncle's court

Itsiz now [535 H] assumed independence and the title of Bādshāh, and coined money in his own name, and this may be partly, if not altogether, accounted for by the fact that Sanjar had sustained a defeat at the hands of the infidels of Karā-Khītā only the previous year Some authors contend that Sanjar's defeat took place in 536 H, and that Itsiz assumed independence in 537 H The Sulṭān again determined to attempt to reduce him in 538 H, on which Itsiz sought with entreaties, prayers, and costly presents, to propitiate the Sulṭān's anger, and was forgiven, but soon after he again showed disaffection, treated the Sulṭān's farmān with contempt, and subsequently, in 541 H, despatched two criminals, released from prison for the purpose, to assassinate his benefactor, to show his gratitude, perhaps, for "the confidence and goodwill" of the Sulṭān towards him, as our author says, and for pardoning his past offences Again [in 542 H, or, according to Yāfī ī, in 541 H] Sanjar

sometimes out of necessity and at others of his own free will. He marched forces against Jund Turkistān, and Kīschāk, and through his wisdom abilities, and skill, he was exceedingly fortunate in all his affairs. The Court of Khwārazm through his enlightened policy and beneficence, became the resort of the most learned men.

After obligations and stipulations had been entered into he presented himself at the Court of Sultān Sanjar and for some time, in conformity with his commands, Malik Jalāl ud Dīn, Utsuz, continued in attendance at the Court of that Sultān until he gained the confidence and good will of Sanjar Shāh [Sultān Sanjar] who gave him back the throne of Khwārazm.⁷

After some period of time had elapsed through the conduct of Malik Ali, Chatrī⁸ who was governor of Hirāt, with respect to Malik Utsuz he [Utsuz] rebelled and declined any longer to submit to the yoke, or to attend the Sultān's presence.⁹ When the dominion of the house of Sanjar came to an end, the sovereignty of Khwārazm, and the whole of the territory of Şuhārī¹⁰ [or Şahārī] of Turkistān and Jund fell into his hands, and were left in his possession.¹¹

marched against him, and invested Hazār Asp a second time. After taking it, the Sultān was about to invest the capital, when, at the intercession of a holy man, namely the Zāhid Āhū poşh, and the Sayyids and heads of the religious bodies, Itāz again succeeded in propitiating the Sultān and solicited permission to present himself before him, and sue for forgiveness. This he did, after a fashion: he came forth, and appeared before the Sultān, and from his horse bowed his head and retired. This took place Monday 12th Muḥarram, 543 H. Sanjar was not in a position to renew hostilities, so he passed his rebel vassal conduct over and allowed, or rather was obliged to allow him to continue in possession of the territory of Khwārazm. Soon after Sanjar became a captive to the Ghuzz tribe. See Sanjar's reign, page 134.

⁷ See page 169, where our author says that Sanjar bestowed the sovereignty upon Utsuz¹² but in this Section he has said that the throne descended to him from his ancestors.

⁸ This person, and what he did, are not mentioned by other authors that have come under my notice, with a solitary exception. Faḡīḥī refers to it, under the year 542 H. In these exact words:— Rebellion of Ali Jatrī Wālī of Hirāt, during the absence of Sultān Sanjar, and his combining with Ali ud-Dīn, Husain, Malik of Ghūr;¹³ nothing more. See reign of Ali-ud Dīn.

⁹ This is utter nonsense. See note ⁸ page 236. Itāz merely acted according to the world's ways. When he found his sultan weak and in difficulties he took advantage of it.

¹⁰ This name is plainly written in nearly every copy. See note ⁸ page 233.

¹¹ Faḡīḥī says, that Gūr Khān, who, in concert with Āt Khān, defeated

The greater number of the most learned men of the Court³ had previously attached themselves to his service, and Imām Rashīd-ud-Dīn, Waṭwāṭ⁴, wrote, and dedicated to him, the work entitled "Ḥadāyik-us-Saḥr fī Dakāyik-ush-Shi'r" ["Gardens of Enchantment in the Subtleties of Poesy"] At the time, likewise, that Malik Utsuz was in attendance at the Court of Sultān Sanjar, he became greatly attached to Sultān 'Alā ud-Dīn, Husain, Ghūrī, Jahān-soz⁵, on account of his learning and talents, to such a degree, that when Sultān 'Alā ud-Dīn, Husain, returned again to assume the throne of Ghūr, the Almighty blessed him with a son, and he gave him the name of Utsuz

Malik Utsuz reigned over Khawārazm for a long period⁶ and died.

IV MALIK⁷, I-YAL-ARSALĀN, SON OF JALĀL-UD-DĪN, UTSUZ

Malik I-yal-Arsalān ascended the throne of Khawārazm after the decease of his father, and assumed authority over the whole of his late father's dominions He ruled his people with justice and benevolence⁸, and concluded a

Sultān Sanjar a few years before, died in 537 H, after which Sultān Itsiz reduced Māwar-un-Nahr, which Sanjar had lost, under his sway

³ What court is not stated, but Sultān Sanjar's court, it is to be presumed Courtier-like, finding Sanjar in difficulties, they sought a more powerful master

⁴ This Rashīd-ud-Dīn, Waṭwāṭ, was a lineal descendant of the Khalīfah 'Umr

⁵ Al-Husain ['Izz-ud-Dīn], son of Sām, Ghūrī, it is said, was made prisoner by Sanjar in 501 H, but the person here referred to is his son, Jahān-soz, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Husain, son of Sām, taken prisoner in 547 H See note ², page 149, note ³, page 155, and account of 'Alā-ud-Dīn

⁶ As usual, he reigned for a long period and died, according to our author, "who rarely indulges in high flown eulogy, but narrates his facts in a plain, straightforward manner, which induces a confidence in the sincerity of his statements and the accuracy of his knowledge" Itsiz ruled over Khawārazm for a period of twenty-nine years, sixteen of which were independent, and died in 551 H, and in the same year Turkān Khātūn also died

⁷ Styled Sultān by others

⁸ How good all our author's rulers are! all so just and beneficent never were the like known before or since. Immediately on assuming the throne, suspecting his younger brother, Sulīmān Shāh, he seized and imprisoned him, and put a number of nobles, Sulīmān's adherents, to death I-yal Arsalān was engaged in hostilities with the ruler of Samrḳand, and subsequently, in 558 H, marched against Shād yāh of Nīshāpūr—Sanjar had lately died—and

treaty with the infidels of Karā Khitā, whereby he stipulated to pay a certain fixed tribute yearly¹

He contracted an alliance with the Khāns of Kifchāk and guarded his dominions to the best of his power and ability. He became involved in disagreements and hostilities with some of the slaves of Sultān Sanjar who were rulers of Khurasān and peace was brought about in the manner he could best effect.

He reigned for a long time¹ and died leaving sons behind him such as Alā ud Dīn Takish, and Sultān Shāh Mahmūd.

V SULTĀN TAKISH¹ SON OF IYAL ARSALĀN

Sultān Takish was a very great monarch and was endowed with considerable attainments capacity and

engaged in hostilities with Rukn-ud Dīn, Mahmūd Khān, a grandson of Bughrā Khān on the father's side, and a nephew of Sanjar on his mother's; and, after an engagement with Mu-ayyid-i Ā'īnsh-dār [see note⁴ to page 180], returned into his own territory after effecting an accommodation. Subsequently having, in the seventh year of his reign, neglected to pay the tribute to the ruler of Karā Khitā, the former sent a force against Iyal Arsalān, and the latter's troops, which moved to oppose them, were routed. Iyal Arsalān died from the effects of a disorder contracted during the war with the Karā Khitā.

¹ If the Alā bak, Abū Bīkr [see p. 179], by becoming tributary to the Mughals, brought reproach and dishonour upon himself, by bowing his head to circumstances which he could not remedy nor control, and when he was well aware that, at the nod of the Khān of the Mughals, his territory could be subdued and desolated what is the conduct of Iyal Arsalān here, and what that of the Khālifāh, Un Nāṣir when he, some years before Abū Bīkr's day sent an agent to the infidel Chingiz, and incited him to invade the territory of Islām out of hostility to the Khwārazm Sultān, because he would not give him, Un Nāṣir, a slice of Irāq? Our author was too pious a Muslimān to name such disgraceful act as this. See note² page 242, and page 265.

¹ In this instance the "long time" was only eight years. Iyal Arsalān died, according to most authors, in 567 H.; but one or two say it occurred in 568. As Takish rose against his brother Sultān Shāh, in the former year it is natural to conclude that he could have had no occasion to do so in his father's lifetime.

² Styled 'Imād ud Dīn, Takish Khān. Some call him Ālā-ud Dīn. Other authors generally with the exception of Yāfā, place Sultān Shāh, Mahmūd, next after his father Itāz, and before Takish; and do not bring in Takish at all until after Sultān Shāh's death in 589 H. Sultān Shāh succeeded to the throne according to the will of his father; and, as he was a mere boy his mother Malikah Tarkān, conducted his affairs. She sent an agent to summon Takish, the eldest son by a different mother who held the govern-

understanding, and was a proficient in the science of music

When he ascended the throne he brought under his sway the different tracts of the territory of Khwārazm, and likewise some parts of Khurāsān, either by force of arms or by peaceful means

He entered into union with the Khān of Kifchāk, who was named Akrān [or Ikrān], and married the daughter of that ruler. That lady acquired great celebrity in the world, and rose to great eminence, more particularly during the reign of her son, Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh. She was a woman of great firmness of character,

ment of Jund [some say he retired thither] to Khwārazm. As he refused to obey, an army was sent against him. Guzīdah and Yāfa-ī state that Takīsh demanded a portion of his father's dominions, and was refused, on which he, in 567 H, rebelled, and determined to seek aid from the Khān-ī-Khānān, or Great Khān of Karā-Khitā-ī. The latter's wife, at that time, held the sovereignty, and Takīsh entered into an alliance with her, but no mention whatever is made by these or other authors as to Takīsh having taken either her or her daughter to wife, as they, no doubt, would have done, had such an alliance as our author refers to taken place. Takīsh, having reached her territory, agreed to make over to her the treasures and revenues of Khwārazm, as soon as he, by her aid, should obtain possession of it, and afterwards to pay a yearly tribute. A numerous army was accordingly sent along with Takīsh to put him in possession. Sultān Shāh and his mother, as soon as they became aware of the combination against them, evacuated Khwārazm, and joined Malik Mu-ayyid-ī-Ā'inah dār, Wālī of Khurāsān [Nīshāpūr. See page 180, and note 7], and Takīsh obtained possession of the Khwārazm territory. These events took place in 568 H.

Sultān Shāh, however, acquired power over a considerable portion of Khurāsān, and hostilities went on between the rival brothers up to the end of Sultān Shāh's life. He lived twenty one years after these events. In 569 H. Malik Mu-ayyid-ī-Ā'inah-dār, in order to aid Sultān Shāh, marched in concert with him against Takīsh, and gave him battle, but they were defeated, and Mu-ayyid was taken and cut in two by order of Takīsh. Sultān Shāh and his mother fled to Dihistān, followed by Takīsh and his troops. The mother of Sultān Shāh was killed, after which Takīsh marched against Nīshāpūr, the capital of Mu-ayyid's territory. Hostilities having afterwards arisen between Takīsh and his former ally, Sultān Shāh sought aid from the female ruler of Karā Khitā-ī, and she and Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, both rendered him aid. The details are far too voluminous for insertion here. Suffice it to say that an accommodation subsequently took place between the brothers in 585 H, but hostilities were again renewed in 589 H, in which year Sultān Shāh died. After his death Takīsh acquired the whole power, and, according to Guzīdah, he *now for the first time* assumed the title of Sultān, being without a rival. These events are referred to by our author in his accounts of Khusrau Malik, the last of the Ghaznawids, and in his account of the Sultāns of Ghūr, which

very impetuous, and of imperious temperament, and, during the reign of her son, she had the title of *Khudā wandah* : *Jahān* [Princess of the Universe]. So great was her spirit, her haughtiness, and her resentment, when roused that, on one occasion she became enraged with her husband, *Sultān Takish*, on account of a female slave with whom he had formed a connexion and followed him to the bath and closed the door of the hot bath upon him, so that the *Sultān* very nearly perished. Information of the circumstance was conveyed to a party of the great nobles, and a number of lords and chiefs arrived broke open the door of the hot bath and took *Sultān Takish* out. He had been reduced to a state of lividness, and one of his eyes had been nearly destroyed.

Sultān Takish was a wise and sagacious monarch and, with respect to his witticisms, they relate that on a certain occasion a necessitous person wrote to him a statement of his affairs, saying — "If thou givest me one hundred *dīnārs* what difference will it make to the amount of thy treasures? The *Sultān* with his own hand wrote at the head¹ of the statement, one hundred *dīnārs* and this reply in the opinion of men of learning and talent, was exceedingly clever. On another occasion a person wrote to him saying — "In being a *Musalmān* I am thy brother give me a portion of thy treasures. The *Sultān* commanded that ten *dīnārs* of gold should be presented to him. When that gift reached the indigent person he wrote another communication to the *Sultān* saying — "I am thy brother and yet, with all the treasures that thou possessest, not more than ten *dīnārs* of gold do I obtain². The *Sultān* wrote in reply — If the rest of my brethren should demand their shares also thou wouldst not have received even this much. May the Almighty have mercy on him!

Sultān Takish reduced a half of *Khurāsān* under his sway by force, and the *Maliks* [kings] of *Māzandarān* acknowledged his superiority. He also subdued a part of

¹ It is customary in the East, to write orders, decrees, &c. at the head of documents.

² This anecdote, or one very similar is related of another before the time of *Sultān Takish*.

the territory of 'Irāk, and Sultān Tughrl, of 'Irāk, who was the nephew of Sultān Sanjar, fell a captive into his hands⁵

Hostilities arose between him and the Court of the Khalīfah on account of some of the territories of 'Irāk⁶,

⁵ At page 165, which see, our author was in doubt as to who Tughrl was. In 558 H Kutlagh Īnānaj, son of the Atā-bak, Jahān Pahlawān, Muḥammad, sent envoys, one after the other, to Sultān Takīsh informing him of the escape of Sultān Tughrl, Saljūkī, from the fortress in which he had been immured, and inviting him to invade 'Irāk, promising to support him. For further particulars of these events, see note ⁸, page 167, and note ³, page 172, where our author entirely contradicts this statement respecting Sultān Tughrl.

⁶ The Khalīfah, Un-Nāsir, on Takīsh overrunning 'Irāk, and possessing himself of the strong places, was desirous that Takīsh should let him have some share of that territory, and make over some portion of it to his Dīwāns. Envoys came and went between them, but, as Takīsh in the end refused to give up any portion, Un-Nāsir, in 590 H, despatched Mu-ayyid-ud-Dīn, Ibn-ul-Qassāb, or the Butcher's Son, with robes of honour, valuable presents, and the like, in hopes that on his appearance at Hamadān he would be favourably received, and that Takīsh would come out to receive him, and do him honour as the Khalīfah's envoy, and humble himself before him, but, on his reaching Asūd ābād, the Sultān despatched a force to compel him to retire. Mu-ayyid-ud-Dīn fled, and speedily placed the river Dajlah between himself and Takīsh's troops. After this, Takīsh pushed on to Dīnawr, and plundered the place and country round, and returned to Hamadān laden with *dirams* and *dīnārs*, and other booty beyond compute.

In 593 H, shortly after his son, Kuṭb ud-Dīn, Muhammad, had been entrusted with the government of Khurāsān, after the death of his elder brother, he was recalled to proceed at the head of an army against Ghā'ir Bukā Khān, the Ī-ghūr ruler. He conducted the campaign successfully, and Ghā'ir Bukā was made prisoner, and brought to Khawārazm, in Rabī' ul-Awwāl of the following year. Another expedition was undertaken shortly after against the successor of Ghā'ir Bukā, which Takīsh conducted in person.

At the end of the year 594 H Takīsh marched into Khurāsān again. After three months' halt at Shād-jāh he proceeded into 'Irāk against Mīānjuḡ, the Atā-bak of his son, Yūnas Khān, who was disaffected. He passed the cold season in Māzandarān, and in the following spring pursued Mīānjuḡ from one end of 'Irāk to the other. Mīānjuḡ and his party were pounced upon and most of them put to the sword, and the rebel took shelter in Firūz-koh, from which stronghold he had ousted the Sultān's seneschal some time before. It was invested and taken, and Mīānjuḡ was placed on a camel and brought to Kazwīn. He was imprisoned for a year, and subsequently exiled for life on the hostile frontier of Jund. After this Sultān Takīsh is said to have received a dress of honour from the Khalīfah, with the investiture [which he could neither give nor withhold] of 'Irāk, Khurāsān, and Turkistān.

In the following year, 595 H, the Wazīr of the Khalīfah, who was at Hamadān with an army, drove out the Khawārazmī troops, upon which Takīsh again entered 'Irāk from Khawārazm, and hostilities were renewed. The Wazīr, however, who commanded the Khalīfah's troops, had died a few days before the forces came into contact, but the fact was kept concealed, and was not

and Ibn ul Kaṣṣāb who was the Wazīr of the Dār ul Khilāfat, entered Irāk [with an army] to repel Sultān Takīsh, but he was defeated, and retired to Baghdād again.

This disloyalty towards the Khalīfah was a disaster⁷ to the empire of Takīsh, as Maulānā Zahīr ud Dīn Fāryābī⁸ says in the following strophe —

Oh, Shāh ! since Ajam, by the sword, to thee has been consign'd,
Towards Musṭafā a place of repose, an army send.
Then lay the Ka'bah desolate, and a fan bring,
And like unto useless atoms, to the winds the dust of the Haram send.
Within the Ka'bah the drapery crumbleth away : place it in thy treasury
And, for the Prophet's tomb, two or three ells of matting send.
When thou shalt have a perfect infidel become, rush on Karkh
And, then, the Khalīfah's head to Khīfā send."

Although Sultān Takīsh had entered into a treaty with the Sultāns of Ghūr⁹ nevertheless, through the hostility of [the Court of] Baghdād, Ibn-ur Rabbī came from Baghdād into the territories of Ghūr and Ghaznīn and on another occasion Ibn ul Khaṭīb came to the Court of Fīrūz koh and one Friday read the Khuṭbah and whilst reading it, he made use of these words in the presence of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, Muḥammad : Sām — Ayyahu ! Ghiyāṣ al Mustaghāṣ min ul Takīsh uṭ ṭāghī ul bāghī. "Hail ! prop of defence against Takīsh the traitor and the rebel !

At the time of Ibn ul Khaṭīb's returning to Baghdād¹

made known until after the Khalīfah's troops had been defeated and put to the rout. The body of the Wazīr was exhumed, and the head cut off, and sent to Khwārazm. Faṣīb-ī mentions this affair but places it several years earlier and calls the Wazīr Abū l-Faṣl-ī Muḥammad, son of Alī, styled Ibn-ul-Baṣī ; and further states that Takīsh being absent from Irāk at the time, the Wazīr with the aid of Kutlagh Ināaj, drove out the Khwārazmī troops, and pursued them as far as Buṣṭm. After this Takīsh again entered Irāk, and overthrew the Khalīfah's troops.

⁷ The ascendancy and power which Takīsh acquired by this success, instead of being a blow to the prosperity of his rule, had quite a contrary effect. It became noised abroad throughout both Irāk, and thereby his affairs attained a greater grandeur than before. Possibly our author may refer to the inveterate hostility of the Khalīfah towards his son and grandson, and his refusing aid to the latter when hard pressed by the infidel Mughals.

⁸ The Mallik-ush Shu'arā [Prince of Poets], Khwājah Zahīr ud Dīn of Fāryāb, who died in 593 H.

⁹ A treaty with the Sultāns of Ghūr is out of the question ; in fact the author's own words disprove it. See also following note, and note ⁴ page 265.

¹ A correspondence found when the son of Takīsh acquired possession of

the father of the author, Māulānā Sarāj-ud-Dīn-i-Minhāj, was despatched to the Court of Baghdād along with him, and, on the confines of Mukrān, the Māulānā was martyred² This intimation arrived from the Court of the Khalifah, Un-Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Ullah, about it, saying — “Furthermore, Sarāj-i-Minhāj perished in an affray on the road the Almighty recompense him !”

Sultān Takīsh-i-Khwārazm Shāh was in firm alliance with Khitā, and trustworthy persons have stated that Sultān Takīsh had enjoined his son, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, never to quarrel or embroil himself with Khitā, if he desired to preserve the safety of his dominions³, and it turned out as this wise monarch had said They also relate, with respect to this subject, that the Sultān often used to say that there would be two judgment-days—one, that time which Almighty God has ordained, and the other, that which would happen when he should be removed from this world, through his son's bad faith towards the infidels [of Chīn]

Sultān Takīsh reigned for many years, and died⁴.

Ghaznīn confirms these hostile intentions. See note ⁴, page 265 In his account of the Khalifah, Un-Nāṣir, our author states that three envoys arrived from the Khalifah's court to solicit aid from the two brothers, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn of Ghūr, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn of Ghaznīn, and that they were named respectively, Imām Shams-ud-Dīn, Turk, Ibn-ur-Rabbī', and Ibn-ul Khaṭīb, and that his father was sent along with them when they returned to Baghdād

² Some copies merely mention that he died

³ Yāfā-ī says that Takīsh's last request was that his son should neither clash with, nor show resistance against, Gūr Khān, nor depart from the agreement previously settled [the tribute], because Gūr Khān was as a bulwark of defence in his rear against enemies in that quarter which he should not break down

⁴ During his reign Takīsh became involved, upon more than one occasion, in hostilities with the Khitā-īs and the rulers of Turkistān, and, towards the close of his reign, waged war upon the Mulāḥḍah heretics in 'Irāk and Khulīstān. He gained possession of their stronghold of Arsalān-Kushāe, the strongest fortress in Asia, it is said. He then left his son, Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh, in 'Irāk, with Isfahān as his place of residence, and set out on his return to Khwārazm, and reached it in Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 596 H The heretics supposed the Wazīr, Nizām-ul-Mulk, to have been the author of their disasters, so they assassinated him Sultān Takīsh resolved to avenge him An army was despatched against them under his son, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, who laid siege to Turshīz Our author chronicles his own father's death, but says nothing of the time or place of the decease of the sovereign whose reign he is supposed to be giving an account of, and, although Takīsh reigned so near his own time, our author does not appear to have known that he reigned for twenty-five years and six months, the last six and a half years being over 'Irāk

VL. SULTĀN JALĀL-UD DĪN MAḤMŪD³ SON OF IYAL-
ARSALĀN

Maḥmūd son of Iyal Arsalān, Sultān Shāh i Jalal ud Dīn, was a rash and impetuous monarch. When his brother Takish, assumed the throne of Khwārazm dissension arose between them, and he [Sultān Shāh] went from Khwārazm towards Khurāsān and from thence came into the states of Ghūr and presented himself at the Court of Sultān Ghiyās-ud Dīn, Muḥammad i Sām Sultān Ghiyās ud Dīn, and his Maliks⁴ treated him with honour and deference.

Between the Sultāns of Ghūr and Sultān Takish a firm compact existed and some parts of Khurāsān had fallen into the possession of the Amīrs of the Ghuzz tribe, and some to the slaves of the Sanjarī dynasty whilst others had become dependencies of the Court of Ghūr and Firūz koh and of Bāmiān.

Sultān Shāh solicited assistance from the Ghūrīān Sultāns to enable him to liberate Khurāsān from the hands of his brother and the Ghuzz Amīrs. They assigned him a fief for the present, and he was furnished with all things necessary as a guest but they continued to observe the treaty between themselves and his brother Sultān Takish, and hesitated to furnish him with the aid he sought⁷

also. Having despatched his son against the Multāhidabs, Sultān Takish was organizing forces at Khwārazm to follow when he was suddenly taken ill. He recovered, and was advised not to undertake so long a journey but he would proceed. He was taken ill again and died on the way in Ramaḥān 596 H. See note⁴ page 254. Many eminent and learned men flourished during his reign, and numerous works on poetry medicine, and other sciences, were written and dedicated to him.

³ Styled Sultān Shāh Maḥmūd, by others.

⁴ In a few copies there is a slight difference in this clause of the sentence, which in them, is— and the Maliks of Ghūr "

⁷ After his defeat along with Mu-ayyid-i Ā'īnah-dār and the latter had been cut in two [see note⁶ page 180] and Sultān Shāh's mother had also been put to death by Takish, Sultān Shāh went to Shād yākh to Mu-ayyid's son, Tughān Shāh, who had succeeded his father and took up his quarters in the territory of Nishāpūr. A Tughān, however had not power to help him, he left his territory and went to the Sultāns of Ghūr [after obtaining written promises of favourable treatment], who received him well. Hostility having arisen shortly after between his brother Takish and the Karā Khiljā f ruler Sultān Shāh was delighted, and entered into negotiation with that sovereign,

Sultān Shāh [consequently] left the territory of Ghūi, and proceeded to Māwar-un-Nahr and Turkistān, and sought assistance from the Great Khān of Khītā, and brought an army, and freed Khurāsān from the oppressive grasp and possession of the Ghuzz chiefs, and their tyranny⁸. He made Marw his capital, and marched an

who, to spite Takīsh, invited him to his Court. On leaving the Ghūrīān territory he observed to the nobles of his party that it occurred to him, although he had had to put up with some annoyance and mortification from him, that man [Ghiyās ud-Dīn, Ghūrī] would cause much sedition in Khurāsān, and so it turned out.

⁸ He stated to the Khītā-i ruler that the Khwārazmīs and the troops generally were well inclined towards him, and thereby induced the Khān to send forces along with him to reinstate him. On their arrival before Khwārazm, the Khītā-īs were undeceived, and, finding that no advantage was likely to accrue by investing it, determined to retire again. Sultān Shāh now solicited that a portion of the Khītā-i army might be sent along with him into Khurāsān, against Sarakhs. This was assented to, and Sultān Shāh and his allies suddenly appeared before it. Malik Dīnār, one of the Ghuzz chiefs, held it at that time, and most of his followers were put to the sword, and Malik Dīnār himself was dragged out of the ditch of that fortress, by the hair of his head. The rest of his followers sought shelter within the walls. After this, Sultān Shāh marched to Marw and there took up his quarters, and dismissed the Khītā-i troops to their own territory. He continued after that to make constant incursions against Sarakhs, until most of the Ghuzz were dispersed and driven from it, but Tughān Shāh got possession of it. In Zī-Hijjah, 576 H, hostilities arose between Sultān Shāh and Tughān Shāh about the possession of Sarakhs, and an engagement was fought between them, in which the former was victorious and obtained possession of that place, and Tūs likewise. From this success Sultān Shāh acquired considerable power, because he, contrary to Tughān Shāh, was not taken up with cymbals and lutes, and such like frivolous pursuits. He made constant raids upon Tughān's territory, until his nobles and troops became greatly harassed and distressed, and they had mostly gone over to Sultān Shāh, and no power was left to Tughān. He applied for aid both to Takīsh and to the Sultān of Ghūr, and once went to Hirāt, in person, to solicit assistance from Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, but all was of no avail. Disappointed and depressed, he lived on miserably till Muḥarram, 581 H, when he died. See our author's account of him at page 181, where he says "all rulers refrained from molesting him." The same night in which Tughān Shāh died, his son, Sanjar Shāh, was raised to his father's misnad, and Mangulī Beg, his slave, was made his Atābak. The latter afterwards went over to Sultān Shāh, who acquired sway over the greater part of Tughān's territory. Malik Dīnār, the Ghuzz chief, went off to Kirmān, and established himself as ruler therein, and everywhere the Ghuzz Turks were reduced to subjection, or rooted out. See page 182, note¹.

In the beginning of 582 H, Takīsh having entered Khurāsān, Sultān Shāh marched against Khwārazm with a large army, in hopes of seizing it, but Takīsh, in return, marched to Marw, Sultān Shāh's capital, and sat down before it. As Sultān Shāh found he could not gain admittance into Khwā

army against Hīrāt, and invested Fūshanj and made raids

razm and that Marw was in danger he abandoned the attempt and, on reaching Amūshah, left his army and taking fifty picked men with him, made for Marw passed through Takīsh's army and succeeded in throwing himself into Marw. Next day on hearing of this feat, Takīsh marched away to Shād yākh, and, in Rabī' ul Awwal, 582 H. invested Sanjar Shāh, and his Ātā-bak, Mangulī Beg, therein. After two months an accommodation was entered into, and several men of rank were left there by Takīsh to carry out the terms, and he departed for Khwārazm. Mangulī Beg, as soon as Takīsh had marched away seized his officers and delivered them over to Sulṭān Shāh and they were kept in durance for a long time by him, until a truce was brought about between the brothers, which, however was but of short duration.

After the truce, Takīsh again moved against Shād yākh, secured Mangulī Beg, and then returned to his capital Khwārazm. Sulṭān Shāh, being ambitious of possessing Shād yākh, now seized the opportunity and marched against it. He invested it for a time, but, finding the defenders had the best of it, he raised the investment and set out for Sabzwār and invested that place. It capitulated on terms on the intercession of a holy man, and Sulṭān Shāh, in conformity with those terms, entered it, remained *an hour* and departed for Marw again. In Muharram 583 H. Takīsh again appeared before Shād yākh, and it was forced to submit, and Mangulī Beg came forth and capitulated. Sulṭān Takīsh entered it in Rabī' ul Awwal of that year. Mangulī was compelled to disgorge the wealth he had deprived others of, and was afterwards delivered over to the son of an Imām, whose father he had put to death unjustly to suffer death according to the law of *kiyās* or retribution. Three months afterwards, Takīsh having set out for Khwārazm, Sulṭān Shāh, finding the coast clear made another effort to get possession of Shād yākh but, although the walls were for the most part destroyed, the place was obstinately defended. Takīsh marched into Khurāsān again on becoming aware of this movement on Sulṭān Shāh's part, and the latter hearing of Takīsh's entering Khurāsān, burnt his battering-rams and made off. Takīsh remained all the cold season in Khurāsān, preparing for a campaign in Āsarhājān, and nearly all the Amīrs of Khurāsān, who had hitherto not presented themselves, now joined him. In the spring he returned from Āsarhājān, and encamped in the plain of Rūdakān of Tūs, an accommodation having been come to between the brothers in 585 H. whereby Sulṭān Shāh was left in possession of considerable territory in Khurāsān, such as Jām, Bākh n, and other districts. Takīsh ascended the throne at Rūdakān of Tūs [but not before], and soon after set out for Khwārazm. Peace continued between them until after the affair at Marw-ar Rūd with the Ghūrīs, with whom Sulṭān Shāh had previously been on the most brotherly terms, in which Sulṭān Shāh was compelled to retire, and his power became much broken, when, having infringed some of the stipulations with his brother in 586 H. Takīsh again marched to Sarakhs, which Sulṭān Shāh had made the depository of his treasures and military material. It was taken; but, subsequently another accommodation having been arranged, it was restored to Sulṭān Shāh, who again repaired it. In 588 H., Takīsh having entered Irāk at the solicitation of Kutlagh Inānā [see page 167 and note *], against Sulṭān T ghīl, Saljūki, Sulṭān Shāh seized the opportunity marched with his forces against Khwārazm, and invested it but, hearing of the return of his brother from the Irāk expedition, he abandoned the investment, and retired into his own territory. Takīsh, having passed the winter at Khwārazm, marched against his brother Sulṭān Shāh, in the follow

upon the frontiers of the territory of Ghūr, and created tumult and disorder

Some of the nobles and slaves of the Sanjarī dynasty joined him—such as Bahā-ud-Dīn, Tughril, who was governor of Hirāt, and used constantly to harass and afflict the frontiers of the kingdom of Ghūr Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, gave instructions so that his Sultāns⁹, namely, Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, from Ghaznīn, Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, from Bāmīān, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Ḥarab, from Sīstān, all assembled, marched, and joined Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, after which they set out for the purpose of repelling Sultān Shāh

They advanced into the valley of the river of Marw, and pitched their camp between Dazak [Dajzak ?] and Marwar-Rūd, while Sultān Shāh moved his forces from Marw farther up, and, for a period of six months, the two armies, Ghūrīs and Turks, were arrayed confronting each other Sultān Shāh used to display great audacity and boldness, and was in the constant habit of cutting off the foragers [of the Ghūrīān army], whence it arose that Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the Turk, of Hindūstān, who, at that time, was Amīr-i-Akhūr [lord of the stables—master of the horse] of the Ghaznīn¹ [ruler], was taken prisoner by the troops of Sultān Shāh

Matters went on in this manner, until, at the expiration of six months, an engagement took place, and Sultān Shāh had not the power to resist his opponents, for the troops of Ghaznīn crossed the river Murgh-āb and attacked the army² of Sultān Shāh, who, unable to repel them, or make a stand

ing spring As soon as Takīsh reached Abīward, negotiations for a perceivable settlement of their differences were entered into, and letters passed between the brothers, but, through the folly and precipitancy of Sultān Shāh, the negotiations were in abeyance, when he was betrayed by Badr-ud-Dīn, Jā'fir, an officer in his service, who held Sarakhs for him Jā'fir delivered up the fortress to Takīsh, together with his master's treasures, and two days after, at the end of Ramazān, 589 H, Sultān Shāh died He had reigned for twenty two years.

⁹ His brother, his kinsman, and his vassal

¹ To Mu'izz ud-Dīn, Sultān of Ghaznīn, whose slave he was, and subsequently ruler of Dihlī

² Five copies have "attacked the camp" Yīfā ī barely alludes to this affair on the Murgh īb

before them was defeated, and perplexed and distracted he retired towards Marw again.

Malik Bahā ud Dīn Tughril of Hirāt who was with Sultān Shāh's army fell into the hands of the troops of Bāmīān and they brought his head to the presence of Sultān Ghīyās-ud Dīn, and he commanded them to take it to Hirāt. Sultān Shams ud Dīn of Bāmīān [likewise] on that day was assigned a chatr [canopy] and he was honoured with the title of Sultān.

When they brought the head of Tughril to Hirāt, a Poet repeated these lines —

The head of Tughril, which he carried higher than the altitude of the heavens,

And which possessed the jewel and diadem of haughtiness and pride,

Without a body hath to Harī, a spectacle come,

For this reason, that he had an inclination for Harī in his head."

Sultān Shāh having been thus defeated and his army routed and dispersed retired to Marw and this affair and this victory took place in the year 588 H.

Sultān Shāh was [it appears] troubled with a complaint for which every year he used to take a small quantity of a certain poison in order to cure it and in that same year, the complaint increased and as a remedy against it he took somewhat more of the antidote, and it killed him and he died.

VIL YŪNAS KHĀN SON OF TAKISH, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH³

Yūnas Khān was the son of Sultān Takish and when Sultān Takish subdued the territory of Irāk and wrested it out of the hands of the Atābak, Abū Bīkr the son of

³ The seventh ruler and successor of Takish was his son Sultān Alā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad; and neither Yūnas Khān, Malik Khān, nor Alī Shāh, were ever rulers of Khwārazm, but merely held subordinate governments under their father. When Sultān Takish entered Irāk in the beginning of 590 H. and, Sultān Tughril was slain in battle [see page 167 and note *], Takish, after securing Irāk, conferred Iṣfahān on Kutlagh Ināna, son of the Atābak Jahān Pahlawān, leaving the Amīra of Irāk with him and the territory of Rai and its dependencies was conferred upon Takish's son, Yūnas Khān, with Mīnjuh as his Atābak and the commander of his troops. The whole of Irāk he never held. Takish did not take Irāk from the Atābak Abū Bīkr son of Muḥammad, for a very good reason that no such Atābak ever held it in the reign of Takish.

the Atā-bak, Muhammad, and a second time caused its deliverance from Sultān Tughrīl, he conferred it upon his son, Yūnas Khān

He was a monarch of good disposition, and used to live on good terms among his people, and brought 'Irāk under his subjection. He began to enter into contention with the troops of the Court of the Khalīfah, and that untoward circumstance became a source of misfortune to the sovereignty of his father, and to their dynasty⁴.

He reigned for a considerable time over 'Irāk, and died

VIII MALIK Khān⁵, SON OF TAKISH, Khwārazm Shāh

Malik Khān was the eldest son of Sultān Takish, and was a mighty and arrogant monarch⁶ Hē was endowed with great sagacity, wisdom, knowledge, and understanding, nobleness of mind, and intrepidity

When his father wrested Nīshāpūr and other parts of that territory out of the hands of the Sanjarī slaves, such as the descendants of Malik Mu-ayyid were, Sanjar Shāh, who was the son of Tughān Shāh, the son of Malik Mu-ayyid, he induced, by treaty, to come out of Nīshāpūr⁷, and gave the throne of Nīshāpūr to his son, Malik Khān

When he assumed the throne of that territory, he brought under his sway the tracts of country around as far as the

⁴ Whilst his father was absent on the expedition against Ghā-ir Būkā Khān, the Ī-ghūr, in 591 H, Yūnas Khān turned his arms [or rather his Atā-bak for him] against the Khalīfah's troops in 'Irāk Yūnas sought help to carry out this hostile purpose, from his brother Malik Shāh, who held the government of Marw and its dependencies Yūnas, however, before being joined by his brother, had defeated the troops of Baghdād, and had acquired great booty The brothers met at Hamadān, where they made some stay, and, after they had passed a jovial time together, Malik Khān—or Shāh, as he is also styled—set out on his return to Khurāsān

⁵ His title was Nāṣir-ud-Dīn

⁶ When Sultān Takish entered Khurāsān in 590 H on his way back from 'Irāk, he heard of the illness of his son Malik Shāh, who held at that time the government of Marw Takish directed that his son should be brought to him, and, when they reached Tūs, Sultān Shāh recovered His father transferred him to the government of Nīshāpūr, which he had previously held, with Shād-yākh as his residence in place of Marw, from the unwholesome climate of which his health had suffered, and an appanage was conferred upon his other son, Kutb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, in Khurāsān, and he was made his father's companion and favourite

⁷ For the facts, see note ⁸ to Sultān Shāh's reign, page 246

gate³ of Irāk, and a great number of eminent men assembled at his Court. He reigned for a considerable time, and died⁴ leaving a son named Hindu Khān.

He [Hindū Khān] was an exceedingly intrepid high minded prince, and was endowed with a poetical genius. After the decease of his father and his grandfather he began to collect forces in Khurāsān, and, in consequence, his uncle, Sulṭān Muḥammad son of Takīsh, reprehended him¹. Hindū Khān composed a few elegant lines, and sent them to his uncle —

A hundred treasure-hoards be thine : the keen pondard mine.
The palace thine : the steed and the battle-field be mine.
Shouldst thou desire that hostility cease between us,
Be Khwārazm thine, King ! the country of Khurāsān mine !²

³ Alike in all the copies. The Hulwān Pass may be called the "gate" of Irāk.

⁴ Malik Shāh having returned from Hamadān, as related in note⁴ preceding page, as soon as he entered Khurāsān, despatched Arnālīn Shāh, one of the nobles, to act for him at Shīd yākh, and set out himself for Khwārazm. During his absence great disorder and sedition arose in the Nishāpūr territory in consequence of disaffected persons inciting Sanjar Shāh, son of Tughān Shāh, who had previously been relieved of the cares of independent sovereignty to rebel against Sulṭān Takīsh. He had been treated with the utmost kindness, the Sulṭān had married his mother and after his daughter's decease, who had been espoused by Sanjar he had also given him his sister in marriage, and was regarded as a son. He was accordingly summoned to Khwārazm and deprived of his sight, and his fief was taken from him. This was in 591 H. and in 595 H. he died. After Sanjar Shāh's threatened outbreak, Sulṭān Takīsh had to march into Irāk against the Irākī nobles, in consequence of his son Yūnas Khān's acts. It was on this occasion that the Khalīfah's troops, after the death of their leader the Waṣr were defeated. Takīsh returned into Khwārazm by way of Isfahān, and conferred the government of Khurāsān upon Malik Shāh, with directions not to go to Marw because of its unhealthiness. His partiality for it, however was so great, that it drew him there. He was taken ill soon after and returned to Nishāpūr ; but his illness increased, and he died at the close of the year 593 H.

¹ Yāfī, which contains so much information respecting this dynasty merely states that Sulṭān Takīsh had to delay his departure on an expedition against infidels [heretics] fearing an outbreak on the part of Malik Shāh's sons. Accordingly the Waṣr Ṣadr-ud Dīn, Mas'ūd, Harawī, was despatched to Shīd yākh to assume charge of affairs. He contrived to prevent any tumult, and sent the eldest son, Hindū Khān, to Khwārazm. Subsequently Sulṭān Takīsh conferred the government of Khurāsān upon his son, Ḳulb-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, who proceeded thither ; and, two days after he reached Shīd-yākh, the Waṣr set out to join the Sulṭān, in Ẓī Hījāh, 593 H. Hindū Khān subsequently took service with his country's enemies, the Ghūris. See note⁷ page 255.

² This line, according to two copies of the original, might be read :— Be Khwārazm thine : mine alone the realm of Khurāsān.

The latter bestowed the throne of Şafahān and Irāk upon his brother Alī Shāh and for a considerable period he continued in that country when, suddenly he became overcome with fear and apprehension from some cause or other and left it, and came into the territories of Ghūr and presented himself at the Court of Fīrūz koh.

At that period the throne of Fīrūz koh had passed to Sultān Ghīyāş-ud Dīn Maḥmūd son of Muḥammad i Sām and Sultān Muḥammad despatched envoys from Khwārazm to the presence of Sultān Ghīyāş-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd so that Alī Shāh was seized and placed in durance. At length a party of Alī Shāh's followers devoted themselves to the cause of their master and martyred Sultān Maḥmūd son of Muḥammad i Sām.

When the throne of the kingdom of Ghūr had passed to the sons of Sultān Ghīyāş-ud Dīn Maḥmūd son of [Muḥammad i] Sām an army from Khurasān* arrived there in order to take possession of Ghūr as will subsequently be related, and the Ghūrlans caused Alī Shāh to be set at liberty on the day that the Khwārazmī forces gained possession of Fīrūz koh.

Alī Shāh proceeded to Ghaznīn and there he continued as Malīk for a considerable time[†]. Subsequently Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh despatched persons who entered into engagements with him on favourable terms so much so that Alī Shāh placing faith therein, was induced to leave Ghaznīn and join the Khwārazmī army and reached Tigin ābād of Garmsīr. A party was [subsequently] appointed and despatched from Khwārazm and in the year 609 H., they martyred Alī Shāh.

X. SULTĀN ALĀ UD-DĪN¹ MUḤAMMAD SON OF TARISH, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH.

Sultān Alā ud Dīn Muḥammad had five sons, the

* Khwārazmī troops, though no doubt chiefly natives of Khurāsān—the Khurāsānī contingent.

[†] One copy alone of the original contains the word "Malīk." For a correct account of these matters, see the reign of Maḥmūd in Section XVII for our author seems to have been determined not to relate anything not tending to the glorification of the Ghūrlans, and often distorts facts to suit his purpose.

¹ Before he came to the throne his title was Kutb-ud Dīn, but on his accession he assumed that of Alā-ud Dīn, the title borne by his father.

first, Har-roz Shāh, the second, Ghūrī Shānastī², the third, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, the fourth, Arzalū Shāh, and the fifth, Āk Sultān³

He was a great and potent monarch, wise, valiant, munificent, a patron of the learned, a conqueror, and impetuous, and, whatever qualifications it was desirable a great sovereign and just ruler should possess, the Almighty had endowed him with

During the lifetime of his father, he bore the title of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, and, when his brother, Malīk Khān, died, his father conferred upon him the throne of Nīshāpūr, and Malīk Sharaf-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd-i-Ḥasan, was appointed to be his Atā-bak or governor, and, after some time, the command of the forces of Khawārazm was conferred upon him

On the side of his mother, likewise, he was a prince of [the house of] Kīfchāk and very great, his mother being the daughter of Ḳadr Khān of Kīfchāk, and, from the days of his boyhood, the marks of intelligence and cleverness shone clearly and conspicuously on his brow. Every expedition on which his father sent him, in the direction of Jund and Turkistān, he brought to such a successful issue as was desirable, in fact even a better than could have been anticipated.

At the period when death overtook his father, Sultān Takīsh, Muhammad was absent in the direction of Jund and Turkistān⁴, and, when he obtained information of that

² This name is very doubtful. Three copies of the text, in two of more places, agree in the above reading, but others, again, have Nashānastī, Bashānastī, Bashāstī, and Shansabī, all of which are unintelligible, whilst other authors, such as Guzīdah, Jahān-Ārā, and others, have Ghūrī Sānjī, which, they say, signifies "the Ghūrī fled"

³ The name of the first son here mentioned varies considerably in different copies. The majority have Har-roz Shāh, but the St. Petersburg copies have Bīrūz [Fīrūz?], Nīmroz, and Pīr Shāh, respectively. This last name is confirmed by other authors, as will be mentioned farther on. The name of the fourth also is written Azarlū, Arzalū, and Uzurlū. The whole of these names are omitted altogether in most copies of the text. Other writers say he had seven sons, three only of whom attained sovereign power. Guzīdah mentions their names as follows — Āk-Sultān, Azlāk [one copy, Ūzlāk], Kurjā [one copy, Būjā, Yāfa ī has Kūjāe] Tīgīn [?], Ughūl Malīk, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Ghīyās-ud-Dīn [Pīr Shāh], and Rukn-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī Shānastī. See note ² above. Yāfa-ī mentions another, Tīmūr Malīk. See note ³, page 285

⁴ Nothing of the kind our author commences this reign with a totally incorrect statement. He was engaged in the siege of Turghīz when the news of

circumstance, he returned to Khwārazm and assumed the throne and in the year 595 H⁶ he brought the dominions of his father under his own jurisdiction.

He conferred the throne of Nishāpūr upon his brother Ali Shāh⁶ as has been already stated and despatched an envoy to the Courts of Ghūr and Ghaznīn and sought for peace and I Minhāj : Sarāj heard from one of the trust worthy [persons] of the Maliks of Ghūr the statement, that one of the messages and requests of Sulṭān Muḥammad was this⁷—"I Muḥammad : Takīsh, who am their ser-

his father's death was received, and another week would have been sufficient to have taken it. His father's ministers kept the matter secret, and sent off to acquaint Sulṭān Muḥammad of it. He concealed the matter from his army and, feigning illness prepared to retire. The Mulūkīyahs sent him valuable presents, and offered an additional sum of 100,000 *dirhams* as tribute. The Sulṭān proceeded to Sharistānah, performed the funeral ceremonies of his father and set out with all haste for Khwārazm. This is a most important reign, and such events as our author has related—a number of most important ones have been passed over—are either incorrectly stated, or moulded to the glorification of the Ghūrīs : hence the notes here will be found, I fear voluminous, and, were I to notice every thing, I might almost fill a volume.

⁶ Not so : his father died in Ramaṣān, 596 H. and Sulṭān Muḥammad ascended the throne in Shawwāl of that year.

⁷ See note² page 251.

⁷ This statement is ridiculous, and totally unworthy of credit moreover the events which follow prove the contrary. No sooner had the Sulṭān of Ghūr and Ghaznīn obtained information of the death of Sulṭān Takīsh, than the devil," as one of the authors from whom this extract is taken says, excited their envy and ambition ; and they without loss of time, despatched a force to Marw under Muḥammad b-Kharrak, whilst they followed at the head of an immense force, including ninety great elephants like mountains in appearance." On reaching Tūs they plundered and devastated the country and slaughtered the people, and then marched to Shād yākh. The Sulṭān's brother Tāj-ud Dīn, Ali Shāh, who had lately returned from Irāk, happened to be there, and the Ghūrīs obtained possession of the place by capitulation, a tower having fallen from the number of spectators in it, which they took as a good omen. This our author turns into a miracle in the account of Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, who, by his account, was a miracle-worker. This was in Rajab 597 H. The place was given up to plunder and Ali Shāh, the Sulṭān's officials, and the chief men of the place, were inhumanly treated and sent off with the garrison to the capital of Ghūr. By the fall of this place the Ghūrīs acquired temporary possession of the whole country as far as Buzjān and Jūzjān. This effected, the brothers left a strong force at Nishāpūr [Shād yākh was a portion of that city or rather a fortified suburb] under Malik Ziyā-ud Dīn ; and Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn repaired to Hīrāt, and Shihāb-ud Dīn into the Kuhstān against the Mulūkīyahs of that part, and afterwards returned to Hīrāt likewise. As soon as Sulṭān Muḥammad heard of these troubles in Khurāsān, he, in Ẓī Hījāh of the same year [597 H.], set out at the head of his troops, and early in 598 H. encamped before Shād yākh. After some skirmishing outside the

vant, make this request, that the Sultāns would be pleased to accept my services, and, although I am not possessed of the worthiness of being a son, it behoveth that the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, should take to wife my mother, Khudāwandah-i-Jahān, and that he should accept me, Muhammad-i-Takīsh, as his son and servant, in order also that I, his servant, may, by the name on the coin⁸ of that august monarch, and the Khuṭbah of that sovereign of exalted dignity, conquer the whole world, and, for the servants of the Court of the Sultāns—the asylum of the world—draw the sword, and become one of those servants”

When this overture had been delivered, the purport coincided with the inclinations of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, but did not accord with the sentiments of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn [the person chiefly interested], and he declined to ratify it⁹. The latter Sultān assembled his troops, and marched into Khurāsān, and subdued the whole of that territory; but, when he subsequently set out on his return, Sultān Muhammad brought an army, and again recovered Khurāsān.

Whenever the Sultāns of Ghūr [and Ghaznīn] used to march into Khurāsān, Sultān Muhammad used to retire [as they advanced] to the distance of two or three marches before them, and when they fell back he would follow them up at the distance of two or three marches¹. In

Ghūrīs retired within the walls “like mice to their holes,” and the battering-rams were placed in position, and the ditch filled, when the Ghūrīs capitulated. They were treated honourably, and sent back to Ghūr “with dresses of honour, in order to show the Ghūrīs how to treat fallen foes.” The Sultān, after this affair, directed that the walls of Shād-yākh should be razed. All these events certainly look as though Sultān Muhammad had solicited the Sultāns of Ghūr to accept his vassalage. After this the Sultān proceeded to Marw and Sarakhs, which last mentioned place was held by his nephew, Hindū Khān, and held by him for the Sultāns of Ghūr and Ghaznīn. On the approach of his uncle Hindū Khān, fled to Ghūr, but, as the governor in charge of Sarakhs refused to open the gates, Sultān Muhammad left a force to take it, and continued his march to Khwārazm by way of Marw to prepare for a campaign against Hirāt. In Zī-Hijjah of that year he encamped in the plain of Rādakān, and having mustered his forces, both Turk and Tāzīk, he commenced his march, and in due time his tents were pitched in sight of Hirāt.

⁸ The text differs here in some copies. Some have “by the name *and* coin,” others “by the name *of the* coin,” &c, both of which are meaningless.

⁹ Not desiring to be roasted in a bath. His first title was Shihāb ud-Dīn.

¹ The reader would imagine, from the above, that the Ghūrīan Sultāns were

short, he never sustained a complete overthrow and he used to give proofs of his skill and bravery but, as those Sultāns were monarchs of great power and magnificence he was unable to cope with them effectually.

When the Sultāns of Ghūr died Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh appeared before the gates of Hirāt*, and

in the constant habit of invading Khurāsān; but the facts are mentioned in the preceding note † page 255.

* Any one reading the above would imagine that Hirāt sustained *one* siege only by the Khwārazmī forces during this reign, and that one *after* Shihāb-ud Dīn's decease and our author whose idea of epitomizing events appears to have been to leave out three out of four or combine three into one, has done the latter here. Hirāt sustained no less than three sieges, and one of these occurred before the death of Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, and the second long before the death of Shihāb-ud Dīn. The first occurred at the close of 598 H. upon which occasion, the Khwārazmī army having invested it, after the battering-rams had been freely piled on either side, the governor Izz-ud Dīn, Umar Maraghani a man of experience, saw no other remedy than to submit. He sent his son to the Sultān's presence, and the terms were agreed upon, and a large sum of money was paid as ransom.

Hearing of the investment of Hirāt, the Sultāns of Ghūr and Ghazni made all haste to endeavour to relieve it, and recover what they had lost in western Khurāsān; and Shihāb-ud Dīn at the head of a large army advanced by way of Tāshkān for that purpose. Sultān Muḥammad thought it advisable to retire which he did, and proceeded towards Marw by way of Marw-ar Rūd. When he reached Sarakhs he halted, and negotiations went on between him and the Ghūrīs, who sought the cession of some portion of Khurāsān, the details of which are too long for insertion here. These events took place in 599 H.

Shihāb-ud Dīn, shortly after however heard of the death of his brother and he hastily withdrew from Khurāsān, leaving Muḥammad Kharmak, the greatest of the Ghūrī nobles, and the champion of Ghūr to hold Marw. The latter however having been overthrown by a body of Khwārazmī troops, threw himself into that place, but it was captured, and his head was struck off and sent to the Sultān at Khwārazm.

This success so greatly elated the Khwārazmī nobles and ministers that they advised the Sultān to march again against Hirāt, and to take possession of it, whilst the Ghūrīs were fighting among themselves about the late Sultān's inheritance, as the Hirātīs would receive him with open arms. In the month of Jamādī-ul Awwāl, 600 H.—Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn had died in the previous year [some say he died in 598 H. and others in 597 H.]—the Sultān appeared before Hirāt for the *second* time; and, after immense stones had been poured into the bazārs and streets of the place, negotiations for surrender were again opened by Alb-i-Ghāzī, the governor *sister's son* of the two Ghūrī Sultāns; and after stipulations had been entered into for the safety of life and property and the payment of a large sum of money the place was given up.

Some years passed between this affair and the next investment of Hirāt, during which time Shihāb-ud Dīn invaded Khwārazm, and had to beat a precipitate retreat, particulars of which will be found under his reign farther on. Shihāb-ud Dīn had subsequently entered into a treaty of peace with Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and had been ~~assassinated~~, Khwārazm Shāh had

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain-i-Kharmīl, Ghūrī, came out and paid homage to him, and the Sultān brought all Khurāsān under his sway. When, by his command, Ḥusain-i-Kharmīl was seized by his troops, a Khwājah of Hirāt, named Sa'd-ud-Dīn, a native of Tirmīz, succeeded in getting away from the [Khawāzmi] army, and threw himself into

annexed the Ghaznī territory, and the successor of Sultān Ghuyās-ud-Dīn had acknowledged Sultān Muḥammad's suzerainty *before* the next investment of Hirāt took place, on which occasion the waters of the Harī-rūd were dammed up, and 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain-i-Kharmīl, one of the Ghūrīān nobles, had in the meanwhile become Wālī of Hirāt and its dependencies, which he held of Sultān Maḥmūd, son of the late Ghuyās-ud-Dīn. Kharmīl, being suspicious of the upshot of the affairs of Ghūr, sent to the Sultān repeatedly tendering his allegiance to him. The Sultān was occupied with the affairs of Khitā-ī at the time, and could not proceed to Hirāt, as Kharmīl solicited him to do, and to take possession of it and its dependencies. At length the Sultān set out for Khurāsān, and, having taken possession of Balkh by the way, he marched by way of Jazūrān to Hirāt. He entered it in Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 607 H. After this Maḥmūd of Ghūr acknowledged his suzerainty, and read the Khutbah, and coined money in the Sultān's name, and sent him costly presents, including a *white elephant*. Kharmīl was continued in the government of Hirāt with a salary of 250,000 gold *dīnārs* yearly out of the revenues of Khurāsān.

After the Sultān returned to Khawāzmi, and became occupied in the affairs of Khitā-ī, and a rumour had spread abroad that the Sultān had been taken prisoner by the Khitā-īs, Kharmīl became disaffected, and began intriguing with the Ghūrī ruler, and again coined money in his name [from this it would appear that the governor of every province had a mint, or rather coined money, at the provincial capital], and apologized for the past, but the Ghūrīs, being enraged at his past conduct, resolved upon hostility, and determined to try and oust him from Hirāt, and advanced with an army towards it. Kharmīl, who in the meantime had heard of the Sultān's safety, fearing the consequences of his acts, and in order to palliate them, called upon the Khawāzmi nobles stationed in eastern Khurāsān to aid him in resisting the Ghūrīs. They came to his assistance with a body of troops, and, after oaths and stipulations of safe-conduct, Kharmīl came out, and in combination they routed the forces of Ghūr, and this blow quite broke the little power still possessed by them. The Khawāzmi nobles now wrote to Sultān Muḥammad, saying that Hirāt was like a forest, and Kharmīl like a lion within it, and thought the time propitious for getting rid of him. They kept on good terms with him until the Sultān's reply reached them, after which they invited him to a consultation. When the council broke up, the Malik of Zawzan, Kawām-ud-Dīn, invited Kharmīl to his quarters to a feast and drinking bout. He excused himself under plea of want of leisure. Kawām-ud-Dīn seized his bridle as though determined to take no denial, and gave a sign to the rest of the nobles and chiefs along with him, who drew their swords, dispersed Kharmīl's followers, and dragged him on foot to their tents. He was sent away a prisoner to the fortress of Salomad of Khawāf [another historian says "of Zawzan" it is probably the Salā-Mihr of our author, see page 283], and his effects were seized, and a short time afterwards his head was sent to Khawāzmi.

the city and for a period of eleven months, he continued to hold the place³

The Khwārazmī army by a contrivance devised by Husain i Kharmīl, dammed up the water of the river of Hirāt above the city and all round became like unto a sea and matters assumed such an aspect, that, if the city had not been entirely surrounded by walls, the water which rose higher than the housetops, would have overwhelmed it. As it was, upon one or two occasions the ground opened in the middle of the city and water issued forth from the midst, but it was diverted [and the danger obviated]

For a period of eight months hostilities continued between the defenders of the city and the Khwārazmī forces in boats⁴ and when eleven months of the investment had passed Sultān Muḥammad i Takīsh arrived⁵ from Khwārazm, and gave directions that the dyke [which kept the water in] should be opened, and when the water flowed out, it carried along with it about three hundred

³ The steward or deputy in Kharmīl's employ Zaydī by name, a man of sentences and cunning, managed to throw himself into the fortress, seeing the state of affairs, and shut himself up there. He was joined by Kharmīl's followers and all the vagabonds and rascals of the city among whom he distributed the wealth in Kharmīl's treasury and defied the Khwārazmī forces. It so happened that the Sultān, on account of the disaffection of a relative of his mother, who held the government of Shād yākh, had come into Khurāsān at this juncture, and had reached Sarakhs on his return. Zaydī now began to fear the consequences of his temerity and to plead as an excuse that he could not place any confidence in the Khwārazmī nobles for his safety and that he was merely awaiting the arrival of the Sultān at Hirāt to give it up. This the nobles communicated to the Sultān, and solicited him to come. He did so, and, on being made acquainted with Zaydī's doings, his anger was so much kindled, that *he ordered that the waters should be dammed up*. When the waters had accumulated sufficiently the dam was opened, the waters rushed in, and one of the principal bastions fell. The ditch near was filled up with trees and rubbish, and rendered practicable for the troops and one day whilst Zaydī was entertaining his vagabond followers, the Khwārazmī soldiers planted the Sultān's standards on the walls, rushed in, slew them, and carried the place. Zaydī sought to get away unnoticed, but was seized, and dragged before the Sultān by the hair of his head. After this the Sultān directed that plunder should cease, and the shops were again opened and thus was Hirāt freed from the tyranny of Zaydī and his gang. As Kharmīl had been put to death some time before, his having advised the damming up of the Harī Rūd is, like many other of our author's statements, purely imaginary.

⁴ Boats are not mentioned in all the copies.

⁵ Two paragraphs before this our author states that Sultān Muḥammad appeared before the gates of Hirāt and invested it, but now says quite differently

ells of the walls of the city, and a breach was thereby effected, and, after fifteen days' fighting, the city was taken by assault

After this success the Sultān marched to Balkh, and gained possession of that place likewise, and Malīk 'Imād-ud-Dīn, 'Umr, Fīwārī⁶ [native of Fīwār], who was governor of the province of Balkh, on the part of the Sultāns of Bāmiān, was sent away [as a prisoner] to Khwārazm. From thence the Sultān set out towards Māwar-un-Nahr and Turkistān, and the whole of the Malīks and Sultāns of the Afrāsiyābī dynasty, who held territory in the countries of Māwar-un-Nahr and Farghā-nāh, presented themselves before him

He then turned his face towards Kulij⁷ Khān of Khitā-i,

⁶ In some copies he is called Malīk Imād-ul-Mulk, Āhwāzī, and in some it is stated that he *went*, in others that he was *sent*, and in others that he was *taken*. Balkh was surrendered *before* the last investment of Hirāt, as mentioned in the preceding note. Imād-ud-Dīn, having been found acting perfidiously, instead of being put to death, was removed from the government of Balkh and sent to Khwārazm, and was employed elsewhere

⁷ Our author has misplaced the order of these events and related them incorrectly, as well as confounded one with another. After the death of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, in 602 H, Sultān Muḥammad, having no cause for anxiety respecting the safety of his dominions in Khurāsān, turned his attention to Māwar-un-Nahr, which had remained in subjection to the infidels of Khitā-i since the defeat of Sultān Sanjar. The chiefs of that territory had repeatedly solicited him to deliver them from the yoke of those infidels, and, being quite wearied and disgusted with the constant arrivals of agents from Gūr Khān demanding payment of the tribute, which he had purposely kept in arrears, and which his father, Takīsh, had agreed to pay to the sovereigns of Khitā-i for assistance rendered to him against his brother, Sultān Shāh, he now readily acceded to these requests, considering himself powerful enough to ignore all future payments, which he had long considered dishonourable to his sovereignty.

Bukhārā at this time was held by a mean upstart named Sanjar Malīk. It was annexed, and the upstart met with his deserts. The Sultān then despatched an agent to 'Uṣmān, Sultān of Samrḳand, of the race of Afrāsiyāb, and of the family of Bughrā Khān, the antagonist of the latter Sāmāniān princes. He was already disaffected towards Gūr Khān, for he had solicited the hand of a daughter of the latter, and had been refused, so he became secretly a zealous ally of the Sultān. This was in 606 H, and, after consulting with the Sultān of Sultāns—as 'Uṣmān had been hitherto styled—and his chiefs, Sultān Muḥammad returned to Khwārazm to prepare for the campaign.

In the eastern parts of Gūr Khān's dominions, his great vassals at this period began to act rebelliously, and Kojlak [called Koshlak and Kūshlak by some writers, but not Kashlū, as our author writes it], son of Tāe-nāk [also written Tayā-nak] Khān, the Nāemān ruler, who had fled from the power of Chingiz Khān, and had sought Gūr Khān's protection, was at his court, and ready to take advantage of any outbreak against his protector.

and throughout the territories of *Khūṭā* † and the country of *Turkistān*, as far as *Bilāsā ghūn* and *Kāshghar*, the *Khūṭbah* was read for him and the coin was impressed with his name. The forces of *Khūṭā* †, which, in point of numbers, were beyond account and computation, advanced to encounter him. At the head of these forces was *Bānko* of *Ṭarāz*, a Turk of great age and wisdom but victorious in battle. He had fought forty five engagements, in the whole of which he had been victorious and he had defeated *Sulṭān Sanjar* son of *Malik Shāh*, and overthrown *Sulṭān Muʿizz ud Dīn*, *Muḥammad i Sām* before *Andkhūd*, and at this time, he was at the head of that army.

When the battle ensued *Sulṭān Muḥammad* received divine succour and heavenly assistance, and overthrew the host of *Khūṭā* †, and took *Bānko* of *Ṭarāz* prisoner and he was converted to the true faith by means of the *Sulṭān* himself and was treated with respect and honour*.

Sulṭān Muḥammad thought this opportunity propitious, and such as he had long sought. He accordingly marched to *Samrānd*, and, being joined by *Ugmīn* and other vassals, set out to invade *Gūr Khān*'s dominions, reached the *Jīshn* of *Fanākat*, and crossed. Having advanced into the territory of *Ṭarāz*, the *Khwārazmī* forces found *Bānko* [several writers call him *Tānko*], of *Ṭarāz*—famous as *Jai-tīmūr* son of *Kaldūz*, elder brother of *Burāk*, the Chamberlain, who subsequently usurped the government of *Kirmān*—the commander-in-chief of *Gūr Khān*'s troops, at the head of a numerous, brave, and well-equipped army drawn up to receive them. An obstinate and bloody battle ensued in *Rabʿ-ul Awwal*, 607 H. which terminated in the complete overthrow of the *Khūṭā* † forces. *Bānko*, of *Ṭarāz*, was wounded and taken, as related on the next page, and booty to a vast amount fell into the hands of the victors. This victory filled all the neighbouring rulers with fear and awe of *Sulṭān Muḥammad*'s power and he now assumed the title of "The Second Alexander."

In the previous year *Māzandarān* had been annexed, and in this same year [607 H.] *Kirmān* was also added to his dominions. Who *Ḳulī Khān* was it would be difficult to tell; he is a totally different person to *Kojlak* [*Koghak*], by our author's own account, and cannot be intended for *Gūr Khān*, as he mentions that ruler subsequently. *Kashlū* is evidently mistaken for *Kojlak*. *Bānko*, of *Ṭarāz*, was *Gūr Khān*'s general, as stated above.

* How absurd, or rather deceptive, our author's statements are compared with the accounts of writers who state facts, or who at least, know what they were writing about! *Baniko* was wounded in this severe encounter and was left on the field with only a slave-girl standing over him. A *Khwārazmī* soldier coming up was about to cut off his head, when the girl cried out to him not to slay him, for it was *Bānko*. He was taken accordingly to the *Sulṭān*'s presence, and afterwards sent to *Khwārazm* as a trophy with the bulletin announcing the victory. When *Sulṭān Muḥammad* returned to *Khwārazm*, on the termination of this campaign, he ordered *Bānko* to be put to death, and

A reliable person among the trustworthy has related, that, when Bāniko of Tarāz became a Musalmān, Sultān Muhammad was wont to show him great deference and respect, and used constantly to send for him, and was in the habit of questioning him respecting the past events [in the history] of Khītā-ī, and the previous Maliks [kings] who had fought with him in the forty-five encounters he had been engaged in, the whole of which the Sultān made inquiry about of him. Upon one occasion, when engaged in such conversation, the Sultān inquired of him, saying — “In all these battles which you have fought, and amid the monarchs you have defeated, which among the whole of them was the most valiant and the sturdiest in battle?” Bāniko replied — “I found none more valiant, more impetuous in battle, or more intrepid than the Ghūrī⁹, and, if he had had an army along with him refreshed and not worn out, I should never have been able to beat him, but, he had retreated before the army of Khawārazm, and but a small number of cavalry remained with him, and their horses had become thin and weak.” Sultān Muhammad replied — “You speak truly.” The mercy of God be upon them!

Sultān Muhammad having gained such a great success, the second year after, again assembled an army, and led a force of 400,000 effective cavalry, both horses and riders arrayed in defensive armour¹, into Khītā-ī, and completely

his body was cast into the river. There is not a word as to his having been converted to Islām. This was the “deference and respect” he received. What follows, as to the conversations about the Ghūrīs, must be taken at its true value. See also note ⁹, page 283.

⁹ Here again we see the determination to glorify all things Ghūrīān. One of the oldest copies has “if his army and himself had been refreshed,” &c. For a correct account of this affair, see the reign of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, otherwise Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, Section XVII.

¹ After the victory gained over Bāniko, the Sultān marched against the Malik of Utrār, who, notwithstanding the Sultān had invited him to sever his connexion with Gūr Khān, refused. His chiefs, however, on the approach of the Khawārazm Shāhī troops, forced him to submit. He came out clothed in a winding sheet, and with a sword hanging about his neck, but was pardoned on the understanding that he should be removed together with his family, kinsmen, and dependents to Nisā, in Upper Khurāsān, and Sultān Muhammad placed a governor of his own in Utrār. After this, the Sultān returned to Samrḳand, and bestowed a daughter in marriage upon Sultān 'Uṣmān, and leaving an intendant of his own at Samrḳand, returned to Khawārazm. It was at this time that he gave orders to put Bāniko to death, and ambassadors

overthrew Gūr Khān who was the Great Khān of [Kārā] Khujā ī. The whole of the horses, camels and other

from all parts hastened to tender their masters' submission; and it was at this period that dissension showed itself at Jund among the remaining vassals of Kādir Khān [called Kadr Khān by our author and some few other writers, who appear to have copied from him], and therefore Sulṭān Muḥammad did not rest long at his capital, but put his forces in motion and marched to Jund. After exterminating those rebels, Sulṭān Uḡmān and his family took up their residence in Khwārazm and some authors state that he was soon after in the year 609 H. put to death. Having disposed of the affairs of Jund, information reached the Sulṭān that 30,000 of Gūr Khān's troops had appeared before Samrḡand, and invested the city.

The Khujā ī forces used their utmost endeavours to take it, but their incessant attacks were of no avail. The Sulṭān was hastening his preparations to relieve it, when the Khujā ī forces were recalled to act against Kojlak, the Nīemān, who was now making head again. The Sulṭān marched to Samrḡand, and, having been joined by additional forces from various parts, set out from Samrḡand against A nāk [or I'nāk, or Ighnāk?], the ruler of which was in alliance with Gūr Khān. He had been summoned to submit to the Sulṭān upon very favourable terms, but, trusting to the strength of his fortress, refused. A force was detached against him and he was compelled to submit.

The Sulṭān, who had heard of Kojlak's successes, became more ambitious than ever and Kojlak entered into secret negotiations with him, and incited him to another invasion of Gūr Khān's territory. The agreement was, that whoever could first dispossess Gūr Khān of the territories of Kāshghar and Khutan as far as the Jīpūn should have them; and, in case the Sulṭān did so, Kojlak was to have the remainder. Gūr Khān, having obtained information respecting the Sulṭān's movements, also prepared to oppose him.

The Sulṭān had traitors also in his camp. Two of his great vassals, the governor of Samrḡand, and the Aṣṣabed [also written Asafhed, the title borne by the Mālīks of Tabaristān and Rustandār], despatched agents to Gūr Khān secretly and offered to desert the Sulṭān with their troops on the day of battle, if, in case of success, the former should have Khwārazm and the latter Khuristān assigned to him as the price of his treachery. This was guaranteed; and on the day of the engagement, when the ranks of the two armies were drawn up in array the left wing of the Khujā īs attacked the right of the Khwārazmīs; and, as agreed upon, the two nobles with their troops, who appear to have been stationed in the right wing, retired from the field, and the Sulṭān's right wing was forced back and broken. In the meantime, the latter's left wing broke the right of the Khujā īs and routed them, and the centres of both armies fell upon each other. The wings on either side began to plunder and neither party knew whether they were the conquerors or conquered. It was usual with the Sulṭān to disguise himself on the day of battle, by dressing in the costume of the enemy and on this occasion, in the utter confusion which ensued, the centres of both armies having become disengaged from each other the Sulṭān got mixed up with the enemy's troops and not being recognized by his attendants, for some days he was in the greatest danger in the very camp of the enemy. Finding an opportunity however he succeeded in getting away reached the river of Fanākat, and restored fresh life to his troops. The news of the Sulṭān's disappearance, however had spread into all parts of his dominions. Some said he had been killed, some that he had been

cattle, baggage, and followers of the army of Kh̲itā-i were captured, and the Great Kh̲ān retreated, discomfited before him. Suddenly Kashlū Kh̲ān, the Tatār, who had come from Turkistān, fell upon Gūr Kh̲ān, attacked him, and made him captive, and the whole of the dominions of Kh̲itā² were left in the possession of Sulṭān Muḥammad-i made prisoner, for no authentic account had been received, and the ambitious were ready to take advantage of it.

As soon as he joined his army, messengers were sent out into all parts to intimate his safety, and the Sulṭān returned to Kh̲wārazm to prepare for a fresh campaign. It was on the occasion of the Sulṭān's disappearance, that Kh̲armil of Hirāt became disaffected, and began intriguing with the Gh̲ūrīs.

The Kh̲itā-i troops on their retreat through their own territory slew and plundered their own people, and devastated the whole country until they reached Bilāsā gh̲ūn, called Gh̲ū-bāligh, by the Mughals. On reaching that city they found the gates closed against them, for the inhabitants made sure that Sulṭān Muḥammad would annex that part, and that he must be following Gūr Kh̲ān's troops with his army, and therefore refused to admit them. All the promises and oaths of Gūr Kh̲ān and his Wazīr were of no avail, and the place was attacked and defended for sixteen days, in expectation of the arrival of the Kh̲wārazmī troops. At last it was taken and given up to plunder and massacre, which went on for three days and nights, and a vast amount of booty was taken by the troops.

Two or three writers mention these occurrences *immediately after* the first defeat of Gūr Kh̲ān's troops, when Bāniko was taken, but this is impossible, as, very shortly after the sacking of Bilāsā gh̲ūn, Gūr Kh̲ān was seized by Kojlak, and his dynasty terminated after it had lasted ninety-five years. The cause of it was this — Gūr Kh̲ān II — for he was the second of the name — was desirous of enriching himself and replenishing his coffers, by making his nobles and chiefs disgorge the booty they had acquired by the sacking of Bilāsā gh̲ūn and country round. This caused great disorders, which Kojlak becoming aware of, and finding that Gūr Kh̲ān had been almost deserted by his troops, suddenly surrounded his camp. Kojlak treated him with respect, but possessed himself of great part of his territory. This took place in 610 H, and two years after Gūr Kh̲ān was put to death — some say he died.

Most works are, more or less, defective with respect to the Sulṭān's campaigns against Gūr Kh̲ān, and dates are not often mentioned. The Rauzat-us-Ṣafā only mentions *one* battle, others mention two, but Guzīdah says there were three battles in all, but gives no details. Here, I regret to say, my excellent guide, Yāfa-i, which gives full details of two battles, already mentioned, becomes somewhat abrupt with respect to the affairs of Gūr Kh̲ān, and, possibly, there may be an hiatus in the MS, as, from the context, a third and more decisive battle is implied, and it must have been after a third encounter that Bilāsā gh̲ūn was sacked, and Kojlak was enabled to seize the person of Gūr Kh̲ān. The second encounter took place in 610 H, and Fasīḥ-i, under the events of 612 H, mentions that, in that year, Sulṭān Muḥammad acquired sway over the whole of Māwar-un-Nahr, which had continued in the possession of the infidels of Karā-Kh̲itā-i, and the Mughals, since Sulṭān Sanjar's defeat. On the other hand, however, most writers state that Gūr Kh̲ān was taken prisoner in 610 H, and died in 612 H.

² Gross exaggeration, as shown by the notes

Takīsh The Sultān of Samrkand and the Afrāsīyābī Sultāns he directed should be removed from Samrkand³, and some of them were martyred

From thence [Samrkand ?] Sultān Muḥammad advanced into Irāk and the territories of Irāk Āzarbāijān and Fārs fell into his hands. He took the Atā bak Sa d captive in battle, as has already been stated, and the Atā bak Yūz bak was likewise put to flight⁴. He placed his son Sultān

³ All the copies, except one of the oldest, are minus the words "from Samrkand." Our author inverts the order of most of the events of this reign, as the previous notes show

⁴ Our author on a previous page, has mentioned the hostility existing between the Abbāsī Khalfahs and Sultān Takīsh Muḥammad's father and the arrival in Ghūr of ambassadors from Baghdād to negotiate with the brothers, Sultāns Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn and Shihāb-ud Dīn and his own father's return to Baghdād along with them; and, likewise, the Khalfah's continued enmity towards the son of Takīsh also. No sooner had Sultān Takīsh died, than the Sultāns of Ghūr and Ghaznī hastened to take advantage of the Khalfah's recommendation, notwithstanding our author's absurd statement at page 255. He was too orthodox a Muslimān, of course, to mention such a horrid circumstance as the Khalfah Un Nāṣir's, despatching an agent to the infidel Chingiz Khān prior to the period of this expedition into Irāk, inciting him to make war upon Sultān Muḥammad—a Muslimān, and of which faith he [Un Nāṣir] was himself the patriarch and head! It was upon this occasion that, fearing to send a letter the communication addressed to the traitor Muḥammad, Yalwā, the minister of Chingiz, was written or rather tattooed [there is a precisely similar story in Herodotus] on the agent's shaven head. The hair was left to grow over it before he was despatched, lest even that mode of communication might be discovered. Among other causes of hostility was this:—The Sultān's flag, borne by the kīrwān of pilgrims to Makkah, was placed behind that of Jalāl ud Dīn, Ḥasan, of Ālamūt, the Mullāhidah heretic, lately turned orthodox; and another was that the Khalfah borrowed, so to speak, several Fiddāṣ [volunteers, or disciples rather of the head of the Mullāhidahs are so called] from the former intending to despatch them to assassinate the Sultān; and had sent some of these disciples to murder the Sharīf of Makkah, but, instead, they assassinated his brother. Further when Sultān Muḥammad acquired possession of Ghaznī, after the death of Tāj ud Dīn, I-yal-dūz [styled Yal-dūz, and Yal-duz by some], in 611 H. and gained possession of the treasury of the late Sultān Shihāb-ud Dīn, Ghūrī, a document was found therein, from the Khalfah to the Ghūrī Sultān, urging them to hostility against him [Muḥammad], which accounted for the persistent hostility of the brothers towards him, notwithstanding our author's ridiculous statement referred to above. At length, in 613 H. the Sultān having sufficient excuse, obtained the necessary decree from the chief ecclesiastic of his dominions issued a proclamation to the effect that as long as a descendant of Fāṭimah lived the Abbāsīs had no right to the Khilāfat, and that the then Khalfah was to be considered dethroned. His name was omitted from the Khutbah and the coin, and the name of Sayyid Abū-ul Mulk [some few call him Alī ud Dīn] of Tirmid, a lineal descendant of Imām Ḥusain, was inserted instead and he was to be considered as the rightful Khalfah.

Rukn-ud-Dīn, styled Ghūrī Shānastī, on the throne of 'Irāk, and appointed Uluḡh Khān-i-Abī Muhammad, his Atā-bak and Lieutenant, and the Maliks of Ghūr were directed to proceed into that territory⁵

Sultān Muhammad now left 'Irāk, and set out on his return to Māwar-un-Nahr, but, turning suddenly off from

The Sultān assembled an army accordingly for the purpose of proceeding to Baghdād, ousting Un-Nāsir, and placing Sayyid 'Alā-ul-Mulk in his place.

On reaching Damghān, Sultān Muḥammad found that the Atā-bak Sa'd, ruler of Fārs, with an army, had reached Rai with hostile designs against the territory of 'Irāk. He pushed on without delay, and at once attacked him. The troops of Shīrāz were broken and overthrown at the first onset, and Sa'd was taken prisoner. The Sultān was for putting him to death, but Sa'd, having made interest with the Malik of Zauzan, was admitted, through him, to the Sultān's presence. Sa'd was released on the agreement to give up two of the strongest fortresses of Fārs, one of which was Iṣṭakhur, and to pay one-fourth of the revenues as tribute. Fasiḥ ī states that this took place in 603 H, but Yāfa-ī and Guzīdah say it happened in 613 H, while Rauzat uṣ-Safā, Khulāṣat-ul-Akhbār, and some others, say in 614 H. It is somewhat strange that Sa'd did not attempt to shake off the yoke and break the treaty after the disasters which befell the Sultān soon after, if the two latter dates be the more correct. Sa'd made over his son Zangī as a hostage and was allowed to depart, as already related, see page 176 and page 177, note²

At this same time the Atā-bak Yūz-bak, ruler of Āzurbāijān, had also marched from that territory with the object of invading 'Irāk, and had reached Hamadān. The Khwārazmī forces advanced against him, but, on their reaching Hamadān, Yūz-bak decamped. The Sultān's nobles urged pursuit, but that monarch refused his sanction, saying that it would be a bad omen to take two kings in one year, so Yūz-bak got safely back to his own territory. As soon as he did so, however, he sent envoys with rich presents to the Sultān, and acknowledged his sovereignty.

In the meantime, the advance of the Sultān into 'Irāk had filled Un-Nāsir and his people with terror. Un-Nāsir despatched an agent to Hamadān to endeavour to deter him by remonstrances and threats, but found them of no use with the Sultān with 300,000 horse at his back, who was resolved to persist. When he reached the Hulwān Pass [the town of Asad-ābād] it was autumn, and, whilst there encamped, he encountered a heavy fall of snow, which rose even higher than the tent walls, and nearly the whole of the cattle of his army, and a great number of men, perished. This was the first disaster he had ever met with, and he had to abandon the expedition and return to Hamadān. When the cold season drew towards a close, he thought it advisable to retrace his steps. He returned to Rai, and remained in that part for a little while to repair his losses and reorganize his forces, and arrange the affairs of that territory. He was on his return from thence, where he had left his son, Rukn-ud-Dīn, in charge of the government, when a messenger reached him from the governor of Utrār, intimating the arrival there of a number of Tatār spies, as he termed them, with a large amount of valuable property. For details see farther on.

⁵ To serve with their contingents. They were subordinate then.

the banks of the river Jazār⁶ he pushed on towards Bāmīān and, suddenly and unawares, pounced upon Sulṭān Jalāl ud Dīn Alī son of Sām ruler of Bāmīān, seized him and martyred him and then returned [to Khwārazm]

In the year 612 H., Sulṭān Muḥammad advanced from Māwar un Nahr and came to Ghaznīn and suddenly and unexpectedly possessed himself of the Ghaznīn territories likewise. Sulṭān Tāj ud Dīn, Yal-duz retired towards Hindūstān⁷ by the way of Sang i Sūrākh and the countries of Ghaznīn Zāwulistan and Kābul as far as the banks of the Sind, came under the jurisdiction of the Khwārazmī nobles. The Khān sālar [the Sewer of the imperial household] Kuriz⁸ was stationed at Ghaznīn and the countries of Ghūr Ghaznīn the Bilād i Dāwar [Zamīn i Dawar] Jarūm and the throne of the two Sulṭāns, Ghuyās-ud Dīn and Muizz ud Dīn sons of Muḥammad i Sām was conferred, by the Sulṭān, upon his eldest son Sulṭān Jalāl ud Dīn Mang barnī after which he himself returned to Māwar un Nahr

In the year 615 H., he pushed on towards Turkistān in pursuit of Kadr Khān⁹ who was the son of Yūsuf the Tatār and penetrated as far as Yīghur¹ [I ghūr] of Turkistān, so far to the north, that he came under the North Pole, and reached a tract where the light of twilight did not disappear at all from the sight and to the vision in the direction of the north the glow seemed merely to incline [change over] from the west to the east, and the light of dawn appeared and the day broke.

The matter was accordingly referred to the Ulamā and Muftis of Bukhārā respecting the obligation to repeat the last prayer at night² [question being asked] to this effect —

⁶ In most copies this part of the sentence is left out altogether. The name is also written Jowār.

⁷ I yal-dūs [or Yal-dūs] was taken prisoner and put to death by I yal-tīmīsh in 611 H. before the buljān entered the Ghaznīn territory.

⁸ This name differs considerably in some copies of the text.

⁹ There is no expedition against any ruler styled Kadr Khān mentioned by other writers at this period, for it was in this very year that the Sulṭān fled from the Mughal invaders. Our author has evidently lost himself again. At page 254, he says the Sulṭān's mother was the daughter of Kadr Khān of Kīfchūk, and he, incorrectly styles the governor of Utrār by the same name; and thus no less than *three* Kadr Khāns are mentioned.

¹ All the copies of the text are somewhat at variance here with respect to this name but it is mentioned again farther on, and is quite plain in several copies.

² Prayer before retiring to rest, repeated some two or three hours after sunset.

As the light of twilight did not disappear at all, whether the prayer before sleep was necessary or not? They, with one accord, wrote a reply, that the prayer before sleep was not necessary, when the prescribed time for it could not be found with the people inhabiting such region³

Qadr Khān, the Tatār, having in this expedition been overcome, the calamity of the infidels of Chīn arose, and the darkness of the night of sedition and tumult showed its head from the mantle-collar of actuality, and was the beginning of dire misfortunes to the true faith, and the commencement of calamities and afflictions upon the Muhammadan people That circumstance occurred after this manner — Chingiz Khān, the Mughal, had a son, the eldest of all his sons, Tūshī⁴ by name At this time, this

³ Having noticed in the month of June at St Petersburg that the light did not leave the sky during the whole night, and being desirous of discovering as nearly as possible how far north of the Sīhūn the Sultān may really have penetrated, as the territory of Tarāz is the most northern tract reached by the Sultān, according to Yāfa-i, I referred the paragraph to the Rev Robert Main, M A, Radcliffe Observer, at Oxford, and to the kindness of that gentleman I am much indebted for the following explanation —

“It is usually considered that twilight exists as long as the sun is not more than 18° below the horizon, and hence we shall readily find that the *lowest* latitude which will have twilight all night, at midsummer, will be 48° 30' (= sun's solstitial N P D — 18° = 66° 30' — 18°) As we go northwards, of course the twilight will continue longer, till, at the Arctic circle, the sun does not set on midsummer-day

“I presume, therefore, that the Sultān's expedition was towards the north, and the time not far from midsummer, and, from the expressions used, he must have been getting into rather high latitudes, where the sun, after dipping for a little while, would soon transfer the twilight glow from the west to the east It would appear also that the Sultān and his army had never seen this phenomenon before, by their apparent surprise at it, and by his sending for advice concerning the evening prayer”

From the above remarks it would also further appear, that Sultān Muhammad could not have had any people in his army who had ever been so far north before, and he and they were so much surprised that they concluded [or, rather, our author concluded] that they must be “under the North Pole” It also seems strange that he should see the necessity of writing to Bukhārā for advice, since we might suppose that the people of Khwārazm would have been aware of the fact of this phenomenon

The territory of Tarāz lies between 46° and 49° N lat

⁴ Also called Jūjī This affair took place a considerable time *after* the merchants had been put to death, and *subsequent* to the Sultān's return from 'Irāk, and, of course, our author has put it *before* See note ², page 272 Whilst delaying at Samrkand, intimation was brought to Sultān Muhammad that Tūk-Tughān, one of the chiefs of Turkistān, of the tribe of Takrīt, was retreating before the Mughals towards Karā-Kurūm, the *locale* of the Kankuli tribe, and that he,

Tūshī, by command of Chingiz Khān his father had come out of the territory of Chīn in pursuit of an army of Tatārs, and Sultān Muḥammad from Māwar-un-Nahr and Khurāsān, had likewise pushed on in the same direction, and the two armies fell in with each other.

A battle ensued between them and the fighting slaughter struggle, and conflict continued and was maintained from the beginning of the day until the time of

with some troops, had turned his steps in the direction of Jund. The Sultān now moved from Samrīkand towards Jund by way of Bukhārā, to guard his own territory and prevent their entering it; but, hearing that they were pursued by a numerous army of Chingiz Khān's, under the leadership of his son, Jūshī or Tūshī, the Sultān again returned to Samrīkand, and taking with him the remainder of his forces previously left there, advanced with great pomp at the head of a large force to Jund thinking, as the author from whom a portion of these extracts are taken says, to bring down two birds with one arrow. [In the meantime, in 615 H. Kojlak had been overthrown by Chingiz, and slain.] He pushed on [from Jund] until he reached a place in Kāshghar lying between two small rivers where evidences of a late conflict, in the shape of fresh blood and numerous dead bodies, were discovered. Search was made, and one among those who had fallen was discovered to be still alive. From information gained from the wounded man, it was found that Chingiz Khān's troops had there overtaken Tūshī Tug'han and his followers, who had been defeated and put to the sword, after which Jūshī and his Mughals had set out to rejoin his father. Hearing also that the Mughals had only marched that very day the Sultān pushed on, and by dawn the next morning came up with them, and at once prepared to engage them. The Mughal leaders were not willing to fight, saying that they had been sent in pursuit of prey which they had already entrapped, and had not permission from Chingiz Khān, but that they could not retire if the Sultān should attack them; and, at the same time, advised that he should not make matters worse than they were already between himself and Chingiz Khān, by any fresh act of hostility. Sultān Muḥammad's good star was on the wane, and he attacked the Mughals, who stood their ground manfully. The right wings of either army as is often the case in eastern as it has frequently been in western battles, broke their respective opponents, and the Mughals at last attacked the Sultān's centre, and forced it back some distance. The Sultān was in some danger when his gallant son, Jalāl ud Dīn, who had been victorious on the right, charged the Mughals in flank, and saved the centre from defeat. The fight was maintained with great obstinacy until night came, when each army retired to a short distance, confronting each other. The Mughals lighted an immense number of fires to deceive the Khwārazmīs, and decamped quietly during the night, and set out to join the camp of Chingiz, who was hastening his preparations for the invasion of the Sultān's territories. The Sultān halted on the field for a few days, and, after this occurrence, his mind, already much changed, appears to have given way entirely; and, having with his own eyes witnessed the vigour and tenacity of the Mughals, he became filled with apprehensions and misgivings, and retreated to Samrīkand without attempting anything more. Irresolution and bewilderment now marked all his proceedings. For further particulars, see page 274 and note ¹.

evening prayer, and the ranks of both the armies assumed the form of a circle. The right wing of the Musalmān forces routed the left wing of the infidels, and pursued after them, while the right wing of the Mughal infidels routed the left wing of the army of Islām and pursued it, and, in this manner, the armies assumed the form of a circle. This battle was maintained from the dawn of day, and, when night came, the two armies separated from each other, and withdrew to a short distance. There was a small stream of water between them, and the two armies halted, facing each other, on the banks of that stream and bivouacked. When the morning broke [it was found] that the Mughal army had marched away. They had lighted great fires, and had decamped, and left them burning.

Sultān Muhammad having thus witnessed and beheld with his own eyes, in this encounter, the warlike feats, the activity, and the efforts of the Mughal forces, the next day retired from that place, and fear and dread of them took possession of his heart and mind, and he never again came against them. This was one of the causes of the miseries and troubles which befell the Muslims.

The second reason was this: ^{the} ^{xford,} ^{flowing ex-} ^{causes of} ^{the miseries} ^{and troubles} ^{which befell the} ^{exists as} ^{Islamic} ^{Islām} ^{shall re-} ^{at r} ^{Chingiz Khān} broke out into revolt in the land of ^{at r} ^{Chingiz Khān} and Tamghāj, and the Greater⁵ Turkistān, and Altūn Khān of Tamghāj, who was sovereign of Upper Turkistān, and the lineal monarch of Karā Khitā-ī⁶, was overcome by him, and the territories of Tamghāj, Tingt, and Yīghur [I-ghūr], and Tatār, all fell into his hands, the news of these successes having come to the hearing of Sultān Muhammad, his mind became filled with ambition [for the possession] of Chīn, and he became desirous of obtaining authentic information respecting the forces of the Mughals, and the condition of Chingiz Khān. Accordingly, the most excellent Sayyid, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Rāzī⁷, with a party of other persons, were despatched on a

⁵ Or, Upper Turkistān the original word will serve for either

⁶ For our author's further and more detailed account of Chingiz Khān's proceedings, see last Section of this work.

⁷ Probably Ahmad, Khujandī, is the person whom our author has mistaken here, but I am rather inclined to think that this "excellent Sayyid" can be no other than the Badr-ud-Dīn referred to by Guzīdah, who was the chief Dīwān in Sultān Muhammad's service, and who became suspicious and disaffected on some account or other, and fled and took service with Chingiz. For account of further proceedings of this arch-traitor, see note 1, page 274.

mission to Chin^a, and, when these agents reached that country Chingiz Khān sent trustworthy and confidential persons of his own, bearing numerous rarities as presents to Sulṭān Muḥammad

I heard from the Sayyid Bahā ud Dīn—the mercy of the Almighty be upon him!—[who said —] When we reached the presence of Chingiz Khān the accursed the Wazīr of Tamghāj and the son and the uncle of Altūn Khān were brought in, and we were summoned. Then, turning his face towards them, Chingiz said — Behold my affairs and my sovereignty have attained to such a pitch of grandeur

Be this as it may our author differs wholly from other writers here. I have only space for a few details. A person named Aḥmad, a merchant of Khuḡand, and two others with a considerable quantity of merchandize suitable for the purpose set out for the great camp of Chingiz Khān. At this time he had reduced under his yoke most of the nomad tribes of Mughaliān and Turkistān — Tatārs, Mughals, I ghūrs, and others—and a portion of Chīn and Ma-ghīn. The merchants were well received and liberally treated. Subsequently Chingiz directed his sons, the great nobles, and others, to despatch servants of their own with merchandize into the territory of Sulṭān Muḥammad, to accompany Aḥmad of Khuḡand and the others on their return journey. A large party of merchants, numbering about 450, Musalmaṇs it is stated, left Chingiz Khān's territory with property of immense value, and set out, accordingly for the Sulṭān's dominions. At the same time, Chingiz Khān sent three agents of his own to the Sulṭān, intimating the despatch of these traders with the object of purchasing merchandize suitable for his camp; and, further to state that he had reduced the refractory around him to subjection and considerable tracts under his sway and that, in place of estrangement and distrust, intercourse and confidence might arise between them; that merchants and traders might be free to go and come; that their subjects and dominions might be secure and open to each other's people and that they might aid and assist each other under any circumstances that might arise. When they reached Utrār on the Sīr-dūn, the frontier capital of the Sulṭān's dominions in that direction, the governor Anṣār juḡ by name, a kinsman of the Sulṭān's mother who bore the title of Ghā ḡr Khān [not Kādī Khān, as our author states], being offended at the impertinence of one of Aḥmad Khuḡandī's party—said to have been a Hindū—who addressed him in too familiar a style; and his cupidity likewise being excited by the arrival of all this treasure and valuable property brought by the merchants sent off a messenger to the Sulṭān, announcing the arrival of a number of aples of the Tatār Chingiz, on their way into Irān, and asked permission to put them to death and confiscate their property.

The Sulṭān, whose mind was already disquieted at the successes of Chingiz, deceived by the perfidious message of Ghā ḡr Khān, and his temper still ruffled at the disaster he had so lately sustained, without thought or consideration most unfortunately gave his consent. The merchants, numbering about 450 Musalmaṇs, including Chingiz's messengers, were put to death, with the exception of one person, who eventually escaped, and told the tale to Chingiz; and the whole of their property was confiscated.

^a Most of the MSS. are defective here, and do not contain the last sentence.

that the monarch of the [empire of the] setting sun has sent envoys unto me' In short," said the Sayyid, "when he sent us away, he requested that envoys on both sides, and merchants, and kārwāns, should constantly come and go, and bring and take away with them choice descriptions of arms, cloths, and stuffs, and other articles of value and elegance of both empires, and that between the two monarchs a permanent treaty should be maintained"

He despatched merchants along with the envoys of Sultān Muhammad, with about five hundred camel-loads of gold, silver, silks, and targhū [a description of woven silk of a red colour], together with other precious and valuable commodities, that they might trade with them They entered the territory of Islām by way of Utrār

At that place, there was a governor named Kadr Khān⁹, and he sent an account to Sultān Muhammad respecting the importance and value of the merchandize, and solicited permission from him, in a perfidious manner, to stop the party of merchants Having obtained permission to do so, he seized the envoys and the whole of the merchants, and slew them, and took possession of all their property, and sent it to the Sultān's presence Of that party, there was one person, a camel-driver, who had gone to one of the [public] hot baths, and he succeeded in making his escape by way of the fire place He, having taken to the wilds, returned back to Chîn, and made Chingiz acquainted with the perfidious conduct of Kadr Khān of Utrār and the slaughter of the party¹

Chingiz Khān prepared to take revenge², and he caused

⁹ For his correct name and title, see preceding note⁷ At page 254, Kadr Khān is said, by our author, to have been the name of the ruler of Kischāh, and, at page 267, we have another Kadr Khān, son of Yūsuf the Tatār This is a *third*

¹ From our author's account of the putting the merchants to death, one would imagine that Chingiz Khān marched *without the least delay*, but a considerable time elapsed between that unfortunate act and the appearance of the Mughals before Utrār The first took place in 614 H, and the second in 616 H

² As soon as Chingiz became aware of this outrage, he despatched an envoy [some say, envoys] calling for redress for Ghā-ir Khān's perfidy, and demanding that the latter should be delivered over to him, to punish according to the Muhammadan law of *qisās*, but, as Ghā-ir Khān was related to many of the chief officers of his troops, the Sultān was powerless to comply, even had he so desired, and, in an evil hour, gave orders to put the envoy to death likewise. The rage of Chingiz knew no bounds he collected his troops to

the forces of Chīn and Turkistān to be got ready for that purpose. Trustworthy persons have related that at the place where he then was, seven³ hundred banners were brought forth, and under every banner one thousand horse men were arrayed. Every ten horsemen were directed to take with them three dried⁴ Mughāl sheep and an iron cauldron and he set out on his way.

From the place where Chingiz was at this period, to the boundary of Utrār was a three months journey through the wilderness and, along with his hosts, he despatched horses, mares, and geldings, without number to supply them with milk and for riding. The journey through the wilds was got over in a short time⁵ and he issued forth on the Utrār frontier and that fortress and city was taken and

take revenge and, according to a few authors, even despatched another envoy to announce his coming; but he took care in the first place to quell all disorders in his own dominions.

The Sulṭān having disposed of the affairs of Irāk, and having left his son, Rukn-ud Dīn, in charge of the government of the province—nominally it must be understood for Rukn-ud Dīn was only in his fifteenth year—set out for the purpose of proceeding into Māwar-un-Nahr. On reaching Nishāpūr on the 8th of Shawwāl, 614 H. contrary to his wont, he gave himself up to wine and women. After delaying there more than a month, on the 10th of Shabān, he marched to Bukhārā and, it being spring, pitched his tents in the pleasant meads near that city. Having given himself up to pleasure there also for some time, he assembled the troops of that part, and determined to move against Kojlak, who had been extending his dominions to the territories towards the head of the Sīfīn, and marched to Samrīqand, after reaching which the same infatuated course of pleasure was followed. It was at this time that, hearing of the movement of Tūq Tughān [the Taknā Khān of some European authors and translators] of the tribe of Makrī, the Sulṭān advanced towards Jund, and the engagement with the troops of Chingiz took place, which our author has related, out of its proper order at page 268. For a correct account of that battle see note ⁴ to the page referred to.

³ In two or three copies three, but seven hundred is the more correct number.

⁴ Sheep's or goat's flesh salted and dried in the sun, called "lānday" by the Afghāns.

⁵ One or two copies of the text have "in three months, but the majority have "in a short time." Utrār was, however taken after *five months*. When the Sulṭān retired to Samrīqand, after the encounter with Tūghī, he had a force of 400,000 men. The greater part of these was left in Māwar-un-Nahr and Turkistān; 50,000 men were detached to Utrār to join Ghāṭr Khān; and when report followed report of the advance of Chingiz, 10,000 more were sent to reinforce Ghāṭr Khān, under the Hājib, Kārījah. On reaching Utrār Chingiz pushed on to Bukhārā, after leaving a force to invest the former place, which was not the first that was captured, as our author makes it appear. Faṣḥ-ī says he reached it on the last day of Zī Hījjah, 616 H. and entered it the following day.

the whole of the inhabitants were martyred From thence Chingiz Khān marched towards Bukhārā, and, on the day of the Festival of the Sacrifice⁶, 10th of the month Zī-Hijjah, in the year 616 H, he captured the city, and martyred the whole of the inhabitants, put the 'Ulamā to the sword, and gave the libraries of books to the flames They have related that the Imām-zādah, Rukn-ud-Dīn—the mercy of the Almighty be upon him!—when they were martyring him, repeated the following lines —

“ I said, that my heart said, ‘ It is murder committed by us ⁷ ’

I said, my soul said, that ‘ It is the carrier away of us ’

I said, that ‘ Thy powerful dog has fallen on me ’

It [my soul ?] said, ‘ Thou shouldst not draw breath, for it is brought upon ourselves ⁸ ’ ”

Chingiz Khān, after the catastrophe of the city of Bukhārā, marched towards Samrkand, in which city Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, had stationed 60,000 horse, fully equipped and furnished⁹, consisting of different races of Turks, Ghūrīs, and Khurāsānīs, together with the Maliks and troops of Ghūr, who were all included among that body of troops After a few days, on the 10th of the month of Muharram, 617 H, Samrkand was also captured, and the whole of the inhabitants were martyred¹

⁶ Abraham's offering up of his son Isaac.

⁷ That is “ it [viz. this fact] is murder committed by us,” in the sense, as it were, “ we have done for ourselves ”

⁸ These four lines are with difficulty translatable or intelligible, nor do the various texts enlighten us Generally it seems a mere amplification of “ we're undone,” or “ I'm undone ” The first two lines are apparently the expression of the inner consciousness The third line is the man's summary judgment The fourth line is the reproof of conscience again, that he should spare his words The latter part of the second line might be translated “ the tearer of our curtain [honour] ”

⁹ Yāfa-ī says the Sulṭān only left 30,000 men to garrison Bukhārā, and that 110,000, among whom were some of the greatest of his nobles and leaders, were left at Samrkand, and that 60,000 Tājiks [the forces of Ghūr], each of them a Rustam in valour, were stationed in other fortresses

¹ When the Sulṭān left Samrkand, dispirited and hopeless, he set out, by way of Nakhshab, towards Khurāsān As he proceeded, he told the people of the places he passed by the way, to shift for themselves and provide for their own safety Swift messengers were also despatched to Khwārazm, to tell his mother, to take with her all his family and effects, and proceed towards Māzandarān Before doing so she caused all the state prisoners there, and such as were supposed ambitious of sovereignty, to be cast into the Jihūn See page 279

The Sulṭān's apprehensions and irresolution caused the utmost confusion in all state affairs, and, as if this was not enough, some astrologers began to

When the accounts of these disasters came to the hearing of Sulṭān Muḥammad, the forces, then along with him before the gates of Balkh consisted almost entirely of Tatār and Khṭā[†] troops, whilst his own old soldiers and vassals had been left behind by him in Māwar un Nahr and those people, on whom the most implicit trust and confidence could be placed were also all away in those parts. The troops who were along with him [now] conspired together to seize him and to make that act of perfidy and treachery the means of their own deliverance, and having seized the Sulṭān to take him and deliver him over as an offering to Chingiz Khān[‡]

declare that the stars prognosticated his downfall, and that he would be unable to apply himself to any measures for effective opposition to the enemy. His chief men and his sagest ministers were paralyzed at all these misadventures. The most experienced among them in the world's affairs urged that it was hopeless to attempt to preserve any hold over Māwar un Nahr but that the utmost efforts should be directed to the preservation of Khurāsān and Irāk; to concentrate all his available forces, and raise the whole people to arms; to make the Jihūn their ditch, and defend the line of that river. Others, craven-hearted, advised his going to Gharnīn, there to raise troops and make a stand, and if unsuccessful, make Hindūstān his rampart. The latter advice the Sulṭān proposed to follow and he came as far as Balkh with this object when Imād-ul Mulk, who had great influence over him, arrived from Irāk, from Rukn ud Dīn, the Sulṭān's son. Imād ul Mulk, who was a native of that part, advised the Sulṭān to retire into Irāk, and assemble the forces of that country to oppose the Maghals. The Sulṭān's eldest son Jalāl-ud Dīn, who had often before entreated his father to adopt vigorous measures, now again protested, and entreated his father to concentrate his troops, as far as lay in his power and advance to meet the enemy; but, if his heart would not permit him to do so, to proceed into Irāk, and leave the troops with him, that he might hasten to the frontier and attack the invading hordes, and see what Providence willed, that he himself at least, might be exonerated before men.

If fortune favour me, he said, I will carry off the ball of desire with the Chaugān of Divine aid; but, if fortune favours me not, neither will the finger of reproach be pointed at us, nor the tongue of malediction curse; and the world will not be able to say:— They have collected taxes and tribute from us for so long, and at a time like this they renounce our affairs, and abandon us to be captive to infidels. This counsel he continued to urge, and burned to receive his father's consent. All was of no avail; the Sulṭān's panic was so great that the sage advice of his son was considered the mere lapsings of an infant.

* The Sulṭān left Balkh with the object of retiring into Irāk and with this intention was encamped on the bank of the Tirmid river [the Jihūn], when news of the fall of Bukhārā reached him, and, very soon after that of Samarkand also. He now gave up all hopes of preserving his dominions. The majority of the troops with him then—and they were not numerous, and were in a disorganised state—were Turks of the tribe of his mother and her kinsmen, called Ūrūfān; and, during the confusion and distraction which had now arisen,

One of the party,¹ however, presented himself before Sultān Muhammad, and told him all about the plot. The Sultān kept his own counsel, and, at night, he left the camp, in order to test beyond a doubt the perfidy of the conspirators. At midnight the party drew near to the imperial pavilion, formed a cordon about it, and completely surrounded it. Not finding him within the tent, they came upon the camp at that untimely hour³, and the whole army fell into utter disorder and confusion. Sultān Muhammad was forced to fly, and set out towards Nīshāpūr, and wrote mandates to the Amīrs and Malīks in every part of his dominions, commanding them to put the fortresses of Khwārazm, Ghūr, Khurāsān, and 'Irāk in a posture of

they conspired against him. One of the Sultān's own ministers, the Dīwān, Badr-ud Dīn, previous to this, had fled, and had entered the service of Chingiz. Not satisfied with this, he had forged letters, as though the Sultān's nobles had written, tendering their services to the Mughal chief, and urging him to hostility against their sovereign, and also forged replies, as coming from Chingiz, promising them aid and assistance. These letters were made over to a spy, with instructions to let them fall into the hands of the Sultān's trusted followers. This caused suspicion to arise between the Sultān and his nobles, and, having been warned by one of them of the meditated treachery of the troops, he left his pavilion that very night, and changed his place of repose. The mutinous troops, in the night, took to their bows, and the next morning the pavilion was found like a sieve from the holes made by the volleys of arrows discharged into it. Finding, however, that the Sultān was safe, and their object discovered, these disaffected troops dispersed, and finally joined Chingiz. The Sultān now began to suspect his nobles, along with him, and they were mostly sent away, on some duty or other, and he then set out for Nīshāpūr with all haste, and the greater part of his forces dispersed. On the way, he urged the people of the places he passed through, to see to their fortifications and means of defence, which filled them with perplexity and fear, and rendered easy matters difficult. On reaching Kalāt, near Tūs, he was induced to consent to make a stand there—it is a place of great strength, the upper part of which was said to be seven leagues round, and capable of an energetic defence [it is a valley, so to say, enclosed within lofty hills, Nādir considered the position so strong that he deposited his treasures there]—and to erect fortifications there. Some of the Sultān's effects were removed thither accordingly, and provisions were collected. This, however, was also abandoned, and, on the 12th of Šafar, 617 H, the Sultān reached Nīshāpūr, where he abandoned himself to pleasure—if such can be so called—more than ever, for he considered that fate was against him, and all state affairs were abandoned. Whilst thus occupied news reached him, in the following Rabī'-ul-Ākhar, that an army of Mughals under Yamah Nū-yān, Sabtāe, and Taghājār [some authors say Jabah Nū-yān, Swidāe Bahādur, and Tūkjar, the first some European authors call "Hubbe"], and other leaders, had, after the fall of Bukhārā, crossed the Jihūn at Tirmiz, in Rabī'-ul-Awwal, in pursuit of him. He left Nīshāpūr without delay, and fled by way of Isfarāīn to Rai.

³ The words "at that untimely hour" are contained in one MS. only

defence, and throughout the empire of Islām disorder and tumult arose.

Chingiz Khān having received information of the disorganization and dissolution of the army of Sulṭān Muḥammad after the capture of Samrḳand nominated a force of 60 000 Mughal horse which was placed under the command of two Mughals chiefs of high rank one of whom was Yamah Nū īn and the other Sahūdah Bahādur to proceed in pursuit of the Sulṭān. When this force had passed over the river [Jihūn], the Sulṭān retired from Niṣhāpūr and set out towards Māzandarān and his camp was pitched at the top of the Darah or Pass of Tamīshah⁴ when the Mughal troops came upon him. The Sulṭān was obliged to fly from thence, and entered the hills on foot and got away, and, going from one range of hills to another entered Māzandarān⁵. The son of the chief of Māzandarān

⁴ Only a single copy of the texts collated gives this name correctly

⁵ Any one reading the above would imagine that the Sulṭān proceeded direct from Niṣhāpūr into Māzandarān, but such was not the case; he took a much longer circuit, as already shown. When he reached Rai news came to him from Khorāsān that a strange army had reached it, which report made him regret the haste he had shown in coming into Irāk. He left Rai accordingly and proceeded to the fortress of Karwīn [some say Kārūn], at the foot of which his son, Sulṭān Rukn ud Dīn, was encamped with an army of 30,000 Irākīs. The Sulṭān sent his other son, Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn, and his mother and some of the ladies of his family to the fortress of Kārūn-duj for safety and his own mother and the rest of the family to I lāl, a fortress of Māzandarān. He was advised by the Amīrs of Irāk to take shelter at Shīrān koh, and there concert measures and assemble troops, and oppose the Mughal army which was in pursuit of him. Again he declined saying that it was not safe, and could not be defended against the Mughals and thus disheartened his followers still more. He was advised by some to start that very hour. Between Luristān and Fārs, they said, was a range of mountains, called Tang-Tallū, after they had passed which they would enter a rich country and could take shelter there, collect troops, and, in case the Mughals should arrive, be ready to encounter them. Whilst considering this advice, which he thought good, news arrived from Rai of the Mughals having reached it; and now his followers began to desert him, as is the nature of the world, and to seek their own safety and interests. Almost deserted, the unfortunate monarch set out with his son, Jalāl-ud Dīn, and with scarcely any followers, for the fortress of Kārūn-dujz whither he had previously sent Ghīyāṣ ud Dīn and his mother and the ladies of his family. On the way he was actually overtaken by the Mughal advance; but the smallness of his party led to their not recognizing him. They gave them, however a volley of arrows, which wounded the Sulṭān a horse, but it brought him safely to Kārūn. He only stayed one day and, after providing a fresh horse, made off in the direction of Baghdād. The Mughals appeared before Kārūn, which they attacked, and fighting went on as long as they thought the Sulṭān was there; but, finding this was not the case, and that he

who had joined him, was in attendance on the Sultān, and his own son, Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, was also with him. Sultān Muhammad embarked on the Sea of Khurz [the Caspian], and for a considerable time he continued on an island therein, in distress and affliction

had set out towards Baghdād, they followed on his tracks. They came up with a small body of his party, who acted as a rear-guard, and slew them, but the Sultān having changed his route—he had found shelter in a fortress—they missed him, and at last gave up the pursuit. Having remained a few days at the latter place, the Sultān set out towards Gīlān, and then on to Asdār, where what remained of his treasures was lost. He then entered the district of Āmul. His family had reached that part, and had taken shelter in its strongholds. The Mughals were in pursuit, however, and he, having consulted with the chief men of those parts, it was determined that the Sultān should seek refuge for a time in one of the islands of the Sea of Khurz, named Āb-i-Sugūn.

[A few words may not be out of place here respecting this island and its name. An old writer states that it was the name of an island [one of several], and of a small town of Ṭabaristān, in the district of Astarābād, three days' journey from Gurgān or Gūrgān, called Jurjān and Jūrjān by Muḥammadans, who change the *g's* to *j's* according to the 'Arabic custom, and that it was also the name of a considerable river, which formerly came from Khwārazm [the Oxus, but more probably the river of Gurgān or Jurjān], and fell into the Sea of Khurz—the Caspian. When this river approaches the sea, it flows very slowly and quietly, hence its name, Āb-i-Sugūn, the tranquil or quiet river. Some, however, say the place where the river enters the sea was called by this name. The islands in question, for there were several, were situated near the river's mouth. That on which the Sultān took refuge, and where he died, has long since been swallowed up by the sea. The Introduction of the Zafar-Nāmah says the sea is called Āb-i Sugūn, and the island on which the Sultān took shelter, Āb-gūn.]

The Sultān, having taken shelter on one of them, moved occasionally, for safety's sake, and well he did, for a party of Mughals did actually come to the first island in search of him after he had left it. The army of Mughals under Yamah Nū-yān and others, who had reached Rai in pursuit of him, had returned on not finding him there, and invested the fortresses of Kārūn and Ī-lāl, in which his mother and wives and children had taken refuge, and soon took them. The males were all slaughtered, even the infants, and the females were sent to Chungiz's camp. The thoughts of the dishonour of the females of his family, the slaughter of his children and his servants, and the miseries of his country, afflicted him to such a degree that he died of a broken heart, and in great misery, in one of the islands above mentioned, and was there buried. So great was the distress of the party, that his son, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, could not procure even a winding-sheet to bury him in, and he had to be consigned to the grave in part of the apparel which he had on at the time of his death. Subsequently, however, Jalāl-ud-Dīn removed his father's remains from the island to the fortress of Ardas [?]. The Mughals, some time after, gained possession of this place likewise, and they exhumed his remains, and burnt them. That the Sultān died *on his way to Khwārazm* is like many other of our author's statements. He never left the island alive. His death filled Islām with distress, and this event took place in Shawwāl, 617 H.

The Mughal troops not finding the Sultān in the province of Māzandarān passed out of it, and entered Irak on which Sultān Muḥammad, with the few horsemen who still continued with him, left the island but he was prostrated with disease of the bowels and melancholy supervened and he became quite out of his mind. He urged his son Sultān Jalāl ud Dīn Mang barnī, saying — Endeavour to take me to Khwārazm for from thence was the commencement of our dominion. These lines, also he often repeated —

When men become distracted about their own affairs,
Than that, it will be better that the thread of life were sever'd.*

When his disease increased he was totally unable to ride on horseback and camels were procured for him and he was placed in a camel litter and they sent him off towards Khwārazm. He died on the road in the year 617 H. and Sultān Jalāl ud Dīn brought his father's remains to Khwārazm, and buried them by the side of Sultān Takish, his father. Sultān Muḥammad's reign extended over a period of twenty-one years. May the mercy of God and His pardon be on him!

XI. KUṬB-UD-DĪN ARZALŪ SHĀH SON OF MUḤAMMAD SON OF TAKISH, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH.

Kuṭb-ud Dīn, was the son of Sultān Muḥammad, and his mother was a kinswoman of his father's mother and of the family of Qadr Khān of Kīschāk and he was the heir-apparent to the throne of Khwārazm.

When the calamities consequent on the irruption of

* The name of this young prince is written in various ways—not only in our author's text, but also by other writers—Arzlāk, Arzāk, Ūzlāk, Arzmlū, and Arzmlāk; the last seems the most correct. Certain it is that he was not heir-apparent to the Khwārazmī empire. The word Shāh or Sultān fixed to his other name signifies that it was not his title as sovereign, but merely one of his names. Other writers, with whom I am acquainted, do not account him as a ruler at all. It was through the influence of Turkān Khātūn, Sultān Muḥammad's mother that this boy of very ordinary intellect, was set up at Khwārazm, during Jalāl ud Dīn's absence with his father. Arzmlāk's supporters imagined, that, in case Jalāl-ud Dīn should ascend the throne and establish his power they would not be permitted to do as they liked, as was likely to be the case with Arzmlāk Sultān as sovereign and, as long as their objects were gained, they cared nothing for their country. Under such circumstances, it is not surprising that the Mughals met with little or no opposition.

Chingiz Khān arose, and Sultān Muhammad was obliged to fly from the banks of the Jihūn and the vicinity of Balkh, and retired to Nishāpūr, the grandmother of Arzalū Shāh, the mother of Sultān Muhammad⁷, and the people of Khwārazm, the Maliks, and the Amīrs, concerted together, and raised Kutb-ud-Dīn, Arzalū Shāh, to the throne of Khwārazm, and the whole of them applied themselves to his service

The Sultāns and Maliks, from both the east and west, and of the countries of Irān and Tūrān, who were imprisoned at Khwārazm, were all drowned in the Jihūn, and not one of them was left alive, by the time that one of the sons of Chingiz Khān, Tūshī by name, with a numerous army, from⁸ Māwar-un-Nahr, was nominated to march into Turkistān and Khwārazm⁹ and arrived before the gates of the latter-named city

As Arzalū Shāh did not possess the power to oppose him, he took along with him¹ his dependents, his sisters, and mothers², the ladies of the Hāram of Sultān Muhammad, his father, together with the Khudāwandah-i-Jahān, his father's mother, and brought them into Tabaristān and Māzandarān, and threw himself into the fortress of Lāl in Tabaristān³

⁷ Turkān Khātūn, the consort of Takīsh, the strong-minded woman, who roasted her husband.

⁸ All the copies of the text collated, with one exception, are defective here

⁹ When Chingiz arrived at Utrār, he left a force to invest it, but pushed on with the bulk of his forces to Bukhārā, and it was only after the fall of Samrḳand that troops were sent against Khwārazm. In the first place, he despatched his three sons, Tūshī [Jūi], Uktāe, and Chaghatae, with several *tumāns* or hordes thither, but, having quarrelled on the road, they came to blows, and a number of the Mughal troops were slain by each other. Chingiz then recalled them, and Tūlī, his other son, was sent in command in their stead

¹ Other writers state, that after Jalāl-ud-Dīn left Khwārazm for Khurāsān, as mentioned in note ⁶, page 286, which see, his brothers, Arzalāk Sultān, Āk Sultān, and two others, followed after him, escorted by a body of troops, to endeavour to induce him to return. They did not overtake him, but encountered on their way the same body of Mughals their brother had so recently opposed and escaped from. They were all taken and, with their followers, put to the sword

² The mothers of the different brothers of Arzalū [Arzalāk Sultān]—the other wives of his father, Sultān Muhammad, and his grandmother are meant here

³ See latter part of note ⁵, page 277. Alfī calls it the fortress of Lār-jār.

When Tūshī son of Chingiz Khān appeared with his troops before the gates of Khwārazm the people of the city [the troops quartered there] came forward to resist them and fighting commenced but, in the course of a very few days, Khwārazm was taken and the inhabitants were martyred, and the whole city was razed to the ground, with the exception of the Kūshk i Akhjuk which was the ancient palace, and the sepulchral vault of Sulṭān Takish, Khwārazm Shāh which was allowed to stand but all else was overthrown.

After this, Tūshī pushed on in pursuit of the dependents and ladies of Arzalū Shāh's family captured them all and martyred the whole of them. The mercy of the Almighty be upon them⁴!

XII. SULṬĀN RUKN UD DĪN GHŪRĪ SHĀNASTĪ, SON OF
MUḤAMMAD KHWĀRAZM SHĀH

Sulṭān Rukn ud Dīn was another of Sulṭān Muḥammad's sons and his birth took place on the night preceding the day on which Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn Muḥammad i Sām Ghūrī, retreated from before the gates of Khwārazm in the year 601 H. and on that account, he was named Ghūrī Shānastī, that is to say "The Ghūrī Breaker."

When the territory of Irāk fell under the sway of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh, he conferred the throne of that country upon Rukn ud Dīn⁴. The daughter of Malik Ulugh Khān i Abī Muḥammad who was

⁴ Most of the copies of the text are defective here: only three have the last paragraph, and, of these, but two appear correctly written.

Rukn-ud Dīn was younger than his brothers, Jalāl ud Dīn, and Ghiyāṣ ud Dīn but, having acquired greater ascendancy the government of Irāk was conferred upon him when his father left Irāk on his last expedition into Māwar un Nahr. Yīsa f says he gave himself up to excess—he was only fifteen—and his father had just become aware of his misconduct, when the Mughal troubles began. On the death of his father the Amīrs of that territory became disaffected. He moved against them, reduced them, and gave them their lives, and overlooked their misdeeds, thinking kindness would be returned with gratitude. But, after a short time, finding he could not hold his own, he retired, after his father's death, accompanied by only a few followers, towards Kirmān. He reached Gawāshīr and was subsequently joined by the chiefs and partisans of the Malik of Zawran [Kawām-ud Dīn, Mu'ayyid ul Mulk, Abī Bīkr son of Alī Az Zawranī. His son, Izz-ud Dīn, held Kirmān and its dependencies after his father's death but he was removed,

a descendant of one of the paternal uncles of the Khawārazm Shāhs, was given him in marriage, and the father-in-law was made the Lieutenant of Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, by Sultān Muhammad; and the whole of the Maliks of Ghūr, and the troops of the Jibāl [of Khurāsān], were left to serve under him. When [his father], Sultān Muḥammad, retired from the territory of 'Irāk, the Turks of 'Irāk, who were slaves of the Atā-baks, assembled [their troops] together, and gave him battle, but the Khawārazm Shāhs gained the victory, in the year 614 H.

Rukn-ud-Dīn reigned in 'Irāk for a considerable period, and, when the Mughal troops reached that country, and tribulation befell the Musalmāns, the whole of the Khawārazm Shāhs fell into captivity, in the year 617 H, and were, in all probability, martyred⁶

XIII MALIK GHIYĀS-UD-DĪN, ĀḲ SULTĀN⁷, SON OF MUHAMMAD, KHWĀRAZM SHĀH.

ĀḲ Sultān was another of the sons of Sultān Muhammad, and, when the latter obtained possession of the throne of

and the government was conferred upon Rukn-ud-Dīn], who were in those parts. He divided the treasure, accumulated by the Malik referred to, among his followers, and advanced to Isfahān to endeavour to gain a footing in 'Irāk again. When he entered it, the Kāzī kept aloof, and Rukn-ud-Dīn thought it advisable to leave the city, and pitch his tents outside. He was soon attacked by the Kāzī's adherents, on a hint from their master, who slew 1000 of Rukn-ud-Dīn's followers, and lost many themselves. When the Mughals had disposed of other matters in Khurāsān, a force was sent against Rukn-ud-Dīn. He had given up all hope of acquiring possession of 'Irāk, and had retired to Fīrūz-koh, and the Tatār forces invested him therein. He held out for six months, at the end of which period he had to come down and yield. All the threats of the infidels could not induce him to bend the knee to their leader, and he was put to the sword, along with his followers and dependents, and the people of the fortress. This took place in 619 H, but some writers say it happened in 618 H, and others, in 620 H.

⁶ Here, also, considerable difference occurs in the various copies of the text, and the style is different, as in several other places. Some have, "and the whole of them were martyred."

⁷ Pīr Shāh bore the title of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and he was ruler [nominally] of Karmān, after the Malik of Zawzan, and his son. ĀḲ Sultān was *never* put in charge of any territory whatever. Our author has perpetrated another great blunder here. ĀḲ-Sultān was killed at the same time that Sultān Arzalāk and two other younger brothers were massacred by the Mughals. See note ⁶, page 286.

Kirmān and the *masnad* of Gawāshīr he placed the Khwājah of Zawzan upon the throne* of Kirmān. After some years, the Khwājah of Zawzan died. He was an excellent man and founded colleges of great repute, and rabaṭs [hostels for travellers] and erected the fortress of Sala Mihr of Zawzan.

When he died Sulṭān Muḥammad had conferred the throne of Kirmān upon his own son Āk Sulṭān and he proceeded into Kirmān and brought under his jurisdiction that territory as far as the sea shore, and the frontiers of Mukrān†. When the calamities caused by the Mughal

* Utter nonsense: the Malik of Zawzan was merely governor on the part of the Sulṭān, and never ascended a throne.

† Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, Pīr Shāh, had been *nawab* ruler of Kirmān by his father;

but what help is there, when man's proposals chime not with destiny's disposals? When the convulsions arose at the outset of the Mughal troubles, Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn determined to proceed into Kirmān. At this time, Shujā-ud Dīn, Abū-l Kāsim, who had held the government on the part of the son of the Malik of Zawzan, was acting as the Prince's deputy. The world being filled with tumult and sedition, he would not receive him, and the Prince was compelled to retire into Irāk, where he stayed a short time. A party of his father's troops, which had remained in concealment, now joined him, and Burūk, who was a native of Karā Khijā f also became his adherent. He was a relative—some say a younger brother some the son—of Dāniko of Tarāz, and had been converted to Islām, and had risen in Sulṭān Muḥammad's service to the rank of Hājib and some writers state that he had been nominated preceptor to the young Prince. Be this as it may on being joined by Burūk and his followers, Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn marched into Fārs against the Atābak Sa'd [see note 4 page 266], who was routed. Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn and his forces committed great devastation in Fārs, after which he retired. Burūk, however being aggrieved with him for some reason, deserted Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn one night and set out with his adherents, intending to proceed by way of Kīch and Mukrān into Hindūstān, to take service with Iyāl timish, ruler of Dīlī, who was also a native of Karā Khijā f. On reaching the frontier of Kirmān, Shujā ud Dīn, Abū-l Kāsim, who had been made governor of Gawāshīr for Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, but who had refused to receive him was induced by some of the youths among his followers, who sought to plunder Burūk's party and carry off the moon faced Khijā f damsels among them, to intercept Burūk by the way. They came into contact at Rūdbar of Jīrfat, and, during the fight which ensued, a party of Turks, serving with Shujā-ud Dīn went over to Burūk. Shujā ud Dīn was taken and put to death, and Burūk acquired power over Kirmān. This was in the year 601 H. Shujā-ud Dīn's son continued to hold the citadel until Jalāl-ud Dīn arrived. After his separation from Burūk, Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn had taken up his quarters at Rai; and, when his brother Jalāl ud Dīn, reached Irāk, after his return from Sindh, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn had joined him, had misconducted himself, and, finally deserted his brother in an engagement with the Tatars, and finally retired into Khūristān. See note 9 page 297. He then sent an agent to Burūk to tell him of his arrival there. Burūk pretended to be overjoyed and, after oaths and pro-

irruption befell the empire of Islām, and Chingiz Khān became triumphant over Irān, a body of Khītā-īs, and some troops of Sultān Muhammad, along with Burāk, the Chamberlain, a native of Khītā, a newly converted Musalmān, proceeded into Kirmān, and contention and strife arose between them and Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn-i-Āk Sultān. The latter, not being powerful enough to repel the Khītā-īs, out of necessity, left Kirmān and proceeded into 'Irāk to his brother, Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, leaving the Amīr, Shujā'-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Kāsim, in the city of Gawāshīr, which was the seat of government and capital of Kirmān, with the name of Deputy and Seneschal of the city.

Burāk, Khītā-ī, the Chamberlain, with a numerous army, appeared before the gates of Gawāshīr, and took up his position there, and contention went on between them, which continued for a considerable length of time, until the period when Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, marched from the land of Sīnd, by way of Mukrān, into Kirmān. As soon as he arrived in the vicinity of the latter territory, Burāk, Khītā-ī, the Chamberlain, having obtained news of the coming of Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, proceeded to wait upon him, and pay him homage, and Shujā'-ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Kāsim, likewise, came out of the city of Gawāshīr to pay homage to the Sultān¹.

When Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn reached the city, he had but a small following with him, and, therefore, he became anxious with respect to Burāk, the Chamberlain, and made over the country of Kirmān to him as governor, and proceeded into 'Irāk himself. After Burāk, the Chamberlain, had acquired possession of Kirmān, Āk Sultān, having

mises had been entered into by both parties, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn set out for Kirmān with about 500 followers, and Burāk came forth to receive him with a large following. They got on well together for some time, until Burāk began to treat the Prince with great arrogance, and finally demanded his mother in marriage. She gave a reluctant consent for the sake of her son. Two kinsmen of Burāk's now became partisans of the Prince, warned him of Burāk's designs against him; and asked his permission to kill him. Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, remembering his promises and oaths, refused. A few days after, Burāk became aware of all this, his two kinsmen were cut to pieces, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn strangled, and his mother and all their followers and dependents were put to death, every soul, even to the infant at the breast. Burāk sent the head of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn to Uktīe, son of Chingiz, and obtained from the Mughal the investiture of Kirmān, which he held for eleven years, when it passed to his descendants.

¹ His son came out and presented the keys of Gawāshīr to the Sultān.

quarrelled with his brothers, in Irāk returned again into Kirmān and obtained martyrdom at the hand of Burak Khūfā the Chamberlain, and died²

XIV SULTĀN JALĀL-UD-DĪN MANG BARNĪ³ SON OF
SULTĀN MUHAMMAD KHWĀRAZM SHĀH

Sultān Jalāl ud Dīn, Mang barnī was the eldest son of Sultān Muḥammad and was endowed with great heroism valour and high talents and accomplishments

When his father Sultān Muḥammad acquired possession of the territories of Ghūr and Ghaznīn he conferred them on Jalāl ud Dīn and made over both those kingdoms to his charge, and deputies of his were placed in those countries Ghaznīn was given to Malik Kuriz⁴ Firūz Koh was entrusted to Mubārīz ud Dīn Sabzwārī and the Wazārat was entrusted to Shihāb-ud Dīn : Alb Sarāḥsī. Kārmān was given to the Malik ul Umrā [Chief or Noble of Nobles] Burshor⁵ [Peshāwar?] and Bū bīkrpūr [or Abū

² Ghīyāṣ ud Dīn was murdered in the fortress of Gawāshīr in 627 H. There is some discrepancy as to dates, which I have not space to discuss, but the former appears the most correct, as Burak evidently took advantage of Jalāl-ud Dīn's defeat mentioned in note³ page 297 to make himself independent, and would scarcely have dared to put his brother to death while Jalāl-ud Dīn had the power to chastise him.

³ In one of the oldest copies of the text where the vowel points are given, he is called Mang-barnī, and was styled from having a mole on his nose. He was, according to Yāfā ī, and other trustworthy writers, the greatest, the most noble-minded the most warlike, and the most devout of the sons of his father and most worthy of the diadem of sovereignty His valour rivalled that of Rustam and Isfandiyār and he was able, skilful and sagacious. If there was any man in those days capable of coping with Chingiz successfully it was he and from his subsequent heroic actions, there can be little doubt but that his efforts would have been crowned with success, if his advice had been acted upon, or he had had the direction of affairs, and had been seconded by his brothers, nobles, and subjects, with that unity of purpose so essential in the hour of danger His brothers, however were selfish beyond measure and cared for naught but their own interest and worldly pleasures and excesses, whilst Jalāl ud Dīn was kept in constant attendance upon his father contrary to his own inclinations.

⁴ Possibly Kurtez. The majority of copies are as above, but others have كوريز and كوريز [?] all of which seem meaningless.

⁵ This may refer to Peshāwar which was called Bagrām up to Bābar's time but there is a place named Burshor [برشور], much farther south, between Kandahār and the Indus and our author in his account of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn, when referring to the idol-temple which fell at his birth, says it was near Barshābar [برشاوار]—quite a different mode of spelling See page 76

Bikrpūr] were conferred upon Malīk Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muhammad Alī-i-Khar-post

When the irruption of Changiz Khān occurred, Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mang-barnī, was in attendance upon his father, as has been previously recorded, and, when he brought his father's remains to Khawārazm and interred them, his brother [Arzalū Shāh] was seated on the throne of Khawārazm, although he was a [much] younger brother, and both the brothers were apprehensive of each other⁶ Qutb-ud-Dīn, Arzalū Shāh, conspired against Jalāl-ud-Dīn, who, having obtained information of his design, came out of Khawārazm, and departed by the route of the wilds of Shāristān. From thence he proceeded to the westward of Nishāpūr, and entered the desert between Khurāsān and Kirmān, with the determination of proceeding to Ghaznīn⁷

⁶ After his father had breathed his last and had been buried, Jalāl-ud-Dīn left the island of Āb-i-Sugūn with a few followers, and set out for Khawārazm, where were his younger brothers, Arzalāk Sultān, Āk Sultān, Tīmūr Malīk, Aghūl Shāhib, and Kajāe Tīgīn, with 90,000 Kankulīs. He had vast difficulties to encounter from the confused state of affairs at that time, the successes of Chingiz and his sons, and from his own countrymen, who considered that the glory of the house of Takīsh had departed. It may be as well to mention, that the following notes give a *consecutive* account of Jalāl-ud-Dīn's life.

All men of experience, and the soldiery generally, were desirous of the sovereignty of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and, although the most solemn agreement had been entered into by the two brothers not to injure or molest each other, the ill-disposed Amīrs of Arzalāk's party, who desired a weak and inexperienced Prince at the head of affairs for their own selfish purposes, combined to fall suddenly upon Jalāl-ud-Dīn and slay him. He, finding such acts could be contemplated at such a time, and knowing the state of utter misery in which the country was now overwhelmed, considered it advisable to leave Khawārazm in the hands of his brother and his party, rather than weaken the little power still remaining by civil strife. He determined to proceed, attended only by a small following, by way of Nisā to Shād-yākh [of Nishāpūr]. As it was, an army of Mughals had already reached the Khawārazm territory, and Jalāl-ud-Dīn was closely pursued [near Astawah, according to Alfi,] by a portion of that horde, on his way to Shād-yākh, and had great difficulty in effecting his escape. His brothers—four in all—who had followed after him to try and induce him to return, or, more probably, because they could not stay any longer, fell into the hands of this band, and were all put to the sword. See note 1, page 280.

⁷ Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn only remained two or three days at Shād-yākh, in order to get together as many men as possible, and, on the 12th of Zī-Hijjah, he set out quietly at night, by way of Zawzan, towards Ghaznīn, to the government of which part he had been nominated by his father. The Mughals were close at hand, and he had not left more than an hour before they appeared before the place. As soon as they found he was not there they set out in pursuit, and pushed on until they came to a place where two roads branched off. At

Trustworthy persons have related that Jalāl ud Dīn in that desert saw Mihtar Khizr¹ who foretold his sovereignty but, under this compact, that the blood of no Musalmān should be shed by his hand. From thence Jalāl ud Dīn proceeded into the territories of Nimroz, Bust and Dāwar and came to Ghaznīn².

Malik Khān of Hirāt, who formerly bore the name of Amīn i Hājib [Amīn ul Mulk?]³ and had killed Muḥammad Kharnak Ghūrī and who had before the arrival of Jalāl ud Dīn, set out towards Hindūstān, at this time, that the Sultān came to Ghaznīn, likewise joined him. Chingiz Khān detached an army from his Mughal following in search of Sultān Jalāl ud Dīn towards Ghaznīn and Fīkū⁴ Nū van,

this place the Sultān had left a small party of his followers, under an Amīr with directions, in case of his being pursued, to resist the Mughals for a short period to give him time, and then to take the other road. This was done; and the Mughals, thinking they were on the Sultān's track, took the wrong road. The Sultān on this occasion is said to have made a march of forty farsakhs without a halt.

On reaching Zawzan he wished to enter and take some repose, and give rest to his horses but admittance was refused, the excuse being, that, in case of attack by the Mughals, the people could not hold out the place for an hour and that any attempt at opposition would bring vengeance upon them. He, therefore, continued his route as far as Mīkharābād (?). He left that place at midnight, and at dawn the next morning the Mughals reached it. They followed in the track of the Sultān as far almost as Yazdawlah [also called Zandālah—Jerdoom of the maps?], a dependency of Hirāt [about seventy five miles s.w. of that city], and then abandoned the pursuit.

¹ Another of our author's childish tales, certified by trustworthy authorities.

² The Sultān, without further trouble, reached Ghaznīn, on the 17th of Zī Hījāh, 617 H. Amīn Malik, called also Amīn-ul Mulk [he is styled Yamīn ul Mulk in Rauzat-ṣ-Ṣafā and Habīb-us-Siyar and Yamīn Malik by Alif], the governor who had 50,000 men with him, came out to receive the Sultān, and both the troops and people rejoiced at his arrival, for the government of the territory formerly possessed by the Sultāns of Ghūr had been previously assigned to him by his father. He encamped on the Maidān i-Sabā of Ghaznīn; and, as soon as the news of his arrival spread abroad, chief towns and troops [who were in those parts previously no doubt] began to flock to his standard from all parts around, and among the number was Salf ud Dīn, Ighrīk, with 40,000 men, Kank Isā, Khafj, and Turkmins; and the Amīrs of Ghūr also joined him from the parts adjacent. His affairs now assumed considerable grandeur and magnificence, and a large army assembled around him.

³ Some copies of the text, but they are those least to be depended upon, differ considerably here. They have, — Malik Khān of Hirāt, who was named Amīn i-Hājib, at the outset of the events respecting Muḥammad Kharnak Ghūrī, before Jalāl ud Dīn had come into Hindūstān, &c. The correct name of this chief was Amīn Malik and he is also called Amīn-ul Mulk.

⁴ In some copies Fīkū.

who was Chingiz Khān's son-in-law, was the commander of that force

Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn advanced against the Mughal army as far as the limits of Barwān³, and overthrew the Mughal

³ Early in the spring of 618 H he put his forces in motion, and advanced to Barwān. Having encamped there, he received intimation that a Mughal army, under Bak-chak and Yam-ghūr [these leaders are somewhat differently called by some writers—Kam-chak, and Yīghūr, Tamghūr, and even Balghūr], was pressing the siege of Wāmīān [Bāmīān, *w* and *b* being interchangeable], and that it was in danger of falling into their hands, if not speedily relieved.

[With regard to these places—the town and fortress referred to—I must here make a few remarks. The town, or position, of Barwān, is likewise called Parwān, Farwān, Bārān, and Barwān on the Āb-i-Bārānī, by as many different writers. The letters *b*, *p*, and *f* are interchangeable. The two first are undoubtedly incorrect. Bābar and Abū-l-Fazl call the upper portion of the Kābul river the “Āb-i-Bārānī,” and, in my humble opinion, this proves the correctness of the situation of this place, as given by Baihaḳī, Yāfa-ī, and Jāmī'-ut-Tawārīkh—which latter work also states that it lies on the “banks of the Āb-i-Bārānī”—as situated between Ghaznīn and Wāmīān, but nearer Ghaznīn. What modern writers and travellers in Afghānistān call the Logurh [the Lohgar] river, the historians above quoted, and many others, call the Āb-i-Bārānī, and consider it, very properly, as the main stream of the upper portion of that river which, ultimately, enters the Indus above Atak. Barwān is also to be found in many maps, although the position may not be quite correct, at about five or six stages north of Ghaznīn. With respect to the fortress invested by the Mughals, the Introduction to the Zafar-Nāmah, an excellent and trustworthy authority, says it was “Bāmīān, also called Wāmīān,” and this last seems to be the name which some writers have mistaken for Wālīān. Certainly there is a place mentioned in the MASĀLIK WA-MAMĀLIK named Wālīn, but one syllable less than Wālīān and Wāmīān, as being “the same distance from Khulum as the latter is from Balkh.” There is also a Parwān or Farwān, on the Panj-hīr river, but those who have *seen* the Parwān valley, north of Kābul, describe it as very tortuous, and, in many places, a mere rocky defile, and there is also the pass of the same name over Hindū-Kush, not the easiest by far. If Barwān, or Parwān, north of Kābul, could possibly be the place referred to, and Wālīān—the Wālīn of MASĀLIK-WA-MAMĀLIK, and which Mr Thomas, R A S J, vol xvii p 86, calls “Wāwālīn,” and considers to have been situated near the “modern Kundúz” [Kundus, by 'Arabs, Kunduz, is described as a *very ancient* place, by oriental writers, who say the correct name was Kuhandujz, signifying a fortress, but by constant use shortened into Kundus. Baihaḳī repeatedly refers to Kuhandujz, and constantly mentions Walwāly والوالم also, but neither “Wāwālīn” nor Wālīn]—be the place to which the Mughals were laying siege, Jalāl-ud-Dīn would have had to cross and re-cross the Hindū-Kush on this occasion, a rather difficult matter at any time, even for travellers, much more for an army of about 100,000 horsemen, in early spring, and a dangerous one too, considering that Chingiz, with his main force, was before Tāe k̄ān, only about *twenty miles* from Kundus, while the Parwān Pass, and Sar-i Ulang Pass, connected with it, and the other passes of Hindū-Kush, were no less than *eighty miles* off, or more. Jalāl-ud-Dīn might have been cut off from the passes easily by a force from Chingiz's army whilst he was engaged with the

infidels. He encountered them upon three different times in that quarter and on all three occasions success and victory

Mughal forces before Wāmīn, or Wāfīn so called. Besides, we are plainly told that Barwān, on the banks of the Ab-l-Bārīnī, was a town or city between Ghaznī and Balkh. Chingiz himself came in pursuit of the Sulṭān, by way of Andar-āb, Hābul, and Bāmīn.]

Leaving his heavy material and baggage at Barwān, Sulṭān Jalāl ud Dīn marched to the relief of the fortress and, having come upon the advanced force of the Mughals in that direction, made a dash upon them, and inflicted a loss of 1000 men. The Sulṭān's troops being the most numerous, the Mughals retired across the river destroying the bridge after them [this shows the river whatever it was, was not fordable], and took up a position on the opposite side. Volleys of arrows were discharged on either side until night closed, and during the darkness the Mughals according to their favourite manoeuvre, seemingly decamped. [If Wāfīn lay where Kandus does now a messenger would have brought Chingiz with his whole army or a large portion of it, from Tāi-kān before night.] The Sulṭān now caused a great quantity of food and other necessaries [scarcely brought over the Parwān Pass] to be sent to the fortress of Wāmīn, after which he returned to his camp at Barwān.

Chingiz, having heard before Tāi-kān of this reverse, despatched another force of 30,000 picked troops, under Shī blī Kotū [according to Yāsa ī, but by our author and some others, Pīkū Nū-yān by the Zafar Nāmāh, Kanḡūd and other leaders; and by others, Kūbūr] to take revenge, and prepared to follow in person and one morning, in the early forenoon, *about a week after his return* to Barwān, intimation reached the Sulṭān that the Mughals were approaching. He at once put his troops in motion, and advanced about a league to meet them, and drew up his ranks in readiness to receive them. [If the modern Parwān be the place, a position they were not likely to venture into with such a large force able to attack them within it, and a strong fortress in their rear the Mughals must have been about to issue from the pass, and the Sulṭān must have advanced towards its entrance to receive them but I doubt very much whether those who have seen those passes would consider such to be probable or possible.] Amīn Malik had the right wing, and Saif ud Dīn, Ighrāk, the left, while the Sulṭān took post in the centre. He gave orders for the troops to dismount and hold their horses bridles in hand. [Thrown over the arm probably but scarcely to *bind the reins of their horses round their waists*. What if the horses had taken fright? Even with the reins thrown over their arms, the men would have had to fight in a single rank—a strange mode of fighting. The probability is that the bridles of the horses were fastened at the saddle, to, or round, the horses' waists, which would enable a few men comparatively to look after them.] This they obeyed, determined to do or die. The right wing, under Amīn Malik, being the strongest division of the Sulṭān's army the Mughals directed their chief efforts against it, and it was forced back; but, prompt aid being afforded from the left and centre, the Mughals, in their turn, were compelled to give way. Not a man on either side turned his back; great valour was shown on both sides, and the fighting only ceased with the light.

Next morning preparations were made to renew the engagement, but the Sulṭān's troops, having noticed the ranks of another division [the wood and felt ranks of the Ranzai us-Safī], apparently drawn up in rear of the Mughal ranks, conceived that reinforcements must have reached them during the night, and they seemed disinclined to encounter them. Counsel was taken as to the

rewarded him, but, on the news of these successes of his reaching Chingiz Khān, he, being at Tāl-kān of Khurāsān [Tāe-kān of Tukhārīstān ?] at the time, marched his armies towards Ghaznīn⁴ Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn was unable to offer

advisability of falling back to and taking shelter near the foot of the hills, and retiring to the high ground and spurs, but the Sultān would not hear of such a prejudicial movement. The troops were directed to dismount as on the previous day [ordering them to dismount would indicate ground impracticable for cavalry, but dismounting to fight also indicates a determination to conquer or die], and, on this occasion, the enemy's efforts were directed against the left wing under Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāk, the valour and spirit of whose men they had had such recent proof of, and their best men were pitted against it. The troops of the left wing, however, stood their ground so determinedly, and plied their arrows with such effect, that the Mughals were hurled back. They having turned their backs without venturing to renew the attack, the Sultān directed that the tymbals should sound the charge, upon which the whole force mounted and charged the Mughals [I fancy the Parwān Pass is not a *nice* place for a general charge by a numerous army of cavalry], who turned their backs and made off. Again they rallied, charged the Sultān's advanced troops, and inflicted a loss of 500 warriors, but the Sultān flew to the rescue, and again charged the Mughals and put them to final rout, making great slaughter among them. The two leaders returned with the remnant of their forces to Chingiz's camp at Tāe-kān.

The Sultān's troops, having defeated the Mughals, took to plunder, and, most unfortunately, a dispute arose between Amīn Malik and Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāk, about a horse, and Amīn Malik, in the heat of the dispute, struck the latter over the head with his whip. The Sultān was unable [not "unwilling"] to investigate the matter, because he doubted whether the Kankulīs [Amīn Malik's followers] would submit to any decision. In consequence of this untoward event, Saif-ud-Dīn, Ighrāk, smarting under the insult, stayed with the Sultān but for the day, and, when night set in, "with the instinct [and cunning] of the wild beasts," he marched away with his whole force towards the mountains of Karīmān and Sankurān [some say, Shanūzān].

This event completely broke the power of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, having deprived him of nearly half his army, and, under the circumstances, he thought it advisable to retire to Ghaznīn.

⁴ Chingiz Khān, who had now disposed of Tāe-kān, having become aware of this division among, and partial dispersion of, the Sultān's army, hastened to take revenge. Leaving his heavy material behind at Buḳlān, he advanced with his whole available force, by way of Andar-āb, it is said, against Wāmīān or Bāmīān [This *certainly* must be the Wālīān, as he would scarcely have left it unmolested.] He was detained a month before it, and, having taken it, he put every soul to the sword, and then set out against Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn.

The Sultān, on becoming aware of Chingiz's intentions, being far too weak to make a stand against such forces, which no ruler of that time could outnumber, resolved to cross the Sindh, and retire into Hindūstān [the reason probably was, that he claimed the western parts of the Panjāb, and also of Sindh, as successor to the dominions of Mu'izz [Shihāb]-ud-Dīn, Ghūrī, and, leaving a garrison at Ghaznīn, he set out. Ūz Khān was left at Kajlāh [كجلا Kajlā, probably, the name of a place on the route to the Indus by the Paiwār Pass], with the rear guard of the Sultān's small force, to endeavour to

resistance to these forces, and retired towards Burghor [Peṣhā

hold Chingiz's advance at bay and give him time to send his family and effects across, and to get his followers across also, on the appearance of the Mughals, but Ūz Khān was defeated and forced back. Chingiz, who saw through the Sulṭān's object, and knew that he had left Ghaznī fifteen days before his reaching it, pushed on with all possible celerity and, after crushing the Sulṭān's rear-guard, made a forced march during the night. It was in the month of Rajab, 618 H. [corresponding to September 1221 A.D. although a few writers mention Shawwāl—December]; and, when the morning dawned, the Sulṭān, who was encamped near the bank of the river nearly opposite the Nīl āb ferry [the place where Tīmūr is said, subsequently to have passed the Indus, but he crossed at Dīnkot], and who had along with him his family dependents, and treasures, found the Mughals on three sides of him—they were in his front and on both flanks, and the river was in his rear. Notwithstanding the extreme danger of his situation, he was not to be daunted, and determined to stand his ground. The Mughals began by attacking his right wing [the odds were more than fifty to one], under Amīn Malik, a body of them having advanced along the river's bank to take him in flank; and they overpowered him, and most of his party were slaughtered. Amīn Malik, with the few men remaining of the right wing made for Burghāwar but, as the Mughals had occupied the route, he and they were all slaughtered by the way. The left wing, under Khān Malik, was likewise [overwhelmed]. The Sulṭān had kept up this unequal combat from dawn to noon, and was now left with the remains of his centre reduced by this time to about 700 men [some say 100 only]. He flew from the flank to the centre, and centre to flank of the enemy and fought like a lion at bay charged them repeatedly [the Mughals were commanded not to kill him but to take him alive if possible], overthrowing numbers, and clearing a space around him at every onset, and filling them with amazement at his valour. All was of no avail; it was like attempting to stay the ocean's billows, for the Mughal forces increased every moment by the arrival of fresh troops, and pressed forward, every instant contracting the area round the gallant Sulṭān. [If the reader will examine one of the Panjāb survey maps of this part, he will find that the nature of the ground was of some advantage to Sulṭān Jalāl-ud Dīn, by rendering it difficult for the Mughals to show an extended front.]

When he perceived that his situation was become desperate, and had gone beyond name and fame, he surveyed the scene with tearful eyes and fevered lip. At this crisis Ujāgh Malik [also Akhās], son of Khān Malik, his maternal uncle, seized the bridle of his horse, and dragged him away. With weeping eyes, and his heart filled with a thousand pangs, he bade adieu to his wives and children, his mother and other relations and dependents, called for his state charger to be saddled and brought forth, and, having mounted him, once more, like the crocodile, he plunged into the sea of conflict, and, having forced back the foremost of the enemy for a short distance, turned round, divested himself of his armour slung his shield at his back, and, seizing his canopy without its staff, and urging his charger with his whip [spurs not used], he plunged into the Sindh, although the water was at a distance of eight or ten yards below the bank; and, armed with his sword, spear, shield, and quiver of arrows, like unto a fearless lion rushing along a plain, he passed the Jīftīn, and reached the opposite bank in safety after having been carried down some distance by the force of the current, and before reaching a spot favourable for landing. [A *craval* does not look very proud when crossing a river much less the Indus, even in a boat. See ELLIOT vol. II. note 2, page 552]

war?], and, on the banks of the river Sind, an encounter

Between a lion and a camel there is a *vast difference*, although they are but *two points*—شتر and شیر—but who could mistake them, the camel being a very model of awkwardness? The word “Jihūn,” used by one of the authors from which this is taken, seems to signify any mighty river, as the Jihūn of Sindh, and, in this sense, Ibn Khurdabih appears to use it. There is a place, on the west bank of the Indus, a little below Nīl-āb, called Ghora-Trap, or the “Horse’s Leap,” and very probably the name is derived from the Sultān’s feat above recorded. Chingiz Khān caused a monument [منبر] to be erected where the battle took place. It has been said [ELLIOT, vol. II, App. page 571], that “the passage of the river [Indus] would have been no such very gallant feat [Columbus and the egg to wit] nothing is *after* it has been accomplished” in that month [December] when the river was at its lowest,” and reference is made to “Altamsh” [I-yal timish] and old Ranjīt Singh, but where did they cross? Where the river was broad and shallow, and the current not rapid, but where Jalāl-ud-Dīn is said to have plunged in from the overhanging bank, some 25 to 30 feet above the water, was at a place a few miles below Nīl-āb, where the river is about 180 feet deep, 250 yards wide, and running at the rapid rate of nine or ten miles an hour. The whole distance between Nīl-āb and this place may be described as one immense and irresistible rapid. See WOOD “Oxus”] Chingiz, seeing the Sultān in the act of crossing, galloped to the bank, and some of his Mughals would have thrown themselves in after him, but Chingiz forbade them, and they took to their bows. A group, *who witnessed the scene*, relate that, as far as their arrows could reach, the water was red with blood, for several of his followers followed his example. Some idea may be formed, from what has been noticed above, of the value of the “UNIVERSAL HISTORY,” the best authority for the English reader to consult, when it is therein stated, that Jalāl-ud-Dīn, when in the middle of the river—running about nine miles an hour—“stopped to insult Jenghiz Khan, who was come to the bank to admire his courage, and emptied his quiver of arrows against him”!!

Having reached the opposite side, the Sultān, slowly and sorrowfully, rode upwards along the bank until he reached a spot facing his own camp, and beheld the plunder of his family, kinsmen, dependents, his treasures, and all his belongings, without being able to render them succour, while Chingiz continued astride his horse on the opposite side, pointing out the Sultān to his sons. The Sultān now dismounted from his charger, loosened the girths, took off the felt saddle-cloth, together with his own tunic and cloak, and his arrows, and laid them in the sun to dry, and spread his canopy on the head of his spear, which he stuck into the ground to shade him from the sun. He remained all alone until the time of afternoon prayer, when about seven of his followers joined him, and a small tent was pitched for his convenience. Whilst the light permitted, he watched the proceedings of the Mughals, “whilst the heavens above looked down upon him with wonder and amazement, as though they said,—

‘Never hath the world beheld a man like this,
Nor heard of one among the heroes of ancient times’ ”

Chingiz Khān and the whole of the Mughals, who witnessed this wonderful feat, placed their hands to their mouths [denoting amazement], and Chingiz himself, when he beheld the Sultān’s lofty bearing, turned his face towards his sons, and said,—“Such a son as this is worthy to survive his father! Since he has escaped the vortex of fire and water, and reached the shore of escape,

took place between them. Sulṭān Jalāl ud Dīn was defeated and overthrown and he threw himself into the river and retired discomfited into Hindūstān.

The august Sulṭān, Shams ud Dunyā wa ud Dīn, despatched a force from his armies against him upon which Sulṭān Jalāl ud-Dīn turned aside and proceeded towards Ūchchah and Multān. From thence he entered the

countless deeds will be achieved by him, and vast trouble caused and, as long as he lives, it is fallacious for us to entertain the hope of dominion and empire, and how then is it possible for any prudent man to be heedless of his actions."

Several historians say that this event occurred in the vicinity [حدود] of Harhāwar; and, from this, we may judge how far Wāhīd or Bahīd, mentioned under Maḥmūd of Ghazna [page 76], may have been distant from that place. See also note ⁴ page 285.

⁴ Here we have a good specimen of our author's wilful concealment and distortion of fact—he could not have been ignorant of those events, which happened during his own lifetime, in the country in which he was residing, and at Court, where all these matters were perfectly well known. He came first into Sindh in 624 H. not long after they happened. I must only give a brief summary of the principal events to elucidate Jalāl ud Dīn's Indian career and correct our author's blunders and misstatements. The Sulṭān, having crossed the Indus in safety as soon as night came on, entered the Chūl [uncultivated or desert tract] of Jarūk—called to this day the Chūl-i Jalālī—with his few followers, and was joined, by degrees, by stragglers from his army until they numbered about 50 or 100 men, some badly armed. With this handful of followers he attacked a town, where there was a considerable force of Hindūs, defeated them, and captured the place, and in it obtained some horses and arms. Shortly after others of his men, who had escaped from the banks of the Indus, also joined him. He sent a force of 500 horse against another place in that vicinity and again defeated the people of those parts, who showed hostility towards him. By degrees his force increased to between 4000 and 5000 men and Chingiz, who was still in the vicinity of the Indus, on hearing of it and fearing the energy of Jalāl ud Dīn, despatched a force against him under a leader named Tūrtē. The Sulṭān, not being strong enough to oppose the Mughals, retired through a part of the Panjāb towards the frontier of the Kingdom of Dīlī. On this the Mughal leader again retired, after plundering the neighbourhood of Malkapūr. The Sulṭān despatched an envoy to Ilyas timish the slave-king of Dīlī, on arriving near his frontier requesting that the latter would assign a place for his residence for a short time, and urged this request upon the previous good understanding, which had existed between them as neighbours [his father's officials and the ruler of Dīlī probably], and further urged the great advantage of mutual support and that, even for humanity's sake, he would grant this favour of an asylum. The base nature of the slave, however was, as one author says, unchanged in the king; and, sprinkling his head with the dust of churlishness and ill nature, he, after taking a long time to consider on the subject, put the Sulṭān's envoy to death [some say he had him poisoned], under pretence that the envoy had been conspiring against him, but in reality fearing the effect upon his own Turkish followers, and probably the Sulṭān's superiority over himself, his warlike character his nobility of mind and great energy. The manumitted slave

territory of Kirmān, and afterwards Fārs The Atā-bak,

excused himself by saying, that the climate of the country would not agree with the Sultān's health, but that, if he would accept a place in the environs of Dihlī, one should be assigned to him This, of course, was to get him into his power, if possible As to I-yal-timīsh sending "an army" against the Sultān, it is absurd he knew better than to do that He did send a great man as envoy, with rich presents and supplies, and false excuses, for the murder of the Sultān's envoy The Sultān, having returned to Balālah and Nikālah, near Lāhor, and his forces having now increased, by the arrival of many of his old soldiers, to the number of about 10,000, but by no means sufficient to bring the ruler of Dihlī to account, despatched a portion of his army against the Hills of Jūd That force defeated the Khokar [or more correctly, Khokhar] chief, erroneously styled Rāe Kokār and Kokar by most writers [the Ghakhars are quite a distinct race], and returned with great booty The Sultān demanded the chief's daughter in marriage, which was readily acceded to, and, moreover, the Rāe sent his son at the head of a considerable body of his tribe, to join the Sultān's troops, and the title of Kutlagh [some say Kulī] Khān was bestowed upon the latter

Hostility of long standing existed between the Khokhar chief and Kubāchah, governor of Sindh [the whole valley of the Indus, below the Salt Range, was called Sindh in those days], who had now begun to consider himself an independent sovereign He was encamped near Ūchchah with 20,000 men, and a force of 7000 was despatched against him, by the Sultān, under Jahān Pahlawān, guided by the chief's son They made a forced march, and, falling suddenly upon Kubāchah, in the night, totally overthrew him Kubāchah got on board a vessel, and made for his stronghold of Akar and Bakar [Sakar and Bhikar? Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says, "two fortresses on *one* island"], "which are two islands in the river Sindh" [more on this subject anon], and the Sultān came to Ūchchah Kubāchah now managed to get back to Multān, after having, on the Sultān's demand, paid him a considerable sum of money as tribute The hot season coming on, the Sultān returned to the Salt Range hills again, and, on the way, took a fortress called Bisrām or Bīsrām [Bīsrām-pūr?], where he was wounded in the hand by an arrow

Chingiz had despatched another army against him, and the Sultān was obliged to move towards Lower Sindh On his arrival in sight of Multān, he sent an agent to Kubāchah and demanded a contribution, but he, knowing the Mughals were on the move, refused, and showed determined hostility The Sultān did not tarry in the vicinity, but proceeded to Ūchchah, which, proving hostile also, he remained before two days, and set fire to From thence he advanced to Sindūstān [the name given by the generality of historians is Sīwastān—Alfī says, "Sadūsān, which is Sīwastān"]—the present Europeanized Sehwaīn The city and fortress were held by a deputy of Kubāchah's, Fakhr ud-Dīn, Sīlirī A force sent out by him, under Lāchīn, a native of Khitī, having been overthrown by the Sultān's vanguard under Ūz Khān, Fakhr ud-Dīn, on the Sultān's arrival, came forth, and delivered up the place Jalāl ud-Dīn entered the city, and remained there a month, after which he conferred a dress of honour upon Fakhr-ud-Dīn, left him in charge as his lieutenant in Sindūstān, and marched to Dībal and Damrīlah A Habash [Abyssinian or negro] who was ruler of that part, fled, got on ship-board, and escaped The Sultān encamped near those places, and, from thence, detached a force, under Khāsh Khān towards Nahrwālah, from which he returned with immense booty Sultān Jalāl ud-Dīn founded a Jāmi' Masjid at Dīwal or Dībal, as it

Abū Bīkr ruler of Fārs¹ gave the Sulṭān his sister in

is also called, on the ruins of an idol-temple. [The situation of this place seems to have puzzled many Isākhurī says it lies west of the river Mīhrān; Abū l-Kāsim, Ibn Hūkal, says in one place, that it lies on the sea-coast on the eastern bank of the Mīhrān while, in another place, he says the waters of the Mīhrān fall into the sea east of Dībal. Abū l-Kāsim-l-Abd-Allah, son of Khurādād, Khurādādh, author of the *MAṢĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK*, also says the Mīhrān passes Dībal on the east but Abū-l Faḍl says, plainly that Brāhmanābād was subsequently styled Dībal or Dīwal and Thathah, and so does the *Jāmiʿ-at Tawārīkh* and others also. Extensive ruins exist for miles around Thathah and, in endeavouring to fix the site of Dībal, which the ancient geographers say was situated on the coast, and modern writers expect to find there still, the latter do not make allowance for alterations and changes in the course, and for the deposits at the mouth of the Indus, which, during the lapse of many centuries, have increased the distance of the present Thathah from the sea many miles. The mouth [or mouths] of the Indus must have changed considerably within the last 250 years, if Thathah and Dīwal be one and the same place; for Paynton, in his account of the voyage of Captain Christopher Newport, who took out Sir Robert Shirley as envoy to Persia in 1613, says Sir Robert was landed there. He remarks,— *We came to an anchor near the city of Dīwal, in the mouth of the river Sīnd, in 24 30' N LAT and our varying at the same place 16 45 "* Thathah is in LAT 24 44 and Karāgh, which is also supposed by some to be the site of Dībal, lies in 24 51]

Whilst in Lower Sindh, information reached the Sulṭān, that his brother Ghīyās-ud Dīn, Pīr Shāh, was established in Irāk but that the troops, generally desired his [Jālāl-ud Dīn's] presence, and were calling for him to head them; and further that Burāk, the Hājib, was in Kirmān, and was then investing the town [city] of Bardasīr [Ibn Hūkal says— Bardasīr, which is to say Gawāshīr] These things, together with information respecting the movements of a large Mughal force [the one previously alluded to, which was despatched into the Mūkrānī—the Mūkrān], and the return of Chingīz to his own country again, determined the Sulṭān to set out for Irāk by way of Mūkrān, which he did in 621 H; and, like Alexander before him, lost a number of his followers from the unhealthiness of the climate.

From this point, in order to save space, I must greatly curtail the notes I had written, although the remaining events in the career of Jālāl-ud Dīn are very interesting. The Sulṭān entered Kirmān, and Shajā ud Dīn, Abū-l Kāsim a son, who held out Gawāshīr [also called Bardasīr] for Ghīyās-ud Dīn, the Sulṭān's brother and who was then holding it against Burāk, the Hājib, came out and presented the keys to the Sulṭān. Burāk pretended to submit and to be most loyal, and gave his daughter to the Sulṭān, but, subsequently shut him out of the capital, and sent out his followers, although he pretended merely to hold it, and the territory of Kirmān, as the Sulṭān's deputy. Jālāl ud Dī had matters of greater importance to engage his attention at that time, and he accordingly set out for Irāk by way of Shirāz, and sent an envoy to the Atī-bak Sa'd to announce his coming.

¹ Not so: the Atī-bak Sa'd still ruled in Fārs, and Abū Bīkr did not succeed him until 628 H.—seven years subsequently. How different was the behaviour of Sa'd to that of the "angust Sulṭān" of our author! As soon as the Sulṭān's agent came, he despatched his son, Saighur Shāh, with 500 horse, to do him honour and to apologize for not coming himself, because, some time

encamped on the confines of Āzarbāijān, on the side of Shām and Diyār-ı-Bakr, when an army of Mughals came unexpectedly upon him, and he was obliged to fly¹

his operations in Gurjistān and Arman. He marched from Iṣfahān, in 625 H, and, having succeeded against the Gurjīs, marched to Akh̄lāt once more, took it by storm, captured the governor's [Hājib 'Alī's] wife, whom he made his slave, and amply revenged the outrage Shams Malikah Khātūn had suffered at her husband's hands.

Jalāl-ud-Dīn now turned his arms against the Sultān of Rūm, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, son of Kai-Kubād, Saljūqī [see bottom of page 162], and Malik-ul-Ashraf, ruler of Shām, who had combined against him [all the Muḥammadan rulers at this time, with few exceptions, seem bent on their own destruction, and played into the hands of the Mughals], and had been joined by forces from Arman, Gurjistān, and Kıfchāk [Krim?] In the first action, the Sultān overthrew a portion of them, but in a second engagement, having to dismount from his horse through illness, his troops, thinking he had retired from the field, became dispirited and gave way. They were not pursued, because the enemy considered their flight a mere stratagem of the Sultān's to draw them into an ambuscade. This is said to have taken place in 627 H. Jalāl-ud-Dīn had endeavoured [in 627-8 H] to induce the rulers of Rūm and Shām to join him against the common enemy, but jealousy and suspicion on their part prevented so advantageous an alliance.

¹ The end of the gallant Sultān's eventful career, however, was approaching. He had passed the winter of 628 H in the neighbourhood of Irmāniāh, when intimation reached him of the despatch of a fresh and numerous army of Mughals, under Jarmāghūn, and of their early approach. He despatched Ūz Khān, with a strong patrol, to make inquiries. He proceeded as far as Tabrīz, where he was told that they had retired from the country again, and, without satisfying himself as to the truth of this report, he returned to the Sultān's camp with it. Thrown off his guard by this false report, the Sultān and his troops gave themselves up to festivity and carousal. After some time had elapsed, one night, in the month of Shawwāl of the above year, the Mughals came suddenly upon him. The Sultān, who was sound asleep at the time from the effects of his potations, was aroused by Ūz Khān, who urged him to fly. The Mughals had already got into his camp, and were slaying all who came in their way. Ūz Khān kept them at bay for a short time, during which the Sultān was able to mount his horse, and fly towards the hills of the Kurds. He wandered about for some time, when sleep overcame him, he lay down, and fell fast asleep. A Kurd, attracted by the richness of his dress, seized him. The Sultān made himself known to him, and requested the man to conduct him to Malik Muzaffar, the then governor of Akh̄lāt. The Kurd conducted him first to his dwelling, and then went back to the place where he had found the Sultān asleep to search for his horse, which had strayed whilst his master slept. Another Kurd, whose brother had been killed in the storming of Akh̄lāt—some say by the Sultān's own hand—having heard where he was, came, during the absence of his clansman, and slew him in revenge for his brother's death.

With Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Kh̄wārazm Shāhī dynasty terminated. Some authors relate that he was not slain on the above occasion, but that he changed clothes with the Kurd, and turned devotee, and wandered about the world. Curiously enough, I have accidentally met with a confirmation of this. It is

He succeeded in reaching a place in the territory of Akhālā, and halted to rest near a village the chief of which recognized him. In a battle, which had taken place between the Sultān and the troops of Shām he had slain the brother² of that chief. Having the Sultān thus in his power that chieftain martyred him. The next day information was conveyed to the sovereign of Shām who was greatly grieved [at his fate] and he commanded that the murderer should suffer condign punishment.

On the occurrence of this misfortune, the sister of the Atā bak, Abū Bīkr ruler of Fārs [Jalāl ud Dīn's consort] reached Shām. She was treated with honour and reverence, and was conducted back to Fārs.

Thus the dominion of the Khwārazm Shāhs terminated and their remaining Maliks, and their followers, took up their residence in Shām and in Mīṣr.

most interesting, and from one who attended him in his last moments. Shaikh Abū-ud Daūlah, Al Byṭhānī, us-Simnīnī relates as follows — When at Baghdād, I used daily at noon, to wait upon the pious and venerable Shaikh, Nūr-ul Haqq wa ud Dīn Abd-ur Raḥmān-i Isfārāīnī—may his tomb be sanctified! I happened to go upon one occasion, at the usual hour and found him absent from his abode, a rather unusual occurrence at that time of the day. I went again on the following morning to wait upon him, and inquired as to the cause of his absence on the previous day. He replied, My absence was caused through Sultān Jalāl-ud Dīn, Mang-burnī, having been received into the Almighty's mercy. I inquired, What, had he been living all this time? He answered, You may have noticed a certain aged man, with a mole upon his nose, who was wont to stay at a certain place, which he named. I had often remarked the venerable devotee in question and that was the heroic but unfortunate Sultān, Jalāl-ud Dīn. According to this account Jalāl ud Dīn could not have died until 683 H. above sixty years after the period above mentioned.

² The most reliable copies have "brother;" others, "brothers and sons and son again, sons only."

SECTION XVII

THE SHANSABĀNĪAH SULTĀNS, AND THE MALIKS OF GHŪR

MINHĀJ-I-SARĀJ, Jūrjānī, the servant hopeful of the Divine mercy—the Almighty guard him from negligence and inadvertency!—says, with respect to this account of the Shansabānīah Maliks of Ghūr, after this manner —That the following pages are illumined with the sun of the illustrious race of the Sultāns of Ghūr, together with that of the offset of the fragrant tree of the Maliks of Ghūr—may the Almighty God render their dust fragrant, and assign to them a habitation in Paradise!—in the manner of a record, from the dawn of the morning of their dominion, and the noon-day splendour of their sovereignty, together with the genealogy of their family, until the expiration of the empire of that princely house, and the last of the Maliks of that kingly dynasty—the mercy of the Almighty be upon those among them who have passed away¹!—in such wise as masters have, in histories, made mention of them, in order that the robe of this chronicle may be adorned with an account of them, and also, in order that this [their] servant, and his priestly family, may acquit themselves of some portion of the debt of gratitude for benefits received, due unto those Sultāns—the light of the Almighty illumine their tombs!—and, in order that such as may inspect these pages may, please God, derive profit and instruction

Be it known, that that master of eloquence, Maulānā Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mubārak Shāh, of Marw-ar-rūd—the light of the Almighty illumine his tomb!—has strung the genealogical pearls of the Sultāns of this dynasty on the thread of poetry, and, having arranged those pearls in perfect

¹ When this flourish was penned they had ceased to hold any territory for nearly half a century

order has affixed the head pearl of that string to the oyster shell of the illustrious dynasty of Zuhāk the Tāzi, and from the time of those Sultāns up to the first commencement of the sovereignty of Zuhāk he has mentioned the whole of them father by father

This book³ their servant, Minhāj-i-Sarāj inspected in the year 602 H., before the exalted throne in the sacred *haram* [private dwelling] of that lady the Princess of the Universe, and the most excellent of her day and of the age, the glory of the world and of the faith, the sovereign of all good qualities among the race of mankind, Māh Malīk daughter of the august Sultān Ghīyās-ud Dunya wa ud Dīn, Abī ul Fath Muḥammad son of Sām, Ḳasīm i Amīr ul Mūminīn—may the light of the Almighty illumine them! This Queen of the Universe used to bestow her fostering care and protection upon this frail creature [Minhāj i Sarāj], and in her own princely hall, as though he had been a child of her own, he was brought up and in his younger years he used day and night, to dwell within her *haram* and, under her blessed sight, he used to receive instruction.

That princess was possessed of many virtues and endowments. First she departed from this transitory sphere, and passed to the eternal mansion within the veil of maidenhood. Second she knew the whole of God's word [the Ḳur'ān] by heart. Third she was a depository of all the traditions of martyrdom. Fourth she used, once a year to devote a certain period to religious exercises, and would repeat the whole Ḳur'ān in two genuflexions of prayer. Fifth when her father Sultān Ghīyās-ud Dīn Muḥammad i Sām went to the mercy of the Almighty for a period of seven years the light of the sun and of day never shone upon her and she continued in constant and solitary prayer. The mercy of the Almighty be upon her and may her happiness and her reward be ample in heaven!

In short, that master of eloquence, Maulānā Fakhr ud Dīn, Mubārak Shāh, has composed that genealogical list in verse, in the name of Sultān Alā ud Dīn Husain Jahān soz, and at the outset, I heard from the sacred lips of that

³ One historian quotes a portion of Fakhr-ud Dīn's work, but it is too long for insertion here. He was a Salyid, hence he is styled Shāh.

most excellent of her time, and Khadījah³ of the age, the Malīkah-i-Jalālī⁴, that, when some portion of the book and chronicle in question had been composed in verse, through a change which had showed itself in the temperament of Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mubārak Shāh, this poem was neglected by him until the time when the throne of the kingdom became adorned and beautified with the majesty and august splendour of Sulṭān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn⁵, Muhammad-i-Sām, when this chronicle became graced with his name and titles, and was brought to completion

The Chronicler relates after this manner —The Almighty knoweth the truth!—that this dynasty are called Shansabānīān with reference to their paternal ancestor [Shansab by name], who, after the removal of the sons of Zuhāk, grew up in the country of Ghūr, and attained great authority, power, and superiority, and acquired a name. The great probability is, that this personage lived in the time of the Khilāfat of the Lord of the Faithful, 'Alī—may God reward him!—and that he received conversion to the faith at the hand of 'Alī himself⁶, and that he took, from that Khalīfah, a mandate and a standard, and to every one of that family, who used to sit upon the throne, that covenant which the Lord of the Faithful, 'Alī, had written, used to be presented to him, and he would agree to abide by it, after which he would become [legally] king. The family likewise were among the clients of the Khalīfah 'Alī, and affection towards the High Priests of the family of the Chosen One used to be a firm tenet in their creed

ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST [ANCESTORS] OF THE FAMILY, THEIR GENEALOGY, AND THEIR PROGENITORS, UP TO ZUHĀK, SURNAMED TĀZĪ

Zuhāk has been mentioned in the section on the ancient kings of Irān, and the duration of his reign was a thousand years less one day and a half

³ Muhammad's first wife

⁴ The same lady he previously referred to under the name of Mīh-Malīk

⁵ One of the oldest MSS. has Mu'izz ud Dīn, the younger of the two brothers.

⁶ Jahān-Ārā, and some other histories distinctly state that Shansab, son of Kharnāz, was contemporary with the Khalīfah 'Alī, and that he was converted to the Muhammadan faith by him. Compare our author's statement also with that at page 312.

The learned in chronology differ considerably with respect to his ancestry and his forefathers, from Mihtar Ādam down to Mihtar Nūḥ, on account of the great lapse of time⁷. The fraternity who account Zuhāk among the descendants of Sām son of Mihtar Nūḥ, relate as follows — Zuhāk⁸ son of Anwān [Ulwān] son of Amlāk [Amlāt and Alāk] son of Ād, son of Āṣ [Awaṣ and Awaṣ] son of Iram son of Sām son of Nūḥ, son of Lamak, while others again have related that his [Zuhāk's] name was Bīwar-āsp son of Ārward-āsp son of Tūḥ, or Tawah [Tarḥ] son of Kābah [Kāyah?], son of Nūḥ.

Some, on the other hand have stated — Bīwar āsp or Bīwar-asp son of Ārward-āsp⁹ son of Zankabā [Ranbakā] son of Tāzlo-barsed [Tāzlo-barsid, Tāzlo-barshed Tāzlo-

⁷ The Muḥammadan historians are at variance respecting the descent of Zuhāk. Our author in his account of him in Section V says he was called Bīwar-āsp, and that God sent Nūḥ to him to exhort him to repent of his misdeeds, and that Nūḥ continued for ages to do so. He would not repent, and the Flood followed. Our author then copies Ṭabarī [tolerably correct], and says that that author [the most trustworthy perhaps of any] states that Bīwar-āsp lived before the Flood, in which he perished; and, one thousand years after the death of Nūḥ [compare with his statement here and at page 312], a king arose of the seed of Sām, son of Nūḥ, named Zuhāk, who was a sorcerer.

Immediately after quoting Ṭabarī our author again says that Peḡh-dād son of Hoṣhang, had a son, Tāzlo by name, who is the father of all the Arabs. He had a son Zankabā, who had a son Ārward-āsp, who was father of Zuhāk. The Tārīkh i Muḥaddas there quoted by him, says Zuhāk's name is Bīwar āsp, son of Ārward-āsp, son of Tarah, son of Kāyah, son of Nūḥ.

The Jām'at Tawārīkh, Tārīkh i-Ibrāhīmī, and some others, say the Ajāmi call Zuhāk, Bīwar-āsp, and that the Patriarch Ibrāhīm lived during his reign; but further state that great discrepancy exists among authors as to his descent. The Arabs say he was brother's son of Shaddād i Ād, and trace his descent to Iram, son of Sām, brother of Arifakhshād, while the Irānīs say his name is Ārward-āsp, son of Rūkūwar [Zankabā?], son of Sāhirah, son of Tūḥ, son of Fāḍl and that Tūḥ was Hoṣhang's brother. Guṣfah and others trace his descent from Jamshed, and say he was his sister's son; but the greater number of chroniclers agree that he was sixth in descent from Kašūmurt, also written Kašūmurg. The people of Yaman, again, say Zuhāk was of Yaman, of the tribe of Tabba [the royal tribe of Arabia Felix, of whom Balqis, Queen of Sheba [Sabā], was one], and that he was the first of the Fir'awns of Miṣr.

* It will be well to mention here that the *first* name given in the following pages is the one considered *most* trustworthy from comparison, and in which the greater number and best copies of the text agree and that those within brackets are less so according to position.

⁹ Alward-āsp and Ārward-āsp are also the names of the father of Luhr-āsp also called Ārward Shāh.

narsad, Tābūr, Tāzbū, and Tāzbūr], son of Farāwwal [Farāwal, Ḳarāwal?], son of Sīā-mak, son of Mubshī [Mushbī], son of Kaiū-murs, son of Ādam—peace be unto him!—while others again say —Kaiū-murs, son of Lāwad, son of Sām, son of Nūh

The writers of chronicles [other than those above?] relate after this manner, that Ārwand-āsp was the father of Zuhāk¹, and son of the son of Tāzīo-barsed [Tāzīo, Tāzbū, and Tāzbūr], and, with the concurrence of historians, Tāzīo-barsed, likewise, was the father of all the 'Arabs, and brother of Hoṣhang Malik², and the 'Arabs are called Tāzī³ through affinity to him. He held dominion and sovereignty over the nomad tribes of 'Arabs, as did his descendants after him. From him the authority passed to his son, Zankabā [Zankabā?], and from him to the latter's son, Ārwand-āsp [Ārwan-āsp], who was a just, wise, and God-fearing man. He had a son, Zuhāk by name, who was exceedingly malicious and factious, a blood-shedder, and a great tyrant, and a cruel man, whom Shaitān [Satan] had led astray from the right way⁴. He dug a well in the

¹ According to Tabarī he [Zuhāk] was a descendant of Hām, son of Nūh, and after the Flood there was no king upon the earth for a thousand years, until Zuhāk, the sorcerer, arose, but there are different accounts of him, and great discrepancies exist among authors concerning him. There are the remains of an immense fortress near Bamīān, still known as the castle of Zuhāk-i Mārān, or Zuhāk of the Snakes.

² Hoṣhang is considered the fourth in descent from Ādam, and was the son of Sīā-mak, who was son of Kaiūmurt. Some consider him to be Arfakhshād, son of Sām, who composed the Jāwīdān-Khurad. He is said to have founded Istakhur—Istakhur is the 'Arab form of writing it—of Fārs, Bābal, and Sūs.

³ Called also Tājī by 'Ajamīs, and hence the name Tājīk [^z added to 'Ajamī names forms a diminutive], by which the descendants of 'Arabs were styled who were born in and had grown up in 'Ajam. At present the term is used with respect to Persian-speaking people who are neither Turks nor 'Arabs, and of which race the inhabitants generally of towns and cities in Afghānistān, and several districts likewise under Afghān sway, and also of several independent states to the north, consist. The Afghāns often style them "Tājīk-Mājīk." Numbers of 'Arab tribes, or parts of tribes settled in different parts of 'Ajam, after its conquest by the first Musalmān invaders, and several tribes dwelling among the Afghāns, and often confounded with them, claim 'Arab descent. In my proposed history of the Afghān tribes, I shall be able to enter into more detail on this subject. Modern philosophers, however, are, as a matter of course, divided in opinion about the derivation of the name, and also as to the descent of the people, but why should we begrudge them the infinite pleasure of still speculating upon the matter, and trying to make every other account fit that of certain Greeks? See page 309.

⁴ A few copies have "from the right way, so that he dug a well," &c

path which his father was wont to pass, and Ārwand āsp, who had become old and infirm fell into it, and was killed¹

Zuhāk now became sovereign over the Arabs, and, after Jamshed [Jamshed's time?] conquered the whole world, and by sorcery and tyranny brought the whole of it under his sway. The author of the *Tārīkh-i Muḥaddasī* states, that Zuhāk possessed a cylinder made of gold in which were seven apertures, each of which was named after one of the seven climes of the four quarters of the earth. When the inhabitants of either of these climates happened to rebel against his authority he would raise incantations in the aperture named after such climate, and breathe into it, and famine, pestilence, and calamity would arise in it.

After a thousand years of his sovereignty passed away² Almighty God was pleased to release the world from his tyranny and oppression and the kingdom came to Farīdūn. He seized Zuhāk and confined him in a pit on mount Dimāwand, in Irāk.

ACCOUNT OF BUSTĀM, MALIK OF HIND AND OF SIND³

This Bustām Malik held the dominion of Hindūstān⁴ at the hand of Zuhāk, and he was one of Zuhāk's descendants

¹ According to trustworthy authorities, this Bīwar-āsp became styled Zuhāk, from the old Persian words *dah-āk*, signifying ten vices and defects; and the Arabs, in copying the name, used *z* for *d* or and transformed it into *z* by changing the *h* also into *z*. With this change of letters, the original meaning of the word became changed for *z* [Zuhāk] signifies "a mocker laughing."

His vices and defects were hideousness, dwarfishness, excessive arrogance and pride, shamelessness, audacity, gluttony and voracity, a foul tongue, recklessness, lying, injustice, ferocity and tyranny, depravity of heart, and stolidity. These are rather more than *ten* however. Rāzāt-uz-Ṣafā says Bīwar is from the Pahlawī, and in Darī means ten thousand; and, therefore, Dah-āk received the name of Bīwar-āsp because he had always ten thousand Arab horses in his stables.

² Tabarī says his age was a thousand years, while other writers state that he reigned for that period of time.

³ Nine copies of the text have "Malik of Hind and of Sind, and others have "Hind and Ghūr." In the map, if such may be so called, accompanying the account of Sijistān and adjacent parts, in the *MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK*, "the river of Hind and Sind adjoins Ghūr on the north-east."

⁴ *See* in all copies of the text.

namely⁹ — Bustām, son of Mīhshād [Mīshhād, Mamshād, Shamād, Shād, Shihād, and Shihādan], son of Narīmān [also called Nadīmān], son of Afrīdūn [or Farīdūn], son of Sāhind [Sāmīnd and Sāmīd], son of Sīfand-āsp [or Isfand-āsp], son of Zuhāk, son of Suhrāb¹, son of Shaid-āsp, son of Sīā-mak, son of Marnīās [Marsās and Marnās], son of Zuhāk the Malīk

When Zuhāk was made captive, Afrīdūn despatched an army to take possession of Hindūstān, and Bustām, who did not possess the power to oppose the forces of Afrīdūn, retired towards the mountain tracts of Shaknān² [Shaghnān] and Bāmīān, and therein took up his residence. On a second occasion the forces of Afrīdūn were directed to proceed in search of him, and Bustām had several times, for the purpose of hunting and in his rambles, come from the mountains of Shaknān and Tukhārīstān³ into the mountain tracts of Ghūr. That district was called Hazār-Chashmah [the thousand springs] on account of the number of rivulets in it, and Bustām, at this time, retiring before the army of Afrīdūn, came into Ghūr, and at the foot of the mountain of Zār-i-Margh⁴ [the place where Margh grows] he fixed his residence⁵

⁹ Other writers say that Bustām was one of the descendants, not sons, of Zuhāk, and that his progeny increased in Ghūr up to the time of Shansab, who was contemporary with the Khalīfah, 'Alī. Shansab was the son of Kharnak, and from him descended Bustām, as well as Pūlād. See page 311

¹ Jāhān-Ārā has Shahrān

² The letters k and gh are interchangeable. A few copies have شقان for شکان

³ Not Hwen Thsang's "Tokhārīstān," extending "ten days' journey by thirty," but a much smaller Tukhārīstān is meant here.

⁴ Zār signifies a place of growth, and "margh" is the name of a species of verdure called also *farex*, which any browsing animals feed on with great avidity. It is odoriferous, the reed *scoenanthemum*

⁵ Other authorities state that when Farīdūn overcame Zuhāk, a number of his descendants fled, and took shelter in the mountains of Ghūr, and that Bustām, who was one of his progeny, and who held Hindūstān, being unable to cope with the forces of Farīdūn, he [Bustām] also took shelter in Ghūr. The place he took up his residence at was, from the number of its springs and rivulets, called Hazār-Chashmah, and was an exceedingly pleasant and strong spot, and therefore he chose it, saying to himself "*baro, ma-andesh!*"—"Go to, don't be concerned!" and that spot was subsequently called Mandesh. Bustām prospered there, and his descendants multiplied, and they were rulers, one generation after the other. Other writers say he first fled for shelter "to the mountain tracts of Bāmīān, which lie between Balkh and Kābul, and from thence entered the difficult country of Ghūr, in which he founded several strong fortresses. He had wandered about in several parts previously before reaching

At this point in the account of Buṣṭām the masters of history have two traditions, one of which is that just related. The other tradition is from the *Muntakhab-ī Tārīkh-ī Nāṣirī*, which one of the great men of Ghaznī composed in the time of the Sultān 1 Ghāzī, Mu'izz ud Dīn Muḥammad son of Sām—the Almighty illumine his tomb!—which is as follows —

“When Afrīdūn overcame Zuhāk and took the dominion from him, two brothers his sons, reached Nihāwand. The elder brother bore the name of Sūz* and the younger was called Sām. The elder brother Sūz, became Amīr [chief or ruler], and the younger who was named Sām became the Sipah-sālār [leader or commander of his forces].”

“Amīr Sūz had a daughter and the Sipah sālār Sām a son and these two cousins had in early childhood, been betrothed to each other and they had fixed their hearts upon each other. The Sipah sālār Sām died, and his son had become valiant and a great warrior so much so that in that day he had no equal in manliness and valour. After the decease of his father certain envious and malicious persons arose, who slandered him to his uncle Amīr Sūz, in consequence of which his uncle became irritated against him and he determined to bestow his daughter upon the son of some one of the Maliks of the parts round about.

When his daughter became aware of this she made her cousin acquainted with it, so that, one night, he came and unfastened the gate of the fortress, and having loosed and brought out ten chosen horses* from the stables of Amīr

Ghūr; and, as soon as Farīdūn became aware of his whereabouts, he despatched large forces against him, but, after protracted hostilities, the forces of Farīdūn were glad to accept terms, on account of the difficult nature of the country and the strength of Buṣṭām's castles. Tribute and taxes were imposed upon him [Buṣṭām], and he had to content himself with Ghūr and not to molest other parts of the country. His descendants increased and multiplied up to the time of Shansab, who is said to have been converted by Alī. The *Jāmi' ut Tawārīkh* states that the Ghūrīs are styled Banī Rāsīb, otherwise famous under the name of Uz-Zuhāk.

* Some copies have Sūr but the oldest have as above. One has Sawr.

† Such being the case, wherefore any cause of dispute afterwards, and appeal to the Khalfah, as to who should be ruler and who commander of the troops? See page 313.

‡ Two copies of the text, which are reliable, have ten chosen horses of his father from the stables of Amīr Sūz.”

Sūz, he set the damsel and her servants upon them and made off, taking away as much coin as he was able to remove. With all diligence possible he made for the foot of the mountains of Ghūr, and there he took up his quarters. The girl and her cousin said [to each other], 'Za-o [i.e. Az-o] ma-andesh'—be not afraid of him—and the name of that place became Mandesh⁹, and there their affairs assumed stability¹."

According to the first tradition, however, when Amīr Buṣṭām, with his followers, took up his residence in that locality, information was conveyed to Afrīdūn. He was desirous of sending forces, for the third time, for the purpose of destroying and exterminating Buṣṭām and his followers, or to take him [alive] if possible. The sons of Afrīdūn, Tūjz and Salm, by means of treachery, killed their brother, Ī-raj, who was on the throne of Īrān², and,

⁹ "Lamandesh" in most copies of the text, but impossible from what he has just stated. Some copies are very different here, in style as well as words, and have, "They said that the name of that place was Dū-mandesh, and at this time, on account of that great personage's coming thither, the name became Bulandesh." The I O L MS, and R. A S MS, both agree that the name was "Roz-mandesh, and the name became Bulandesh," but omit the first clause of the last sentence. Mandesh is mentioned by some old writers as the name of a stronghold in Khurāsān. Desh must not be confounded with the Sanskrit word *Des*—a country, &c. See note ⁵, page 306

¹ i.e. There they settled down permanently.

² In his account of Farīdūn in Section V, our author says Ī-raj, the youngest son, held the countries of 'Irāk i-'Arab, and 'Irāk i-'Ajam, and Hind and Sind. Salm signifies *peace*, Tūjz [also Tūj], *boldness, daring*, and Ī-raj, *wisdom with tact*. The Rauzat-ut-Ṭāhūrīn states that he held Khurāsān, and only a portion of Hind and Sind.

The Rauzat-ut-Safā and some others say that a sept of the descendants of Zuhāk, not the sons of Zuhāk, finally took up their residence in the mountain tracts of Ghūr, and that they were hard pressed for some time by the forces of Farīdūn, and became as desirous of accommodation as Farīdūn's general was of granting it, and the Zuhākīs agreed to pay taxes and tribute, and not to encroach on other territory. See note ⁵, page 306 7

In the account of the ancient kings of Asia, contained in the Rauzat-ut-Ṭāhūrīn, taken from the work compiled from ancient records in the Pahlawī language in 259 H, and which work, subsequently, was partly put into verse by the poet, Dakīkī, in Ismā'il Sāmānī's reign, and afterwards resumed by Anṣārī, and completed by Firdausī, in Mahmūd of Ghaznī's time, but of course greatly embellished by the poets, and also in Ṭabarī, and Jāmi'-ut-Ṭawārikh, there are detailed accounts of the reign of Farīdūn, but although the death of Ī-raj is given therein, and agrees with what our author says [he doubtless took his short notice from Ṭabarī], of course, nothing whatever is mentioned about Buṣṭām. Karsh-āsp, ancestor of Rustam, held Kābul,

on that account, Shāh Afrīdūn was greatly afflicted in heart, and distressed in mind and he did not obtain³ his revenge upon Buṣṭām. The latter having found time and opportunity turned his attention to peopling and rendering habitable the mountain districts of Ghūr and parts adjacent.

He despatched trustworthy agents to the presence of Shāh Afrīdūn and sought for peace. Afrīdūn complied with the request of Buṣṭām and as he had now obtained security and safety the followers dependents, and partisans, and the Arab tribes akin or related to Zuhāk, from all parts around turned their faces towards the mountain district of Ghūr and took up their residence in that country and the number of those tribes became very great.

As Almighty God had willed that from that race pious kings and potent sovereigns should arise, He prospered and blessed those tribes so that they attained unto the faith and covenant of Islām and from the mine of the seed of

Zābul, and Sijistān for Farīdūn, and any petty chief would naturally have been tributary to the former. The nephew of Karagh-āsp, Narīmān, had a son named Sām, who was father of Zāl, father of Rustam. Sām is said to have held Zābul, and Kābul, as far as Hind, in feudal sovereignty from the rulers of Irān. What I wish here to draw attention to, however is the following :

Zāl, having succeeded to his father's fief, went to Kābul [Zābul?] from Zaranj [founded by Karagh-āsp], and Mīrāb Shāh, of the race of Zuhāk the Tāzi, the tributary ruler came forth to receive him, and acknowledged his supremacy. Mīrāb Shāh gave his daughter to Zāl, and she was Rustam's mother. Subsequently this same Mīrāb Shāh is said to have led the right wing of the army of Kai Kūbād, the first of the Kāsinīn dynasty in the expedition against Afrīsiyāh, the Turk. The Jāmi'at Tawārīkh also states that, when Afrīsiyāh crossed the Jihūn into Khurāsān, he detached a force to intercept Sām, or keep him in check; and, when the force reached the Hirmand, Mīrāb Shāh, who held the city and fortress of Zābul, as deputy of Zāl, sent a message, as a ruse only to its commander saying, "I am neither Zābul nor Irānī, but of the race of Zuhāk; and am loyally inclined to Afrīsiyāh." These accounts are, at least, equally as trustworthy as the legends of Greeks about themselves, and perhaps more so. I hope very shortly to give them in detail. I am one of those [weak minded persons perhaps] who consider the historians of a country best qualified to write its history—its early history at least—and prefer the accounts of ancient Persia, given by the old Irānī and Arab writers after the time of its conquest, to those of Greeks who do not even know the names correctly just as I should esteem the history of England, from the pen of a Hume or a Lingard, superior to one written by a native of India who had sojourned three months in London, or by a Chinaman who had never visited it.

³ One copy has, and he did not give his mind to taking revenge on Buṣṭām.

them the gems of sovereignty were arranged upon the thread of dominion. Some thousands of mosques were founded in place of ancient idol-temples, and the laws and canons of Islām were promulgated to the very extremity of the region of Hindūstān which adjoins that of Chīn—the mercy of the Almighty be upon them! These Sultāns likewise acquired slaves, every one of whom spread the carpet of justice upon the surface of the world, and raised palaces of beneficence and munificence, and, up to this present time, the heir of that sovereignty and successor to the functions of that empire, is the pearl of the oyster-shell of ascendancy, out of the ocean of dominion, the Great Sultān, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abī-l-Muzaffar, Mahmūd, son of the Sultān, Ḳasīm-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn⁴—the Almighty perpetuate his sovereignty and dominion, and may he long reign!

The Sultāns of the Shansabī dynasty have been divided into four groups—I, that class, the mention of which will now be recorded, of which Sultāns Fīrūz-koh was the seat of government, II, the dynasty of the Sultāns of Bāmīān, who were a branch from this great tree of sovereignty, III, the dynasty of the Sultāns of Ghaznīn, which was the capital of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Ghāzī, son of Sām, and his own particular slaves, every one of whom, after him, ascended the throne, and IV, the dynasty of the Sultāns of Hindūstān, the heritage of which dominion, and the sovereignty of which monarchy passed to them, and after whom the race of Shamsī⁵ became established upon the throne of royalty. May the Almighty purify the tombs of those who have passed away, and prolong the sovereignty of those remaining to the judgment day!

As much as was discoverable respecting this race in chronicles has been recorded [here], although, in the com-

⁴ Some of the best copies of the text have, "son of the Sultān of Sultāns," and omit the Kasīm altogether. If the Shansabānī Sultāns had any right to assume such a title [explained farther on], neither the slave, nor the slave's son, this "pearl of the oyster-shell of ascendancy," the poor puppet to whom our author dedicated his work, had the most remote right to assume it.

⁵ Only a single copy has this passage correct. The slaves here referred to were not relatives nor kinsmen of each other. Shams ud-Dīn, I-yal timīsh, however, married a daughter of Kutb ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, his owner, who ruled in Hindūstān, and the dynasty of the former, from his name, Shams ud-Dīn, is styled the Shamsī or Shamsīnī dynasty.

pilation of it there was not an uninterrupted succession to be set forth⁶

I. AMĪR PULĀD [OR FULĀD], GHŪRĪ SHANSABĪ.

Amīr Pulād Ghūrī, was one of the sons of Malik Shansab' son of Kharnak and he brought⁷ under his jurisdiction the districts of the mountain tracts of Ghūr. He rendered the names of his fathers immortal and, when the advocate⁸ [of the cause] of the house of Abbās Abū Muslim i Marwazī¹ arose, and considered it expedient to oust and to expel the Amīr of the family of Ummīyah from the territory of Khurāsān, Amīr Pulād led the forces of Ghūr to the aid of Abū Muslim i Marwazī² and greatly distinguished himself in supporting and assisting the house of Abbās and the family of the Prophet

For a long period the dominion over Mandesh³ and the authority over the mountain tracts of Ghūr was exercised by him. He died and his dominions remained in the possession of the sons of his brother⁴ and subsequently their affairs [and proceedings] were not to be discovered up to the time of Amīr Banjī the son of Nahārān.

II. AMĪR BANJĪ, SON OF NAHĀRĀN SHANSABĪ.

Amīr Banjī, son of Nahārān, was a great lord, and, in Ghūr his memory is undying and he is accounted among the greatest and most famous of the Maliks of that country.

⁶ At this place, in some copies, a totally distinct idiom is used to express the same sense.

⁷ See note ³ page 306.

⁸ Some copies have "came" under his jurisdiction, and others "were" under &c.

It is something new certainly to find that *Shahib-i Da'wat* means "a founder."

¹ That is a native of Marw.

² In the accounts of Abū Muslim, the quondam "founder" of this house of Abbās, and in the accounts of those transactions in the history of the Khalīfah, there is no mention, of course, of the great support they received from Pulād the Ghūrī. Some writers say that the fief of Ghūr was conferred upon Amīr Pulād and his descendants on account of the services rendered by him, and that he added to it by annexing other tracts of country.

³ All the copies of the text here, with few exceptions, write this name differently as well as incorrectly. There is no doubt that Mandesh is the correct name. See note ³ page 306, and note ³ page 308.

⁴ Which brother is, of course, nameless.

The whole of the Sultāns were descended from his sons⁵, and his genealogy has been thus made out — Banjī, son of Nahārān, son of War-mesh⁶, son of War-meshān [War-maṣān, Dar-maṣhān, War-maṣhān, and War-heshān], son of Parwez, son of Parwez⁷, son of Shansab, son of Kharnak⁸, son of Bain or Bayyīn, son of Munshī⁹, son of Wajzan [Wazn, Wazan, and Warat, or Darrat, or Dirat⁷], son of Hain [Hīn, or Hunain⁷], son of Bahrām, son of Ḥajash, or Khajash, [Jahs, or Jahsh⁷], son of Ibrāhīm, son of Mu'ddil [Ma'add, or Ma'id], son of Asad [Nāsād⁷], son of Shadād, son of Zuhāk

Amīr Banjī was excessively handsome, and of excellent disposition, and endowed with all good qualities and natural gifts. When the dominion of the house of 'Abbās acquired stability¹, and the empire of Islām came under the sway of the Khalīfahs of that family, he presented himself at the Court of the 'Abbāsī Khalīfahs, and the first person of the Ghūrīān race who proceeded to the Khalīfah's Court², and brought [back] a covenant and a standard, was Amīr Banjī, son of Nahārān

The cause of his proceeding to the presence of the Lord of the Faithful, Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, was this — In the territory of Ghūr there was a tribe who are called Shīṣānīān³,

⁵ And from him, too, we may suppose

⁶ Jahān Ārā has Nahāwān [and Nahādān], son of Wīr-mesh [and War-mesh], son of War-maṣhān, and Muntakhab ut-Tawārikh has Nahāwān, son of War-mesh, son of War-maṣhān. Firishtah [Muḥammad Kāsim, *not* "Briggs," who turns Shansabī into Shistī⁷], to judge from three or four copies of the text, has made a terrible hash of these names, and, of course, Dow scarcely ventures to meddle with them, but those he does interfere with he succeeds, as with others in every place in his volumes, in making so ridiculous that their own mothers could not distinguish them. But what can be expected of a translator who does not appear to have known what *مورخان* [mu'arrikhān, signifying "annalists, historians"] meant, which he, in his innocence, styles "MOR CHAN, *the historian*" [vol. 1. p. 131], and yet his work is the great cabbage-garden for modern historians of India for the million¹

⁷ One copy alone of the text has "Parwez, son of Parwez," but it is one of the best copies I have

⁸ Respecting this name there is not the least doubt "Harnak" is not correct

⁹ Another name for Uṭārid [Mercury] is Munshī

¹ Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, to whose court Amīr Banjī went, was the *fifth* 'Abbāsī Khalīfah

² See page 302, where Shansab is said to have been converted by the Khalīfah, 'Alī, and to have brought back with him a covenant and a standard

³ That is to say, the name of the tribe was Shīṣ, and, when speaking of its people, Shīṣān or Shīṣānīān

and they assert that, in the first place, their ancestor embraced the true faith and then the Shansabānīān did and Muḥammad in the dialect of Ghūr they call Hamad [Aḥmad?] and after they had embraced Islām, they became styled Hamadī [Aḥmadī?] that is to say Muḥammadī. In the time of Amīr Banjī, the Mīhtar [chief] of the tribe of Shīsānīān was an Amīr named Shīs son of Bahrām and in the language of the Ghūrīs Shīs they call Shīs⁴ and this tribe they call Shīsānīān after the name of this Amīr. Now between Amīr Shīs and Amīr Banjī, son of Nahārān dissension arose about the lordship of Ghūr and [in consequence] disturbance ensued among the people of that territory. The whole agreed together on either side, that both the Amīrs, Banjī and Shīs, should proceed to the presence of the Khalīfah and whichever should bring back from the Court of the Khalīfat a covenant and a standard should be accounted Amīr. Both disputants made their arrangements with the determination of undertaking their journey and setting out towards the Dār ul Khilāfat. The throne of the Khilāfat at this time, was adorned by the radiance of the Lord of the Faithful, Hārūn ar Rashīd.

The chronicler relates that, in that country [Ghūr] there was a merchant, a Yahūdī [Jew] [a follower] of the religion

⁴ By nearly every other writer of authority they are said not to have embraced Islām up to the time of Husain, son of Sām, son of Hasan, who was made ruler of Ghūr by Mas'ūd I Karṭī, Sulṭān of Ghaznī. See page 321 and note.

I have several times mentioned that the various copies of the text collated may be divided into two sets, which, in many places, differ considerably in idiom. At this place, the oldest and best copies have Khamad [خمد], Khamadī [خمدی], and Aḥmadī [احمدی], and also at page 369, whilst the more modern copies have Hamad, and Hamadī, with the exception of the I. O. L. MS. No. 1952, which, at page 369, has Khamadī also. The points of letters are often omitted in writing, and ح might be written for خ but that خ should be written for ح, although possible, is not so probable. Still I do not consider myself quite justified in adopting the reading of the older copies, although the Ghūrīān tribes may have given ح the harsher sound of خ. I certainly have never met with a similar instance of the kind. We may suppose, with some certainty that the Ghūrīān merely adopted the other name of Muḥammad, derived from the same root, namely Aḥmad, by which the prophet is mentioned in the Kur'ān [a matter which has been much discussed], and hence they used Aḥmadī in preference to Muḥammadī. See page 369.

⁵ That is to say the Ghūrīs did not correctly pronounce the ح as ḥipped of the Arabs, but pronounced it as common ح.

of Mihtar Mūsā [Moses], on whom be peace! This merchant entertained a friendship for Amīr Banjī. He had travelled a great deal, and had acquired great experience in the ways of the world, and had frequented the capitals of the rulers of the countries around, and had become acquainted with the usages and forms of etiquette of the Courts of Sultāns and Princes, and he set out in company with Amīr Banjī.

He was acquainted with the objects and intentions of Amīr Banjī, and he said to him —“If I should instruct thee in etiquette, and make thee acquainted with the usages of decorum and politeness, and give thee proper knowledge of the forms and ceremonies observed at the Court of the Khilāfat, and in the presence of sovereigns, so that on that account the authority and government of the territory of Ghūr shall be conferred upon thee, do thou enter into a covenant with me, that, in every tract that I may desire, throughout the whole of thy territory, thou shalt assign a locality to, and cause to settle therein, a number of the Banī-Isrā'il [children of Israel], followers of the faith of Mihtar Mūsā, in order that under the shadow of thy protection, and beneath the guardianship of thy Maliks and thy offspring, they may dwell in peace and tranquillity⁶” Amīr Banjī, son of Nahārān, entered into a covenant with that merchant of the Banī-Isrā'il, and said —“When thou teachest me the usages of politeness, and instructest me in the rules of conduct and demeanour necessary to be observed before princes, and in paying homage at the Court of the Khilāfat, I will fulfil the whole of thy requests, and fully satisfy thy desires.”

This covenant having been duly settled on both sides, the merchant of the Banī-Isrā'il commenced to instruct Amīr Banjī in the polite usages necessary to be observed before princes, and at the Courts of sovereigns, and the requisite forms of respect and reverence needed at the

⁶ I would here call the reader's particular attention to the universal tradition of the Afghāns, recorded in all histories of them, respecting their claim to Israelitish descent. But they consider it an insult to be called Yahūdīs or Jews, and declare that they are Banī-Isrā'il. Many European writers declare most energetically that such a descent is impossible. Perhaps if it had been recorded in Greek, or merely mentioned by one of that nation, they would have been equally energetic in the other way.

Khalifah's Court. The merchant likewise began to put in order and make ready a dress for him, consisting of a tunic, a cap boots, and breeches and to perfect him in riding and in the mode of wearing his arms, in such wise, that his rival, **Shis**, son of Bahrām, knew nothing whatever of all this [preparation] until they arrived at the **Khalifah's** capital.

Shis, son of Bahrām proceeded thither just as he was, in the short **Ghūrīān** garments which he was accustomed to wear at home, whilst **Amīr Banjī** son of **Nahārān** entered the **Khalifah's** capital in a dress befitting an **Amīr** and becoming a great personage.

After they had been permitted to make their obeisances before the **Khalifah's** Court, when a convenient opportunity arose each of the disputants represented what were his objects and wishes, in a respectful manner and with many expressions of his devotion and loyalty and stated to the **Wazīr** and the **Ustād ur Rāx bān**⁷ the matter of the dispute between them and made fully known what were their desires and requirements. The Lord of the Faithful **Hārūn ar Rashīd** after he had been pleased to peruse their statements, and his august consideration and attention had been drawn to their case was pleased to regard **Amīr Banjī** son of **Nahārān** with favour.

As **Amīr Banjī** was blessed with great good fortune, combined with a most felicitous destiny and his good nature was adorned with gracefulness of manners, the Lord of the Faithful was pleased to remark — **Haza Ḥasīm** that is to say This **Banjī** is good looking has a noble bearing and appears endowed with the necessary qualifications of government and sovereignty combined with good looks and artlessness of nature. Let the whole of the territory of **Ghūr** be made over to him and let the championship of the forces of the country of **Ghūr** be entrusted to **Shis**, son of **Bahrām**.⁸ Both of them were invested with a robe of honour of the **Dār ul Khilāfat**, and these titles were bestowed upon them, and they took their departure, and returned to **Ghūr** again, according to the command of the **Khalifah's** Court⁹.

⁷ The **Ustād | Rāx bān** was an officer who represented to sovereigns the statements of persons who desired that their cases should be investigated by the monarch himself.

⁸ Another author who says nothing whatever about any Jew merchant,

From that time forward, the title of the Shansabānīān Sultāns, according to the august words of the Lord of the Faithful, Hārūn ar-Rashīd⁹, became Qasīm-i-Amīr-ul-Muminīn—the Lord of the Faithful's handsome [one]

When these two personages returned to Ghūr again, the government of the territory [was assumed] by the Shansabānīs, and the championship of the forces by the Shīshānīs, and that arrangement continued up to the present age according to this settlement. The Sultāns were all Shansabānīs, and the Champions, such as Mu-ayyid-ud-Dīn, Fath-i-Karmākh¹, Abū-l-'Abbās-i-Shīsh, and Sulīmān-i-Shīsh, were all Shīshānīs—the mercy of the Almighty be upon the whole of them !

III SŪRĪ, SON OF MUHAMMAD

From the time of the government of Amīr Banjī up to the present period² [of Sūrī's rule], nothing was found in

relates that Amīr Banjī, having added considerably to his previous territory by seizing other tracts, became one of the most powerful of the Maliks around. He was famed for his noble qualities and disposition, and, during the Khilāfat of Hārūn-ar-Rashīd, he proceeded to the Dār-ul-Khilāfat. He was treated with great favour on account of the successes which had been gained, by his efforts, in the arrangement of the important affairs of the house of 'Abbās, and, on beholding him, the Khalīfah uttered these words, "Hazā-Qasīm," which is to say "good looking," and, consequently, he obtained the title of Qasīm-i-Amīr-ul-Muminīn. He returned to Ghūr again, with a robe of honour and a patent of investiture. The dominion over those parts continued in the possession of himself and his descendants until the time of Sūrī, the son of Muḥammad, who was one of Banjī's descendants, and lived in the time of Mahmūd of Ghaznīn.

⁹ No other Khalīfah confirmed it, I fancy, if Hārūn bestowed it. By our author's own account, they did not even assume the title of Sultān up to Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī's time. He was seventh after this Sūrī.

¹ Some copies have ك and one has خ, but Karmākh is correct.

² Jahān-Ārā and Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh differ from our author considerably here [he certainly acknowledges his want of materials]. —Sūrī, son of Muḥammad, was the grandson [farzand-zādah] of Amīr Banjī, and he flourished, not in the time of Mahmūd of Ghaznīn, but in the time of the Suffariān. Sūrī's son, Muḥammad, was a contemporary of Mahmūd's. The Rauzat-uṣ-Ṣafā, Fasih i, and others also, state that Muhammad, son of Sūrī, was a contemporary of Mahmūd, but that, when Sultān Mahmūd got rid of Muhammad, son of Sūrī, ruler of Ghūr, his grandson, Hasan by name, through fear of the Sultān, retired into Hindūstān, with his family, and took up his residence in that country. What reason there could have been for this, when the father could stay, is not given. Some others, again, say that sometimes Muhammad, son of Sūrī, would be obedient to Sultān Mahmūd, and, at others, in open revolt, as circumstances permitted, until, after some years,

chronicles respecting the state of the country of Ghūr that could be particularly enlarged upon and as the compilation of this TABĀKĀT was completed at the sublime capital Dihlī—may its pre-eminence never decline!—and the kingdoms of Islām were thrown into convulsion through the irruption of the Mughal infidels—the Almighty confuse them!—and the country had become isolated, and the extreme parts disturbed and unsettled it was impossible to copy from the history which the author had examined in the territory of Ghūr.³ As a matter of necessity that which has been obtained from the Tārīkh i Nāsiri and the Tārīkh of Ibn Haṣṣam i Sāni together with some traditions from the priesthood of Ghūr have been [therefore] recorded and the author hopes that he may be forgiven by those who look into the work [for any errors or short coming that may be found in it]

They thus state, that Amīr Sūrī was a great Malīk and that most part of the territory of Ghūr was under his jurisdiction and as in some parts of that country such as Zāwulistan⁴ the people both high and low noble and ignoble were not [yet] exalted to the excellence of Islām they were, at that time, at continual feud one with another. When the Šuffārīān came out of the territory of Nimroz, and advanced to Bust and the district of Dāwar and Ya'qūb son of Laṣ, attacked Lakan the Lak⁵ Amīr of

partly by stratagem and partly by peaceful means, the Sulṭān succeeded in securing Muḥammad, son of Sūrī whom he took along with him towards Ghaznī, but that he died by the way at Kidān. The Tārīkh i Ibrāhīmī gives a more trustworthy account, and which, if dates are examined, certainly seems correct. For further particulars see note⁷ page 321

³ The history in verse composed by Fakhr-ed Dīn, Muḥarrak Shāh, mentioned at page 300.

⁴ Great discrepancy exists in most of the copies of the text with respect to this name. Some have Wālightān, Wāghān, and Wāghān but two good copies have Zāwulistān very plainly written, and that may be considered the correct reading.

⁵ Ya'qūb-i Laṣ reduced Bust, Zamīn-i Dāwar, Ghaznī, Tukhārīstān, and other tracts in 256 H and, in the previous year, fought an action with Tūk, son of Muḥlas, in Kirmān but who Lakan the Lak [some copies have Lak Lak] was it is difficult to say. There is no mention of this matter in any author with whom I am acquainted; but Lak is the name of a sept of nomad Kurds, of which people there seems to have been a considerable number in those parts at that time. There are some tribes dwelling among the Afghāns to this day erroneously supposed by Englishmen to be Afghāns, who claim to be Kurds.

Aytkīn-ābād⁶, which is the district of Rukhāj, the tribes of the Ghūrīs fortified themselves on the summits of the rocks, and remained in safety, but they used to be at constant enmity with each other—the followers of Islām and the unbelievers⁷—so that they were in the habit of keeping up a war from kūshk to kūshk⁸, and lived in a constant state of contention and strife

Through the natural impregnability of the strong mountains which are in Ghūr⁹, others [foreigners] used not to subject them to their power, and the head of the whole of the Shansabānīs of Mandesh was Amīr Sūrī¹

There are five great and lofty mountains² in Ghūr, respecting which the people of Ghūr are agreed that they are the strongest mountains in the world. One of these is Zār-i-Margh of Mandesh, at the foot of which mountain is the kūshk and capital of the Shansabānīs, and they [the people of Ghūr] contend that the Sīmurgh nourished Zāl-i-Zar [Zāl, the ruddy-faced], who was the father of Rustam, in that mountain. Some of the dwellers at the skirt thereof maintain, that it was in one of the years between 500 H and 600 H, when the sound of lamentation and regret issued from that mountain, "Zāl-i-Zar hath passed away." The second mountain [range] has the name of Surkh-Ghar³, and that also is in the Mandesh district,

⁶ Some copies have Lātkīn ābād, but the above is the correct reading, but Rukhāj—رُخَج—which is said to have been a district of the territory of Bust, might be read Zarāj—زَرَاج—and I am almost inclined to consider the last reading correct. All the copies of the text are more or less imperfect here. One copy also says plainly that "the tribes of Ghūrīs sought shelter on the borders of Sind," and this seems the preferable reading, but the majority of copies are as above.

⁷ That is, those not yet converted to the Muhammadan faith, and, probably, some of the Banī-Isrā'īl before referred to, and such tribes as have since retired northwards towards Hindū-Kush, or have now nearly disappeared.

⁸ A kūshk here means a fortified village, and also a castle, &c. See note ², page 331.

⁹ There would be considerable difficulty in finding "the mountains of Rāsāt, which are in Ghor," for a very good reason—that they do not exist. The word "rāsāt" is not a proper name, but the plural of "rāsāh," which means "strong mountains." See Elliot's INDIA, vol. II p. 284.

¹ From this statement it is plain, as in Balḥakī's account further on, that Ghūr was under several petty chiefs. Sūrī was chief of Mandesh only.

² The word koh, here used, may signify a mountain range, or a single mountain.

³ It is impossible to fix the names of two of these five ranges with any degree of certainty, for there are scarcely two copies left out of the twelve

in the limits of Tajir Koh⁴. The third mountain is Ashuk, in the district of Timrān the size and altitude of which is greater than that of any other part of the territory of Ghūr and the district of Timrān is [situated] in its hollows and [on] its sides. The fourth is the mountain range of Waranī, in the valleys and on the skirts of which are the territories of Dāwar and Wālight⁵, and the *kaṣr*⁶ of Kajūrān. The fifth is the mountain of Ro en, in the central part of Ghūr of immense strength and altitude and they have stated⁷ that the fifth mountain [range] is the Faj [defile, pass] of Khaesār⁸ the length, extent, and loftiness of which is beyond the bounds of conjecture, conception and understanding. In the year 590 H., one half⁹ of the trunk of an ebony tree was found at the summit of it, more than one thousand *mans*¹ in weight and no one was able to conceive how or in what manner it could have been brought, or have fallen there.

collated. One, the very old copy I have often referred to, has سرغر — Surkh Ghar as above, which means the red mountain, and the next oldest copy سرغر between which two words there is but a very slight difference. The remaining copies have سرغر — سرغر — سرغر — سرغر and the like.

⁴ As many other copies have قهر — قهر — قهر — قهر — قهر.

⁵ It is impossible to fix some of these names satisfactorily. Some copies of the text have دوار و والیغ Dūwar and Wālight, while others again leave out the *and* altogether. The very old copy I have often referred to has as written above, but another very old copy one of the St. Petersburg MSS has غور و والیغ Ghūr and Wālight. This is somewhat remarkable, as Balhāḡ mentions a کور والیغ Kūr-i-Wālight, as lying in the route between Ghaznī and the fortress of Mandesh, in which stronghold Mas'ūd of Ghaznī confined his brother Muḥammad; and he also mentions والیان Wālightān, in connexion with Bust and Kapdār. One of the Paris copies here has the district of زارستان Zāristān, and leaves out Dāwar. Although so many copies have Wālight, I am half inclined to read this part of the sentence thus—اور و زاولیغ which are the territories of Dāwar and Zāwul.

⁶ Kaṣr and Kūshk have both one meaning; the first is Arabic and the last Persian. See note² page 331.

⁷ From this remark it is evident our author does not describe these mountain ranges from his *own* knowledge.

⁸ Faj is not a proper name; it means a wide and open route or road between two mountain ranges; a pass. Khaesār is a well-known place, and is mentioned in a number of places throughout the work and therefore the Faj Khaesār is as much a myth as the mountains of Rāḡāt.

⁹ The printed text, the L. O. L. MS. and the R. A. S. MS. have a *kaṣr* [see meaning of *kaṣr* note² page 331] of the trunk of an ebony tree !!

¹ The *man* varies from forty to eighty pounds in different parts. The former probably is meant here.

IV MALIK MUHAMMAD, SON OF SŪRĪ

Abū-l-Ḥasan-ul-Ḥaiṣam, son of Muhammad-i-Nābī², the historian, relates in this wise —that, after the sovereignty of Khurāsān and Zāwulistān passed from the Sāmānīs and Ṣuffārīs, and devolved upon Amīr Sabuk-Tigīn³, he had, upon several occasions, marched forces from Bust towards the mountain [tracts] of Ghūr, and had put numbers to the sword, and, when the throne fell to Amīr Mahmūd-i-Sabuk-Tigīn, the sovereignty of Ghūr had passed into the hands of Amīr Muhammad, son of Sūrī⁴, and he, having brought the territories of Ghūr under his sway, sometimes would pay obedience to the Court of Sulṭān Mahmūd-i-Ghāzī, and at other times would act in a rebellious manner, and manifest a refractory spirit, and would withhold the amount of tribute and arms⁵ stipulated, and, relying on the faith of his strong fortresses, his power, and the ample number [of his people], he used continually to show hostility

The heart of Sulṭān Mahmūd, for this reason, was ever

² Every copy of the text, with one exception, says “Nābī” here, instead of Sānī, and therefore, as I previously conjectured, the correct name of the history so often quoted must be the Tārīkh of Ibn Ḥaiṣam-i Nābī, entitled the Ḳīṣaṣ-i Sānī

³ See page 74, where our author says that Sabuk-Tigīn took possession of Ghūr, together with Bust, Zamīn-i-Dāwar, Bāmīān, and all Tukhārīstān. Here we might have expected to have heard something of Alb-Tigīn, Balkā-Tigīn, Abū 'Alī-i-Lawīk, and Pīrey. See note ⁵, page 71

⁴ Our author is quite correct here [and Ārā and some others agree] with regard to Muhammad, son of Sūrī, having been contemporary with Mahmūd. The reason why the great blunder has arisen that it was Sūrī who lived in Mahmūd's time, is, that some authors and translators, in their simplicity, thought the words “Muhammad-i-Sūrī” signified *one* man, instead of which they mean Muhammad, son of Sūrī. Another matter I would also remark upon —Sulṭān Mahmūd made raids upon the Afghāns in 411 H, and again in 416 H, but they are never mentioned in connexion with the Ghūrīs by Baihakī and such like trustworthy authors, a pretty good proof, were any wanting, that, although the Afghāns are Patāns, the Ghūrīs are not, and never were so accounted by any historian, nor by the Afghāns nor Ghūrīs themselves. It does not follow that, because a Tājīk is called Sūrī, he should be of the Afghān clan of Sūr, of the tribe of Lūdī, so styled from their progenitor named Sūr, but not Sūrī. It is a curious fact that the Afghāns are not mentioned by our author but *once*, towards the end of the work.

⁵ Ghūr appears to have been famous in those days for the manufacture of warlike weapons

on the watch and, on account of his [Muḥammad s, son of Sūrī,] numbers, his power and dignity and the fact of the great [natural] strength and altitude of the mountains of Ghūr the Sultān used well to consider in his mind until with a large army he came into Ghūr and he [Muḥammad son of Sūrī,] was invested within the fortress of Ahangarān*. Muḥammad, son of Sūrī held out the fortress for a considerable period and defended it energetically but after some time, the stronghold was gained possession of by his descending from it on terms of accommodation, and presenting himself before Sultān Maḥmūd.

The Sultān took him together with his youngest son, who was named Shīs, away to Ghaznīn because Amīr Muḥammad : Sūrī entertained the greatest affection for his youngest son Shīs. When they reached the precincts of Kīdān, Amīr Muḥammad : Sūrī died. Some relate after this manner—that when he became a prisoner through the proud spirit within him he was unable to brook disgrace. He had a signet ring beneath the stone of which some poison had been set and, at this time, he availed himself of it, and died⁷.

* Not mentioned in his account of the strong fortresses of Ghūr but there was a place called Dth [village] of Ahangarān [Ahangarān is the plural of Ahangar a blacksmith], near Ghaznīn, and the river of Ahang, which flowed past that city. Uṭba also mentions it. See following note.

⁷ Before giving the accounts of other authors, I will first give an extract from the Kitāb-i Yamīn of Uṭba as he was a contemporary of Maḥmūd, but he seldom mentions dates.

He says, Maḥmūd became greatly incensed against the tribes of Ghūr who were unbelievers, on account of their waylaying caravans and levying black mail, thinking their hills and defiles impregnable. An army consisting of horse and foot, was assembled to punish them, and Aḥūn Tilāh the Hūjīb, and Arsalān-i Jūgh [called a Multānī, but it appears he had only held the government of Multān] were appointed to the command. They set out, but had such hard fighting with the Ghūrīs that Maḥmūd, finding they made little progress, resolved to proceed in person, attended by a body of his Ghulāms. He succeeded in defeating them and, after penetrating narrow passes and defiles, made a road which enabled him to reach Ahangarān, the stronghold of their Malik, who was called Ibo-i-Sūrī [i. e. Sūrī's son and thus he agrees with our author and others I have quoted, to the effect that the correct name of this chief is Muḥammad, son of Sūrī, son of Muḥammad. See also Baihaqī's account farther on]. Sūrī's son, with a force of 10,000 men, came out of his stronghold, and, being intrenched behind walls [breastworks?], and availing himself of the ravines, hills, and broken ground, succeeded for half a day in resisting all efforts to dislodge him. Maḥmūd had recourse to a

Sultān Mahmūd sent his [Muhammad's] son, Shīs, back

stratagem He directed his troops to face about, as though about to give up the contest and retire This had the desired effect, and Sūrī's son, the Hindū [as 'Uṭba' calls him], came forth from his strong position to follow in pursuit The Sultān faced about, and defeated him Sūrī's son was taken, together with great booty, consisting of arms and other war material Sūrī's son subsequently poisoned himself by means of his ring, which contained poison

'Uṭba' also makes a difference, as do all writers of any knowledge of their subject, between Ghūrīs and Afghāns, and never confounds them

Other writers contend that Muhammad and his son, Hasan by name, not Shīs, were made captive by Mahmūd, and imprisoned Their place of confinement was the upper story of a tower, thirty ells from the ground, an aperture of which faced the open country Muḥammad gave himself up for lost, but, not wishing that his family should be ruined, desired Hasan to make for Ghūr He contrived to effect the escape of his son by tearing up the blanket given him to lie upon, to make it into a rope, by means of which he lowered Hasan to the ground, who escaped to Ghūr As soon as the Sultān became aware of Hasan's escape, he put Muḥammad, the father, to death. Hasan obtained the rule over Ghūr, and had a son, Husam by name, who had seven sons This is the 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Husam, the IXth chief of our author

Jahān Arā, Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh, and some others agree as to Muḥammad, Sūrī's son, having been made captive by Mahmūd, but, like our author, contend that he [Muhammad] was succeeded by his son Abū-'Alī, who had always been obedient to Mahmūd, and that he was appointed to the chieftainship of Ghūr by that Sultān, and that afterwards Abū-'Alī was ousted by his nephew, 'Abbās, son of Shīs [who had been taken captive with his father] The chieftainship then passed into the hands of Muhammad, son of 'Abbās, then to Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Hasan, his son, and then to the latter's son, Husam, the 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Husam of our author He, as well as other writers, does not make any remark whatever upon Abū-'Alī's having been deprived of the chieftainship by 'Abbās, son of Shīs In this case the line *terminated* in Abū-'Alī's family, and passed to the younger branch, and thus the Ghūrīān Sultāns *are not descended from him at all*, but from Shīs

The Rauzat-ush-Ṣafā considers this statement weak, and quotes, as does also the Habīb-us-Siyar and the Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā, another tradition to the effect that when Mahmūd marched an army into Ghūr, and took Sūrī [Muhammad, son of Sūrī—Rauzat-ush-Ṣafā makes this blunder here, after having previously called him by his correct name] captive, and put him to death, his grandson [if such be correct, what became of the son?] Hasan, with his family, through fear of Mahmūd, fled into Hind, and, *as they had not yet been converted* to the Muhammadan faith, they took up their residence in an idol temple [in a Dharm-sālā perhaps] This Hasan had a son named Sām, who, after his father's decease, was converted to Islām He proceeded to Dihlī, and followed the occupation of a trader [and, according to the Rauzat-ush-Ṣafā *only*, used to carry goods from Hindūstān to Ghūr, and bring other commodities back from thence This seems strange however, since, if he could have gone back to Ghūr in this way, his father surely need not have left it, unless he liked] He had a son named Husam, who was endowed with many excellent qualities After some years had passed away, and Sām had acquired considerable wealth, the desire of returning to his native mountains induced him to set out for Ghūr He embarked on one of the seas [the word used also signifies a large river, which is probably meant here] of Hind, together with his

to Ghūr again. He had [already] conferred the govern

family and effects, on board a vessel which met with a contrary wind, which raised a violent storm. The vessel and all on board, with the exception of Husain, son of Sām, went to the bottom. Husain, when the ship was sinking, succeeded in getting upon a plank or log of wood and, at the very same time, a lion [Dow calls the lion *his father* "mistaking *مر* for *پدر* or *پدر*], which was being conveyed upon the vessel's deck, also sprang upon it, and for three days and nights Husain and his strange companion remained in this state upon the log, at the end of which period they were waisted to the shore. The lion made for a neighbouring forest, and Husain for a town near by. Being a stranger and not knowing any one, and the time night, he went and lay down upon one of the benches or platforms, which are to be found in front of almost all shops in India, and fell fast asleep. The watch on going their rounds perceiving him there, and not knowing who he was, took him for a thief, and dragged him away to prison, where he remained for about seven years. The governor of that place having been attacked with a dangerous disorder by way of atonement, ordered all the prisoners to be set at liberty. Husain, son of Sām, by this means obtained his freedom, and set out for Ghaznī. On the road thither he fell in with a band of robbers, who, finding him a powerful and intelligent youth, induced him to join them, and he was provided with a horse and arms. It so happened, however not long after that a band of troops in the service of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm of Ghaznī, which had been for some time on the look out for the robbers, came upon them unawares, and made the whole gang captive. They were brought bound into the presence of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm who directed that they should suffer death. One after the other several under went their sentence until it came to the turn of Husain, son of Sām. While the executioner was blindfolding him, he exclaimed, O God! I know that error is not agreeable to Thee, why then is it that I although innocent, am thus to suffer death? These words affected the executioner and the matter was represented, through one of the Court, to the Sulṭān, who directed that Husain should be brought before him. He stated his pitiful case to Ibrāhīm, who, on hearing it, took compassion on him, pardoned him, and enrolled him, in a subordinate office at first among his chamberlains. When Sulṭān Mas'ūd, surnamed the Beneficent, succeeded his father Ibrāhīm he conferred upon Husain, son of Sām, son of Muḥammad, [grand(?)son of Sūr], the government of the district of Ghūr and the title of Izz-ud Dīn. Some say Ibrāhīm gave Husain a kinswoman of his own in marriage [our author states, at page 105, that one of his own ancestors married a daughter of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm]. After Husain's death, enmity arose between his descendants and Bahrām Shāh, Mas'ūd's son, as mentioned by our author farther on, and as will be hereafter noticed. Many authors very properly consider Aḥmad-ud-Dīn to be the first of the dynasty and the dynasty to consist of five persons only whose dominion lasted sixty-four years, the others being merely accounted petty chieftains.

There can be no doubt whatever that the Ghūrīs were merely petty mountain-chiefs up to the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, and the extent of country they dwelt in proves it; but, as the Ghaznawīd dynasty declined, the Ghūrīs waxed stronger and more independent after the decease of Mas'ūd i Karīm [the Beneficent], who gave the government of his native country to Husain, son of Sām, when the Ghaznawīd empire began rapidly to decay. Our author's desire at all times appears to be to glorify the Ghūrīs, and, therefore, the fact of their having been merely petty tributary chiefs did not chime in with his wishes. We find Maḥmūd and his son Mas'ūd continually passing

ment of *Ghūr* upon Muhammad-i-Sūrī's eldest son, Amīr Abū-'Alī, as will, subsequently, be recorded

from *Ghaznīn* to Bākh and Kābul, *Ghaznīn* to Hindūstān, *Ghaznīn* to Sijistān, and from *Ghaznīn* to Hirāt, and thence up the valley of the Margu āb, and Mas'ūd appears to have passed through *Ghūr* to *Ghaznīn*, when he had to fly, after his defeat by the Saljūks, and yet we hear *no' a - ri'* about these powerful rulers of our author, although the Sultāns must have passed through the mountain tracts of *Ghūr* constantly—in fact the Sultāns of *Ghaznīn* held several fortresses in *Ghūr*, and Tigīn ābīd was in that very part, and Muhammad, brother of Mas'ūd, was confined in the fortress of Nāe in Wajīristān, one of the very districts mentioned by our author as forming part of the *Ghūrīn* dominions. I think 'Uḡbā' and Buhakī were more than likely to have had thorough knowledge of these potent Maliks and sovereigns so called, yet Buhakī and 'Uḡbā' treat them as very petty chieftains, although they held some strong fortresses. Our author quotes Buhakī constantly about other matters, *but no' here* in regard to what happened under his [Buhakī's] own observation as it were, and this looks suspicious. I will now give an abridged account of what he does say respecting Sultān Mahmūd's proceedings with respect to *Ghūr*, and of the expedition undertaken by his gallant son, Mas'ūd, against some of its petty chiefs, during the time he held the government of Khurāsān, before he succeeded to the throne of *Ghaznīn*.

"In the year 401 H., Sultān Mahmūd went on an expedition into *Ghūr* against the infidels of that part, by way of Zāmin i Dīwar, taking along with him his two sons, Mas'ūd and Muhammad, both at that time in their fourteenth year [they were not twins], and also their uncle [Mahmūd's youngest brother], Yūsuf, then seventeen.

V MALIK ABŪ ALĪ, SON OF MUḤAMMAD SON OF SŪRĪ

Amīr Abū Alī, son of Muḥammad ḥ Sūrī was a man of

government] proceeded to Hīrāt, and determined to undertake an expedition into Ghūr.

He set out from Hīrāt, in Jamādī ul-Awwal, with a strong force of horse and foot, and five light elephants. The first march was to Badghān [one MS has Badghāhān], and the next to Khūsin [one MS Chaghān or Chughān but several of these names cannot be considered *certain* although all available MSS have been compared, and the printed text of MORLEY which has been carefully edited], and then to Barfān [MS Parfān]. There a halt took place to allow all the troops to come up, after which Prince Mas'ūd marched to Pār [MS Bār], and from thence, after two days, to Nakhshab [MS. Nakhshab or Nibshab], and then to Bāgh-i Warīr outside and that Ribāṭ [public edifice, a kārwan-sarāi] is the commencement of the frontier of Ghūr.

When the Ghūrīs became aware of this movement of Amīr Mas'ūd, they retired to their strongholds and deliberated about making resistance. Before he set out on this expedition, Mas'ūd had conciliated Bū ḥ Ḥasan-i Khālaf [Bū or Abū ḥ Ḥasan-i Khālaf would signify the father of Ḥasan, and son of Khālaf. According to some authors already quoted the son of Muḥammad, son of Sūrī, was named Ḥasan. See para. 2, page 321], *one of the most notable of the chief tatars of Ghūr* and had induced him [Bū ḥ Ḥasan] to submit to his authority; and it had been agreed that, on the Amīr's troops reaching that Ribāṭ, Bū ḥ Ḥasan should present himself there with his forces fully equipped. On the day Mas'ūd reached that place, Bū ḥ Ḥasan joined him with a considerable force amounting to 3000 horse and foot, and brought along with him numerous offerings and contributions in the shape of shields, armour and whatever was most esteemed of the produce of Ghūr. Mas'ūd treated him with favour and he was followed by Sher-wān. This was another of the chiefs on the frontier of Ghūr and Gūrgānān [pronounced and written Jūrgānān by Arabs], and he too came attended by numerous forces, horse and foot. He likewise had been conciliated by Amīr Mas'ūd, and he brought along with him offerings beyond compute. Amīr Muḥammad [Mas'ūd's brother] had used the utmost endeavours and contrivances to induce this chieftain to come and attach himself to him, because his territory adjoined Muḥammad's appanage, which was Gūrgānān, but he had declined because people were more inclined towards Mas'ūd.

Having been joined by these chiefs, Mas'ūd resumed his march, but went on in advance himself slightly attended by about fifty or sixty ghulāms, and 200 foot, selected from each *dastā* or band. He reached a fortress which they called Bar-tar an exceedingly strong place, and garrisoned by a numerous and well-armed force. He prepared to attack it, his party not being patient enough to wait for the arrival of the army. He led the way himself, followed by his ghulāms and the foot, and they shouted the *takbīr* on which the accurate unbelievers [these Ghūrīs were not Muḥammadans] of this fortress of Ghūr sprung up infuriated, and set up a yell sufficient to rend the ground. Mas'ūd ordered his ghulāms to take to their bows and they kept up such an effectual fire of arrows, that not a Ghūrī dared show his head above the walls, and this enabled the foot, by means of lances [used up to a recent

good disposition and excellent qualities, and was highly commended for the excellency of his faith

period] to assault one of the bastions. They effected an entrance, and drove the Ghūrīs before them, and, being joined by the ghulāms, completely cleared the walls and bastions, making great slaughter among the unbelievers, and taking a great number of captives and a considerable amount of booty of all descriptions. After the fortress had been captured, the main body of the troops arrived, and many were their praises and congratulations, that such a strong fortress had been taken by such a mere handful of men.

“From thence Mas’ūd marched towards the tract of Zarān [in one copy of the original, Razān, but the first is the most probable], the people of which agreed to pay taxes and tribute, and presented contributions in gold, silver, and arms. From that part to the district called Jarūs [also Kharūs and Harūs] where War-mesh-i-Bat dwelt, was a distance of ten farsakhs [leagues]. The Amīr did not commence hostilities against this chief, War-mesh-i-Bat, because he had sent an agent to the young Amīr tendering submission and allegiance, and had promised that, when Mas’ūd should return to Hirāt, he would present himself before him, and enter into stipulations respecting tribute. That district, and the place where this chieftain dwelt, were excessively strong, and the most difficult portion of the whole territory of Ghūr, its people the most warlike and the strongest men in that part. *It had been the capital of the Ghūrīs in bygone times*, and, whatever ruler held that tract, the whole of the rest of the territory used to submit to him, up to the time that Amīr Mas’ūd marched into that part of the country.”

[There can be no doubt but that Baihaḳī, who was a native of the Ghaznīn district, and who wrote his work at Ghaznīn upwards of a century before our author composed his history, must have had a much greater knowledge of Ghūr and its people, yet this extract makes the accounts of Ghūr and of the Ghūrīs more puzzling than ever. That the latter were not all converted—if any were—to the Muḥammadan faith is clear, and it is also clear that up to this time they were under several petty chiefs, independent of each other, though perhaps nominally acknowledging the supremacy of the chief of Zarān, whose place of residence *had been the capital of Ghūr in bygone times*. But the name of this chief is the most perplexing. In Morley’s edition of the text of Baihaḳī he is called Ra’īs-i-Bat, or رب [رئیس or رب], and, in a note, Ramīsh [رمش], and in another place رنس. A MS. in my possession has War-mesh [ورمش], but, the passage being so important, I sent it to Professor Rieu, of the British Museum, who has been so very kind as to compare my translation with another copy of Baihaḳī in the British Museum, and, from what the Professor says, there is no doubt that the first name is War-mesh, and this is remarkable, because this very name occurs among the names of the ancestors of Amīr Banjī [see page 312], and occurs again at page 366. What Bat or Rab may mean it is impossible to say. It might be part of *but-parast* [بوت پرست] idol-worshipper, infidel, but that all the known copies of the original should have left part of the name out [Morley collated his edition of the text with four or five copies] is improbable. The word is not Pushto, and there is no Afghān tribe or clan of this name. Had the Ghūrīs been Hindūs instead of Tājiks, we might suppose it was a corruption of Sanskrit Bhat, a hero, a warrior. I dare say, however, that some one will be able to account for the name, and perhaps show to his own satisfaction that this chief must have been one of the Bhatī tribe of Jats now in the Panjāb. We might also have Bha’īs in Ghūr as “a full-blooded of Crusaders” from Pāle time

At the time when his father held the sovereignty of

in the army of Ghûris who conquered the upper provinces of India, according to the interpreters of the poem of the Bard Chând—but I have forgotten myself. *Pat* might be *Pat* and that will be surely founded upon and shown to be part of the word *Patān*, and can be made *Patban*, "*Patan*," or "*Pahtan*," with the greatest ease. If it were not a dangerous practice to tamper with proper names, I should be inclined to read, *Shī*]

The Amīr now despatched an intelligent person to this chief, and two men of Ghūr of the flowers of Bū-l-Ḥasan i Khakaf and Sher-wān were sent along with him to act as *interpreters* with a message combining threats and hopes, as is usual on such occasions. The agent departed, and the Amīr followed in his steps. The former and the others with him, reached the place in question, and he delivered his message to those arrogant fellows [sic], who manifested great fierceness and defiance, and said that the Amīr had made a great mistake in imagining that either the people of that part or that district were similar to those he had met with and had passed through; that he had better come there, and he would find sword, spear and stone [rock] ready for him. This insolent message roused the ire of Ma'ūd. He halted his troops for the night at the foot of the mountain, arms were distributed, and at dawn, the force moved forward. The drum and trumpets sounded, and the soldiers began to ascend the heights, on which the Ghûris showed themselves like so many ants or locusts on the tracts above them, horse and foot, all well armed, and occupying all the paths and defiles leading to it, who raised shouts and yells, and began casting stones with their slings, at Ma'ūd's force.

The best of it was, that that mountain was somewhat depressed and partly composed of earth [not very rocky!] and accessible in every direction. The troops were told off in parties, to advance by the different practicable paths, and Ma'ūd himself kept parallel to them, for the fighting there was likely to be severe. Bū-l-Ḥasan i Khakaf, and his men, were sent to the right, and Sher-wān, with his contingent, to the left. The account goes on to evince the utmost daring, and pressed forward with impetuosity particularly in front of the Amīr and they disputed the greater part of the ground with determination. The troops were hard pressed, and the enemy crowded towards the standards of the Amīr and the fighting became desperate. [This reads something like an UMBELLAH expedition.] Three mounted warriors of the enemy succeeded in getting close up to the Amīr who, perceiving them smote one of them full on the breast with his mace of twenty *mans* in weight [the *man* varies from forty to eighty pounds], which laid him sprawling on his back, and prevented his rising again; and the ghulāms attacked the other two and hurled them from their horses. This was enough for the Ghûris, who gave way; but they continued, now and again, to face about and dispute the ground, until a village [town] was reached at the foot of the mountain [on the other side], and, on the way thither numbers were slain and made captive. The fugitives threw themselves into this place, which was of vast strength, and contained numerous *kūshkas* [here *kūshk* seems to mean a castle or fortified house], after the manner of the Ghûris, and sent away to a stronghold at a distance in the rear their women, children, and everything they could remove. The unbelievers resisted obstinately up to the time of evening prayer and great numbers of them were killed, and numbers of Muslims were martyred [Ma'ūd's troops are referred to here]. When the night closed in, the unbelievers decamped, and the village [or town] was taken possession of by the troops, who occupied themselves, throughout the night, in plundering it.

[At

Ghūr, and the mountain tracts of Mandesh⁸, the whole of

⁸ This tends to show that Ghūr and Mandesh were separate tracts

“At dawn next day, the Amīr again moved forward towards their [other] stronghold, two leagues distant. He had to pass through a constant succession of defiles and passes, and did not reach it till the time of afternoon prayer. They found a fortress, as they had been informed, stronger than any other in the whole of Ghūr, and no one recollected hearing that it had ever been taken by force of arms. Mas’ūd, having reached it, disposed his forces around this stronghold, and, during the whole night, preparations were made for attacking it, and the battering rams were placed in favourable positions.”

I must here still further curtail this interesting account of the expedition for want of space. Suffice it to say that breaches were made and bravely assaulted and as bravely defended, the Amīr being ever in front, and thereby inspiring his men with strong hearts. After four days’ very severe fighting, each day increasing in severity, it was carried, at last, sword in hand, the Ghūrīs defending every inch of the breach. Great numbers of them were slain and taken prisoners, but the latter were protected on making their submission, while slaves and booty to a vast amount were captured. Mas’ūd had it proclaimed that he gave up all gold, silver, slaves, and other booty to the troops, but that all arms and war matériel taken was to be brought to him. A great quantity was accordingly brought and laid before his tent, and such as was most valuable or rare he selected, and divided the rest among his soldiers. Of the prisoners, one half was made over to Bū-i-Hasan-i-Khalaf, and the other half to Sher-wān, for them to take to their own territories. Orders were also given to raze that stronghold, so that, from thenceforth, no rebel might take shelter therein. When the rest of the Ghūrīs found what had happened to the fortified town and the other stronghold, they began to fear, and became submissive and willing to pay tribute and obedience, and even War-mesh-i-Bat began to quake. He made intercession through Bū-i-Hasan-i-Khalaf and Sher-wān, and sent an envoy, tendered his submission, and increased the amount of tribute and contributions. His offers were accepted on the stipulation that every castle he [War-mesh] had taken on the side of Gharjstān should be given up. Although War-mesh ground his teeth at this, he could do nothing else than agree, and those fortresses were given up to governors of the Amīr. Whilst the latter was still in Ghūr, that chief sent in his contributions and offerings, and, subsequently, when Mas’ūd reached Hirāt, War-mesh-i-Bat presented himself at the Court, was well received, had a dress of honour conferred upon him, and returned to his country along with the two other friendly chieftains.

After the capture and destruction of the fortress above referred to, Amīr Mas’ūd advanced against another, a famous place, and of vast strength, named Tūr [this name is doubtful, the variants are Būr and Nūr]. It was carried by storm after a week’s fighting and great slaughter, and the two friendly chiefs took part in it. Mas’ūd placed a governor of his own in the place, after which he set out on his return to Hirāt. At Mār-ābād, ten farsakhs [leagues] from that city, large quantities of arms and war matériel, as stipulated for by others of the Ghūrīs to avert molestation, were found already collected, together with what War-mesh-i-Bat had despatched.

The narrator, ‘Abd-ul Ghaffār, then adds, that “no sovereign ever acquired such power over Ghūr as the martyr, Mas’ūd, did, for, although the first

the people had their eyes upon him, and affection towards him was instilled into their minds. Notwithstanding that his father used to act in a rebellious and contumacious manner towards Amīr Sabuk Tigin, and his son, Sultān Maḥmūd Amīr Abū Ali at all times used to manifest his fidelity and allegiance towards the Sultān, and he was in the habit of writing letters containing the expression of his fealty and his affection, and despatching them to Ghaznīn, the capital.

When the contumacy and defection of his father went beyond the bounds of forbearance, Sultān Maḥmūd brought an army against him from Ghaznīn, and, after considerable effort, the Sultān succeeded in securing the person of Amīr Muḥammad i Sūrī, and took him away along with him towards Ghaznīn and bestowed the government of Ghūr upon Amīr Abū Ali, his son.

As soon as Amīr Abū Ali became installed in the government of Ghūr he conferred great benefits upon the people, and directed the erection of many buildings of public utility. Masjids and colleges were founded in Ghūr, and he also built a Jāmi Masjid, and liberally endowed the whole of them. He held priests and ecclesiastics in great respect, and considered it incumbent on himself to venerate hermits and recluses.

During his time, the people of the territories of Ghūr dwelt in tranquillity and repose, and his brother, Shīr, son of Muḥammad, passed his days under his protection.

When the appointed period of Amīr Abū Ali's dominion came to an end, and the empire of Ghaznīn [also] reverted from Maḥmūd to his son, [Sultān] Mas'ūd a son of Amīr Shīr, Abbās by name, having attained great dignity and power broke out into rebellion, seized his uncle, Amīr Abū Ali, and reduced the whole of the country of Ghūr under his own sway and the reign of Amīr Abū Ali came to a termination, and he died.

Muslims [the Arabs] conquered Ajam and Khurāsān, they found it impossible to enter Ghūr and, although Sultān Maḥmūd, on *three separate occasions* by the same route of Zamīn i Dīwar attacked different frontier tracts of Ghūr yet he did not penetrate into the defiles and more difficult parts still, it was not through inability to do so, for his designs and objects were different to those of his successor.

VI. MALIK⁹ 'ABBĀS, SON OF SHĪS, SON OF MUHAMMAD,
SON OF SŪRĪ

Amīr 'Abbās was a warlike, intrepid, and pitiless man, and endowed with great manliness, strength, and activity. When he attained the full vigour of youth, and his whole strength, he entered secretly into a compact with a party of adherents and young men, and gained them over to his own rebellious views. He then suddenly rose, and seized his uncle, Amīr Abū-'Alī, ruler of Ghūr, and imprisoned him, and appropriated the whole of his uncle's property, his treasures and his hoards, to himself. He was exceedingly determined, cruel, and tyrannical, and lawlessness and injustice were engrafted in his nature.

He commenced to act illegally, and began to seize people's possessions and property, so much so that the commonalty, and his own immediate followers, were quite miserable, and became perfectly helpless in his hands, and to such degree, that, for a period of seven years during his reign, no animal—such as the horse, camel, cow, or sheep—brought forth young, and the rain from the heavens ceased to fall, and, according to one story, women also did not bear children, through the ill-luck consequent on his tyranny.

The chronicler thus states, that he possessed two fine [and powerful] dogs, which were constantly kept fastened by heavy chains, and iron collars round their necks. One of these dogs had been named Ibrāhīm of Ghaznīn, and the other, 'Abbās of Ghūr. These animals used constantly to be brought before him, and the chains to be removed from them, and they were set to fight together. Whenever the dog bearing his own name overcame the other, that day Amīr 'Abbās would make great rejoicings, and bestow liberal presents, but, on days when the dog named Ibrāhīm of Ghaznīn gained the advantage [over his antagonist], he would become infuriated, and greatly ill-treat and torment people, and not a single person among his favourites and attendants dared to say anything to him.

With all this tyranny and oppression, however, he was

⁹ Two copies of the text style him Amīr ul-Kāmil—the perfect or thorough Amīr.

gifted with a profound knowledge of astrology. He had taken great pains with respect to that science, and had shown vast perseverance and assiduity in its acquirement, and had gained a deep knowledge of it. In the country of Mandesh, in the Khuttah [district] of Sangah, the original fortress which Bustām i Zuhāk had founded, he [Amīr Abbās] directed should be entirely reconstructed and skilful artisans were obtained from parts around [for the purpose]. The walls after the manner of a parapet, were carried from that castle, on two sides, to the strong ground on the summit of the mountain of Zār i Margh and at the foot of that mountain, on a knoll a lofty Ḳaṣr [castle] was directed to be raised with twelve towers and in every tower in likeness to the zodiacal circles in the firmament, there were thirty openings—there were six towers towards the east and north, and six others towards the west and south—marked out and these were so arranged that, every day the sun would shine through one of those openings approximate to the position of its rise¹. By this means he used to know in what degree of what sign of the zodiac the sun was on that particular day and this performance indicates the proficiency and knowledge which Amīr Abbās had attained in the science of astrology.

During his reign, likewise, the Ḳaṣrs of Ghūr were constructed² and plenty reigned throughout the country but, as people now abominated him for his excessive tyranny

¹ See the view of the Castle of Zuhāk in SALE'S Defence of Jalālābād, and also in HART'S "Character and Costume of Afghanistan." The view in the first mentioned work answers tolerably well to this description. It is much to be regretted that no effort was made to explore Ghūr even by means of natives, or gain some information about it, during our occupation of Afghanistan. What a field it must be for archaeological research!

² The Persian word kūshk, and its Arabic equivalent, ḳaṣr signify a palace, a large and lofty stone or brick building a castle but here ḳaṣr means one of those fort-like villages, many of which, though on a smaller scale than in past ages, probably may still be seen in scores in the tracts west of Kandahār and Ghaznī, as well as in other parts of Afghanistan. Our author says above, that these structures "were constructed" in the time of Abbās, but of course many must have existed before, and his own statements confirm it. He must mean that many *were* were constructed during the chief township of Abbās. Sometimes he uses the Arabic, at others the Persian word. There are several places which were once fortified after the above fashion still remaining in Afghanistan, such as Kūshk i-Safed Kūshk i-Nākhūd, and others, but not Khushk, as written by recent travellers. Khushk signifies dry.

oppression, and injustice, and the empire of Ghaznīn, and throne of sovereignty, had passed to Sultān Razzī-ud-Dīn, Ibrāhīm, son of Mas'ūd, a party of the most powerful and eminent men, and the nobles of Ghūr, despatched letters to Ghaznīn, imploring the Sultān's assistance

In conformity with these solicitations, Sultān Ibrāhīm marched a large army into Ghūr, and, when he reached it, the whole of the forces of Ghūr went over to that monarch, and they delivered Amīr 'Abbās into the Sultān's hands³ He commanded that Amīr 'Abbās should be placed in confinement, and he took him away to Ghaznīn, and conferred the territory of Ghūr upon his [Amīr 'Abbās'] son, Amīr Muhammad⁴

VII AMĪR MUHAMMAD, SON OF 'ABBĀS

When Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of Mas'ūd, seized Amīr 'Abbās, and sent him away to Ghaznīn, at the solicitations of the chief personages and eminent men of Ghūr, he made over the country to Amīr Muhammad-i-'Abbās⁵

He was endowed with great good nature, was of exceeding amiability of heart, and of excellent disposition, most just, conscientious, and merciful, a patron of the learned, an impartial judge, and a cherisher of the weak and helpless In the place of every one of the odious and hateful proclivities towards inhumanity and tyranny which were in his father, the disposition of the son was implanted with a thousand amiable and admirable qualities

³ These operations are not mentioned by other authors, but a few notice, very briefly, that Amīr 'Abbās carried on hostilities with Sultān Ibrāhīm

⁴ This too is pretty good proof, by our author's own account, that the Ghūrīs were subject to the Sultāns of Ghaznīn, but, as the power of the latter declined, consequent on the rise of the Saljūqs, and after Mas'ūd-i-Karīm's death, the Ghūrīs acquired more power See top of next page

⁵ Which is impossible, if what other writers state as to Husain, son of Sām, having been saved from shipwreck, and Ibrāhīm's son, Mas'ūd-i-Karīm, having conferred the chieftainship on him, be taken into consideration Muhammad, son of Sūrī, was taken prisoner in 400 H, or, according to some accounts, in 401 H From that time, up to 493 H, when Mas'ūd-i-Karīm conferred the fief of the tributary province of Ghūr upon Husain, son of Sām, son of Hasān, son of Muhammad, son of Sūrī, none of this family held independent sway over Ghūr As already shown from the account of Mas'ūd the Martyr's expedition into it, it was held by several petty chiefs independent of each other See note 7, page 321

When the territory of Ghūr was assigned to Amīr Muḥammad the whole of the grandees the chiefs, and most distinguished personages of the country submitted to his authority and to the best of his ability and power he began to labour and study to revive and restore the observances of goodness and utility and the laws and usages of benevolence beneficence, and justice. He used to render homage to the Sultāns of Ghaznīn with heartiness and loyalty and pay them submission and vassalage, and used to despatch the fixed tribute regularly

During his reign the gates of repose and tranquillity were opened to the people of Ghūr and they all passed their days in the enjoyment of peace and security happiness and plenty reigned, and his country his people, and his retainers dwelt for a long while in the enjoyment of competency and affluence, up to the period when he passed away and was received into the mercy of God.

VIII. MALIK KUTB UDDĪN AL-HASAN SON OF MUḤAMMAD SON OF ABBĀS

Malik Kutb-ud Dīn, Ḥasan, the grandfather of the great Sultāns of Ghūr* was a just Amīr high principled, and of handsome countenance. The proofs of his goodness, equity clemency and beneficence were sufficiently obvious and manifest to the inhabitants of Ghūr

Such factions as were in the habit of acting contumaciously he used to occupy himself in chastizing and overthrowing and considered it incumbent on himself to punish severely the disaffected and seditious. The tribes of the territory of Ghūr having sprung from families of Arabs†, and having been nurtured; and grown up in a

* According to the statements of other authors given in note † page 321 the grandfather of the Sultāns of Ghūr that is to say of Sultān Alī-ud-Dīn, and his brothers was Ḥasan, son of Muḥammad, son of Sūrī, who was let down from the tower by his father and who had a son, Ḥusain, the IXth chief mentioned by our author. But, according to the other tradition quoted by Rāmpat-uz Ṣafī, Ḥabīb-uz-Siyar and other histories, in the same note, their grandfather would be Sīlm, son of Ḥasan, grandson of Sūrī who was drowned. See note † page 335, in which it is stated that "Ḥusain, son of Sīlm of the race of Sūrī" was taken captive by Sultān Sanjar in 501 H.

† See note † page 320. The Afghāns have, certainly as well as other mountain tribes, behaved at all times in the manner mentioned here, but so

mountainous tract of country, obstinacy, turbulence, and contumacy were implanted in the constitutions and characters of the whole of the Ghūrīān tribes. Feuds and contentions would continually arise of one tribe against another, and conflicts constantly ensue. Every year one district or another of the territory of Ghūr would manifest antagonism [to the constituted authority] and withhold the payment of the regulated amount of revenue, and up to [near] this present time, when the dominion of the Ghūrīān Sultāns came to its termination, the state of these peoples continued to be seen and witnessed [after the same fashion].

Upon one occasion, during the time of Malīk Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, a tribe who dwelt in Tak-āb⁸ of the territory of Wajīristān, rose in rebellion. Malīk Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, with his followers and the chiefs of Ghūr, appeared at the foot of that Kūshk and the stronghold of that faction, and summoned them to surrender. They refused to submit, and commenced hostilities. Unexpectedly, by destiny's decree, an arrow from the bow of fate came from the rebels and struck Malīk Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn in the eye, and, as it had wounded a mortal part, he died from the injury. His retainers and followers, immediately on seeing the effect of that arrow's wound, with the utmost daring, and putting forth all their energy, attacked and carried the Kūshk and stronghold by storm, and put the whole of the rebels to the sword, and that place was completely destroyed. Up

have the people styled Kohistānīs, who inhabit the valleys immediately north of Kābul, and also the Bālūchīs, and they [the latter] have not yet, I believe, been quite made Patāns of, although *some* progress has been made towards it. Such conduct seems inherent in all mountain races, whether in the east or in the west.

⁸ There is a river and valley of Tag āo, or Tag āb, in Afghānistān, but to them cannot possibly be referred the locality indicated here, for they are some sixty miles to the eastward of Kābul. I think the translation of this compound word may throw some light on its whereabouts. The word "Tak āb," or "Tag-āb," both of which forms are correct, also the forms in use among natives of those parts—Tak-āo and Tag āo, and Āb i-Tang—are described by an old author as "ground furrowed by water [a ravine or series of ravines], a defile, a valley between two mountains, and ground, whether in a valley or not, in which, here and there, water collects and remains, and in some places flows, and in which there is pasture and much verdure. They are also used for the name of a territory, and there is a small district so named." I think the place alluded to by our author is not far from Āb i-Tādāb, but more to the west. Wajīristān has been often mentioned in the account of the Ghaznawīds.

to the time of the last of the Sultāns of Ghūr and the termination of the sovereignty of the Shansabānīs no king would grant permission for the restoration of that Kūshk, its equipments, and the suburbs of that place, with the exception of the Kūshk of Amīr Kharnak which was in that Ab-i-Tang for his ancestors had always been obedient*.

When Kutb-ud Dīn Hasan departed this life, his son, Amīr Husain, succeeded him.

IX. MALIK IZZ-UD-DĪN AL-ḤUSAIN ABŪ UṢ-ṢALĀṬĀIN¹
SON OF KUTB-UD-DIN AL-ḤASAN

Malik Izz ud Dīn, Husain, was a sovereign* upright, of handsome countenance, devout, and endowed with all good qualities, and distinguished for his many virtues. During the period of his rule, the territory of Ghūr and the Bilād i Jibāl² [mountain country] were populous and prosperous and the tribes and inhabitants of those tracts enjoyed ease and content, and, under his protection lived in safety and security. Priests, recluses and holy men, and the whole of the people, without interruption attained the fulfilment of their requirements and desires in an abundant degree.

The Almighty God blessed his devoutness and good disposition by bestowing upon him seven sons, the fame of whose sovereignty and dominion became published throughout the seven climates of the world. Of these sons four attained unto empire and dominion and from them descended sons of renown in the world, who became

* Discrepancy more or less exists among all the copies of the original here. The oldest and most trustworthy are as above. The Paris copies too are defective, and in one copy the last part of this sentence runs — No sovereign *act about* the restoration of that Kūshk, except Amīr Kharnak, who was in the neighbourhood of that Ab-i-Tang, and those parts were obedient to him."

¹ One of the oldest copies has Abū-l Mulūk here, instead of Abū-ṣ-Ṣalāṭāin.

² See note⁴ page 320, and note⁵ page 332. Izz-ud Dīn, the title, signifies "Glory &c. of the Faith" but *Ab-i-ud Dīn* nothing, for it is meaningless. Husain also is his correct name, confirmed by numerous other authors, and Hasan was his father's name as our author states.

³ Ghūr is mountainous enough surely as well as the Bilād i Jibāl. From our author's statement, however they are separate tracts of country

sovereign princes, as will be subsequently narrated and recorded

This Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, was firmly attached to and in amity ⁴ with, the Sanjarī dynasty and the Saljūkī sovereignty, and every year he used to despatch to the court of Sultān Sanjar such things as had been customary and established, such as armour, coats of mail, steel caps, and other equipments, and war material ⁵ There is also

⁴ His "attachment to the Sanjarī dynasty" may also easily be accounted for In 501 H, Sultān Sanjar, whilst in charge of Khurāsān, nine years before he became supreme ruler of the Saljūk empire, fought a battle with the *Maliks* [here a further proof that there were several petty chiefs] of Ghūr, who were of the race of Sūrī, and Husain ['Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain, of our author], son of Sām, was made prisoner Sultān Sanjar ordered him to be put to death, but, at the intercession of the celebrated Shaukh Ahmad, Ghazzālī, the Sultān of Mashā'ikh, as he is styled, he was spared, and set free For two years he used to light the fires of the cooks of the Sultān's army, until, one day, the Amīr of the troops of Khurāsān, 'Imād-ud-Daulah, Kīmā, chanced to meet with him He took compassion on Husain, and represented his case to the Sultān, who directed that Husain should be brought to his presence When he was admitted, he kissed the ground of the Sultān's court Sanjar said to him — "I understand that thou hast neither wealth nor power left to thee, notwithstanding thou wast a chief and leader Has neither kindness nor sympathy been left to thee?" Husain replied — "When this head was my own head, I had the good fortune to be attended by a thousand servants, but now that it belongs to thee, thou keepest me thus wretched and abject "

Rashīd-ud-Dīn, who also relates this anecdote [but, strange to say, under the account of his son, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, although he calls him Husain too, and leaves out all mention of the first part of the name, 'Alā-ud-Dīn], says that Husain wandered about the Sultān's camp for two years as a mendicant [our author would scorn to relate this, as it did not tend to the glorification of the Ghūrīs, and their slaves, his patrons], when "one day Amīr Kīmā was passing the shop of a cook, he chanced to notice Husain, who was attending the fire, and watching the cook's pot." When admitted to the presence of the Sultān, Rashīd-ud-Dīn says the Sultān thus addressed Husain — "I gather that thou hast neither wealth nor power left to thee hast thou not the means and the power of keeping one head and face clean?" The rest of the anecdote agrees with Fasiḥ-i, related above

Sultān Sanjar was touched, took pity on him, pardoned him, and sent him back to his native country attended by a large following, and to the end of his days Husain paid obedience to that monarch

Fasiḥ-i further states that "Husain, son of Sām, who escaped drowning, and the sword of the executioner," only died in 545 H He ruled that territory justly, and, up to his time even, great numbers of the inhabitants of the mountain tracts of Ghūr had not been converted to Islām, but were made converts of by him This Husain, the same chronicler states, was succeeded by his son, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, in that same year For further particulars, see under 'Alā-ud-Dīn, note ², pages 347 to 350

⁵ Ghūr, and mountain tracts around, appear to have been famous for the manufacture of arms and armour, and iron mines must have been worked therein

a remarkably fine breed of dogs in Ghūr so powerful that, in frame and strength every one of them is a match for a lion⁶. A number of this breed of dogs, with valuable collars round their necks Malik Izz ud Dīn, Husain, was in the habit of sending to the Sultān's [Sanjār's] presence and he used to receive in return dresses of honour and many valuable presents.

Malik Izz ud Dīn likewise was wont to keep on terms of amity and friendship with the Sultāns of Ghaznī⁷, and for a considerable length of time the government of the territory of Ghūr was held by him up to the period when he died.

He had [as before stated] seven sons, the eldest of whom was Malik Fakhr ud Dīn Masūd, of Bāmlān, but an account of whom will be contained in another chapter on the Sultāns of Bāmlān which will commence with a mention of him and be therein recorded.

The names of his sons are as follow — Malik Fakhr ud Dīn Masūd Amīr of Bāmlān and Tukhānistān Sultān Bahā ud Dīn Sam Amīr of Ghūr and Fīrūz koh Malik ul Jībāl, Kuṭb-ud Dīn, Muḥammad Amīr of Ghūr and Fīrūz koh Sultān Saif ud Dīn Sūrī sovereign of Ghūr and Ghaznī Sultān Alā ud Dīn Husain⁸ sovereign of Ghūr Ghaznī, and Bāmlān Malik Shihāb-ud Dīn,

⁶ This fine breed of dogs, or rather one very similar still exists among the Ghalzī tribe of Afghāns, who trace their descent *on the father side only* from the son of a chief of Ghūr whom their traditions style Shāh Husain; but he fled from Ghūr and took shelter among the Afghāns at a much earlier period, in the time of the Khalīfah, Abd-ul Malik, son of M r wān, who reigned from 66 H. to 86 H. He was adopted by an Afghān Shāikh but the names of his ancestry as mentioned by the Afghān historians, do not agree with those mentioned by our author. This Shāh Husain's grandfather according to them, was forty-ninth in descent from Zubāk. Had not the names and the dates been so very different, I should have been inclined to consider Shāh Husain of the Ghalzīs, and the Husain of others, who was saved from shipwreck, and received the fief of Ghūr from Masūd-i karīm, as one and the same person.

⁷ Sultān Masūd conferred the sovereignty upon [Izz-ud Dīn] Husain in 493 H. the year after the decease of his own father Sultān Ibrāhīm. It is no wonder he kept on good terms with his sovereigns. Faṭṭ-ī says he died in 545 H. and that this was the same Husain, son of Sām, and *one of the Ancesters* of Muḥammad, son of Sūrī. See preceding page, note. It is strange, but several of the best copies of the text have Sultāns of Ghūr and Ghaznī here.

⁸ In two copies he is here styled Sultān Alā-ud Dīn i-Sām.

Muḥammad, Kharnak, Malīk of Mādīn of Ghūr; and Malīk Shujā'-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Amīr of Jarmās⁹ of Ghūr.

X MALIK-UL-JIBĀL, KUṬB-UD-DĪN, MUHAMMAD, SON OF
[IZZ-UD-DĪN] AL-ḤUSAIN

Of the seven sons of Malīk 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, the eldest among them all was Malīk Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, of Bāmīān, mention of whom will be made in the other chapter [referred to previously], the foundation of the dynasty of the Sultāns of Bāmīān dating from the rise of his power¹ His mother was a Turkī handmaid, and after him, in succession [in age], came the Malīk-ul-Jibāl [the Lord of the Mountains], Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad² His mother was a woman who was of no high descent, and was the Ḥājibah [Chamberlain] and attendant of the mother of the other

⁹ Some copies have Harmās, and some Barmās

¹ This was the proper place to have separated these dynasties, as this chief was the first of the rulers of Ghūr and Fīrūz-koh after the patrimony had been divided. This has been done by other writers, but they make Kuṭb-ud-Dīn the first of the dynasty of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and his brother, Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, second. Had our author given an account of Saif-ud-Dīn second, as in the order of the events, instead of *last*, he would have saved his readers some perplexity and trouble.

² So far, other writers agree pretty well with our author, but here considerable difference arises. The Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, quoting other authors, says, that Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, who is known as the Malīk ul-Jibāl [Lord of the Mountains], was sent for by Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznīn—after he had made an accommodation with the sons of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain—and that he made him his son-in-law, but, through his having been suspected of a crime, he was removed by poison. This is said to have been the first enmity that arose between the Ghaznawīds and the Ghūrīs, but such is not correct, as already shown. Jahān-Ārī agrees with the above, however, with this exception, that, in the latter, it is stated that he, the Malīk-ul-Jibāl, came from Ghūr and presented himself at the Court of Bahrām Shāh. The Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī, and some others, however, agree more with our author's statement, and say, that Malīk Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, on the death of his father, 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, succeeded to the dominion of Ghūr, and divided the patrimony among his brothers, one of whom [Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad] became irritated with his brothers, and went to the Court of Bahrām Shāh, who put him to death for some reason, and this caused enmity between the two houses. The Rauzat-uṣ-Ṣafā and some others, however, consider this statement very weak, and quote the tradition which I have already given at page 321, note 7, and state, that, after the death of Ḥusain, enmity arose between his descendants and Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznīn, and hostilities took place between them upon several occasions, which will be subsequently referred to.

sons, the Sultāns namely Sultān Sūrī, Sultān³ Bahā ud Dīn, Sām, Sultān Alā ud Dīn, Husain, Amīr [Shihāb-ud Dīn] Muḥammad and Amīr [Shujā ud Dīn] Alī⁴, the other sons of Malik Izz ud Dīn Al Husain.

When Malik Izz ud Dīn Husain who was the father of the Sultāns, departed this life, Sultān [Saif ud Dīn] Sūrī in succession to his father ascended the throne⁵ and divided his father's dominions among his brothers. An account of Sultān Sūrī will, please God be given in the chapter on the Sultāns of Ghaznī.

In this division the territory of Warghadah⁶ was assigned to the Malik ul Jibāl Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, and there he fixed his seat of government. Subsequently it so happened that he had to seek for a [suitable] place in which to found a strong fortress and a handsome city such as would be suitable to his dignity. He despatched persons on whom he could depend into the parts adjacent, until [at length] his opinion led him to fix upon the position of Fīrūz koh, and he founded the fortress and city of Fīrūz koh⁷.

Sultān Sūrī made the fortress and town of Istīah⁸ his capital and to Malik Nāṣir⁹ ud Dīn Muḥammad Mādīn

³ Styled Sultān without reason: Malik is his correct title, as given at the head of this notice in the copies of the text.

⁴ These two last, here styled Amīrs are the sixth and seventh sons mentioned over leaf, viz. Malik Shihāb-ud Dīn [called Nāṣir-ud Dīn subsequently], Muḥammad, and Malik Shujā ud-Dīn, Alī, the XIIth and XIIIth of the family.

⁵ See note⁴ page 336.

⁶ Some few copies have Warghūd, and Warghār.

⁷ In several other places our author mentions the territory of Ghūr and the Bīlād-ul Jibāl, thus indicating that they were separate; and yet Fīrūz koh was the capital of the Bīlād ul Jibāl, and in his account of the division of their father, 'Izz ud Dīn, Al Husain's, territory and the names of the districts, *the whole* appear included in Ghūr of which Fīrūz koh was the capital! The *mention* of the places shows the extent of the territory held by these chiefs—the mighty monarchs of our author. It is a curious fact, and a very important one, that the name of Kandahār *never once occurs* in our author's work. It is not strange, however because Kandahār is a comparatively modern place, and is not mentioned by contemporary writers, under that name at least, until very many years after our author's time. Tradition says that Kandahār stands a few miles east of an ancient city named Valhind and Masson also refers to it, but calls it Valhund. Can this be the place the idol-temple of which fell on the night of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī's birth?

Other old writers call this place Isfā, which is the name of one of the mountains of the range between Ghaznī and Herāt,⁸ and give the vowel points. The Burhān i Qāṭi⁹ also confirms it.

⁸ There is no son of this name among those previously mentioned. Pro-

was given Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, had the district of Sangah, which was the capital of Mandesh, assigned to him, and the district and castle of Wajiah¹ were made over to Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and the probability is that the territory of Kashī [or Kashā] was fixed upon for Malīk Fakhr-ud-Dīn.

By heaven's decree, however, contention arose between the Malīk-ul-Jibāl [Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad], who was at Firūz-koh, and the other brothers, and the Malīk-ul-Jibāl became indignant with his brothers, and withdrew to Ghaznīn, and it was [at this time] the reign of Bahrām Shāh. This Malīk-ul-Jibāl was endowed with great beauty and comeliness, and urbanity to perfection. When he reached Ghaznīn he opened the hand of munificence and liberality, and affection for him, according to the saying, "Man is the servant of kindness," began to take root in people's hearts, and became firmly established. The inhabitants of Ghaznīn entertained a great liking for him, but a number of envious persons set upon him, and had it represented to Bahrām Shāh that he [the Malīk-ul-Jibāl] was, with treacherous eyes, regarding that sovereign's *haram* [some female or females of his family], and was expending his property liberally, with the object of rising against him [Bahrām Shāh]. The latter issued commands to administer to him, secretly, poisoned sharbat [which was done], and he died, and they, moreover, buried him at Ghaznīn. On this account, enmity and hatred arose between the Mahmūdī family², and the family of Shansabī, and the race of Zuhāk³.

When the account of what had befallen Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn reached⁴ Sultān Sūrī's hearing, he marched an army to Ghaznīn and took that country, as will be hereafter recorded, since, although this was the place for mentioning

bably, Shihāb-ud-Dīn is meant, or, otherwise, Shihāb is a mistake for Nāṣir, but there is a Malīk Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Muhammad, mentioned immediately after Bahā ud Dīn, Sām, at page 343, which see.

¹ One of the Paris copies has قلعه دختر—the Maiden's Castle—but the majority, including the oldest copies, have وحيه, and some have وحر, which a copyist may have read دختر. One copy has وحده.

² Their enmity, according to other authors, appears to have had a different origin. See under 'Alā-ud Dīn, Husain, page 347.

³ All the copies collated agree with regard to this part of the sentence—"the race of Shansabī and the race of Zuhāk."

⁴ Four different verbs are used in the different copies of the text in this sentence, although the signification conveyed is much the same.

and recording the proceedings of Sultān Sūrī, still as Sultān Sūrī was the first person of this family who assumed the name of Sultān and the first to ascend the throne of Ghaznīn an account of him will please God be given in another chapter at the beginning of the history of the Sultāns of Ghaznīn.

AL SULTĀN BAĤĀ UD-DĪN SĀM SON OF 'IZZ UD-DĪN
AL-HUSAIN *

When the Malīk ul Jibāl retired to Ghaznīn [as previously related] and left the buildings of the city of Fīrūz koh in an unfinished state, Sultān Bahā ud Dīn Sām came from [the territory of] Sangah to Fīrūz koh, and went on with the building of the city and fortification, and brought to completion those edifices and the royal palaces. He also commanded the erection of the fortresses of Ghūr and contracted alliance and entered into amity with the Shāhs of Gharjistān⁶. He ascended the throne of Fīrūz koh in the year 544 H.⁷ When the construction of the capital of Fīrūz-koh was completed through his propitious auspices, he gave directions for the construction of four strong fortresses on the confines of the territory of Ghūr Garmāsīr Gharjistān and the mountain tract of Hirāt, and the Kaṣr

* In some copies the names of his children follow immediately after his name and title.

⁶ The Shāhs of Gharjistān, who had for many years acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sāmānīs, had submitted to the suzerainty of Sulṭān Maḥmūd as early as 389 H. The Shāh Abū Naṣr son of the Shāh Rāshid, and Abū Naṣr's son, the Shāh Abū Muḥammad acknowledged the Sultān's suzerainty in that year and read the khutbah for him, and impressed his name and titles upon their coin. In 405 H. the Shāh Abū Naṣr who had become disaffected, was seized and imprisoned by Maḥmūd's command—his father Rāshid, is said to have solicited protection some time before, and it was granted ("Utba agrees, and says he went into retirement"); and he had presented himself at Court. The Sultān purchased from him [the Shāh] his possessions in Gharjistān, and had made over the price in money to him. This was one hundred and forty-six years before the time our author says Bahā ud Dīn, Sām, became ruler. The Shāh Abū Naṣr died in prison, at Hirāt, in 406 H. after which the Shāhs are not mentioned by other writers.

⁷ Bahā-ud Dīn died in 544 H., the same year in which he succeeded. His brother Sūrī, had been put to death, and Bahrām Shāh of Ghaznīn had died the previous year. Our author's mode of arrangement here causes confusion. Bahā ud Dīn is the third of the dynasty of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and only succeeded after Salf-ud Dīn had been put to death. See also the Kitāb-al Yamīnī of Al 'Utba

of Kajūrān in the district of Garmsīr and Ghūr, the fortress of Sher-Sang in the mountains of Hīrāt, and that of Bindār [or Pindār], in the hills of Gharjīstān, and Fīwār, between Gharjīstān and Fāras [or Bāras]

After the martyrdom of [Saif-ud-Dīn], Sūrī [yet to be mentioned], as Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn was the eldest of the five brothers [styled Sultāns], the sovereignty of the kingdom of Ghūr devolved upon him. The Malīkah of Kīdān, who was also of Shansabānī lineage, the daughter of Malīk Badr-ud-Dīn of Kīdān, was married to him, and Almighty God blessed him with two sons and three daughters by that Malīkah of high descent. The sons were Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-ī-Sām⁸, and Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-ī-Sām—the Almighty illumine them¹—the amplitude of whose dominions comprehended the eastern quarter of the world, and the fame of whose expeditions against infidels, whose holy wars, the energy and vigour of whose rule, justice, and beneficence will continue imperishable and manifest on the outspread world until the latest revolutions of time. Some of those glorious actions and annals in the account of each of them, by way of ensample, will, please God, be subsequently recorded.

Of the daughters, one was the Malīkah-ī-Jahān⁹, mother of Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī, the second, the Ḥurrah-ī-Jalālī, mother of Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, son of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Malīk Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, of Bāmīān, and the third daughter was the Malīkah-ī-Khūrāsān, the mother of Alb-Arsalān-ī-Ghāzī¹, son of Malīk Ḳazil-Arsalān, Saljūkī, the brother's son of Sultān Sanjar.

When the account of the affliction and degradation which had befallen Sultān Sūrī at Ghaznīn, through the hostility and perfidy of the retainers of the Mahmūdī dynasty, reached the hearing of Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, he came to the determination of wreaking vengeance upon the inhabitants of Ghaznīn, and, without occupying himself

⁸ Sām was not his name, nor the name of his brother, neither does our author mean that such should be supposed, but some translators have supposed it was the son's name instead of the father's.

⁹ Malīkah-ī-Jibāl in nearly every copy, but the above is correct.

¹ Other authors style him Alb-ī-Ghāzī only. He held the fief of Hīrāt subject to the Ghūrī Sultān upon one of the occasions when Sultān Muhammad, Khwarāzm Shāh, invested it. See note ², page 257.

in mourning ceremonies for his brothers² he assembled the forces of Ghūr and of the parts and tracts around, and on the confines of it, and of the hill tracts of Jarūm and Gharjistān and, having arranged and ordered them he turned his face towards Ghaznīn in order to accomplish that important matter. After great preparation, and being fully equipped he moved forward and a large army marched under his standards. When he reached the district of Kidān, excessive anxiety and grief for the death of his brothers, and the strength of his feelings, brought on an attack of illness, and there [at Kidān] he died³.

In the same manner as Sultān Sūrī at the time of his proceeding against and capturing Ghaznīn had entrusted the capital of the kingdom of Ghūr and had made over the government of that territory to him, Sultān Baha ud Dīn, Sām the latter at this time when about to march an army himself against Ghaznīn assigned the capital of Ghūr and the rule over the territory of the Jibāl [mountain tracts] to Sultān Alā ud Dīn Husain i Jahān soz [his brother] and consigned to him his children dependents, Amīrs, property and effects.

When Bahā-ud Dīn died at Kidān and that circumstance came to the hearing of Sultān Alā ud Dīn Husain he likewise, without occupying himself in mourning ceremonies assembled⁴ together the forces with all celerity and set out towards Ghaznīn.

XII. MALIK SHIHĀB-UD DĪN¹ MUHAMMAD [KHARNAK,]

SON OF AL-HUSAIN MALIK OF MĀDĪN OF GHŪR.

Malik Shihāb-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, Kharnak, was the brother of the Sultāns and the district of Mādīn which

¹ His two brothers, Kātib-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, and Saif-ud Dīn, Sūrī.

² He is said to have died of small-pox, but the word used also signifies a tumour and the like. Rāṣat-uz-Ṣaḥī and some others say Bahā-ud Dīn, Sām, died of phrensy or inflammation of the brain, on the way back to Ghūr after the taking of Ghaznīn by Alā-ud-Dīn, and his brother Saif ud Dīn, Sūrī, who was left there as ruler! See note³ page 347.

⁴ Here again some copies of the text use different verbs to express the same meaning.

⁵ He is called Nāṣir ud Dīn repeatedly in most of the copies of the text, and in some, although the heading is written Shihāb-ud Dīn, he is styled

was his territory, and is a tract of country on one of the confines of Ghūr, had been assigned to him by the mutual consent of his brothers, after the decease of their father.

He had two sons, one of whom was Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, whom they placed upon the throne, at the capital, Fīrūz-koh, during the absence of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, in Khurāsān, and his attendance⁶ at the Court of Sultān Sanjar, an account of whom will be hereafter recorded. The second son was Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī⁷, who, after his father's death, succeeded him in the possession of the district of Mādīn. This Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, had three children, one a daughter, and two sons, and the daughter was older than the sons. She was married to the holy warrior and martyr, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, and by her that conquering Sultān likewise had a daughter who died a maid⁸, and whose tomb is at the capital city, Ghaznīn.

Of those two sons of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, one was Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, of Mādīn, who was martyred by the Turks of Khawārazm⁹ during the period of their domination. The second son was Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, and the writer of this book, in the year 618 H, waited upon him in the territory of Kazīw [or Gazīw]¹ and Timrān, and witnessed numerous marks of urbanity and generosity from him. At that period the author had espoused² a daughter of one of the great men and a kinsman of his own. That was in the period of his first manhood, and in that same year in which Chingiz Khān, the

Nāsir-ud-Dīn in the account of him. As 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Al-Husain, had no son of this name, and as all the copies agree in the list of the seven sons, as to Shihāb, I have adopted that reading here, which is certainly correct. This Shihāb-ud-Dīn had a son named Nāsir-ud-Dīn, and hence the mistake may have arisen.

⁶ His captivity in fact, but this our author did not consider necessary to mention. See note ³, page 358.

⁷ Not to be confounded with 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jahān-soz's son, nor 'Alā-ud-Dīn's brother. There are three of his title in all.

⁸ Several copies have "died in her infancy." This can scarcely be correct, as it may be doubted whether the tomb of an *infant* would have been mentioned.

⁹ See note ¹, page 274.

¹ A few copies have کریو [Karīw or Garīw], and others کریو and کریو.

² "Was about to espouse" in a few copies, but if he had not espoused this wife he would not probably have required a horse.

THE SHANSABĀNĪYĪ DYNASTY OF GHŪR.

accursed, crossed the Jihūn into Khurasān and was bein upon marching to Ghaznīn. In short the author memorialized Malik Nāṣir-ud Dīn Abū Bīkr for a horse and in verse, represented the matter of his marriage with one of his own kinswomen for that Malik's information. In reply to that versified narrative he composed this quatrain, and with his own august hand wrote it on the back of the story and put it into the author's hands —

God willing, affliction will have departed from thy heart,
And that pearl of great price will have been by thee bored.³
The horse thou hast solicited of me requires no apology
With the horse, much more apology might be made.⁴

Malik Nāṣir ud Dīn Abu Bīkr sent his humble servant adorned with coloured horse of three years old, ready saddled and caparisoned—the Almighty reward him for it!

That Malik zadah after the calamities which befell Ghaznīn and Ghūr⁵ came to the city of Dihlī and presented himself at the Court of the august Sultān Shams-ud Dīn Dunyā wa ud Dīn [Iyāl tīmūsh] and was received by him with honour and kindness, and from the Malik and other nobles he received deference and respect.

Malik Nāṣir ud Dīn Abū Bīkr, died at the city of Dihlī in the year 620 H.

VIII. MALIK SHUJĀ UD DĪN ABĪ ALĪ, SON OF AL-HUSAIN [SON OF SĀMĪ, SON OF AL-HASAN SHANSABĪ]

Malik Shujā ud Dīn, Abī Alī son of Al Husain, son of Al Hasan was removed from this world in his early manhood and his existence terminated whilst he was yet in the flower of his youth.⁶ A son survived him Malik Alā ud Dīn

³ A virgin is styled an unbored pearl.

⁴ This somewhat obscure line may imply that the donor might have apologized because the present was not more valuable.

⁵ At the hands of the Mughals.

⁶ From the heading the reader would suppose this article to have contained an account of Shujā ud Dīn; but he is finished in two or three lines, an article contains an account of his son and grandson. Neither of these brothers, Shihāb-ud Dīn, nor Shujā ud Dīn, can be considered as being

Abū-'Alī, and the brothers [of Shujā'-ud-Dīn, Abī 'Alī'] with one accord, when dividing the dominions of Ghūr, had invested him [Shujā'-ud-Dīn] with the district of Jarmās. When he died, they conferred the district of Jarmās upon his son, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Abū-'Alī

The Malīk-ul-Jibāl, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, who had been martyred at Ghaznīn, had left a daughter, and she was given to 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Abū-'Alī, in marriage⁷, and, after that noble lady was espoused by him, the Almighty blessed them with a son, who had the good fortune of becoming both a Hājī [a pilgrim] and a holy warrior⁸, namely, Malīk Ziyā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, the Pearl of Ghūr¹, and it happened in this wise —When [his father] Malīk 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Abū-'Alī, died, and his son grew up, the Almighty bestowed such grace upon his mother that she decided upon undertaking a journey to the Kīblah, and up to that period not one of the Malīks of Ghūr had attained that felicity

Malīk Ziyā-ud-Dīn, in attendance upon his mother, was proceeding on the journey to the holy places by way of Hirāt, Khurāsān, and Nīshāpūr. At that time Sultān Takīsh, Khwarāzm Shāh, was at Nīshāpūr, and Malīk Ziyā-ud-Dīn, in the habit of a Sayyid, with his hair twisted into two long ringlets, presented himself at the Court of that Sultān, and had the happiness of being permitted to kiss Sultān Takīsh's hand

Malīk Ziyā-ud-Dīn [in the company of his mother] had the happiness of performing the orthodox pilgrimage with great reverence, and with the observance of all the rites and ceremonies. He gave directions to build a Khān-kāh [chapel] at Makkah, and provided all the necessary funds for raising the structure, and left trustworthy persons of his own to see it carried out

He also returned, along with his mother, to the territory

⁷ Abū, or Abī-'Alī either is correct

⁸ Our author's mode of narration tends to confuse. This 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Abū-'Alī, is the father of Ziyā-ud-Dīn, afterwards styled 'Alā ud-Dīn. See note ², page 391, and note ⁹, page 394.

⁹ He accompanied his second cousin, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, on his campaign against Rāe Pathorā of Ajmīr. See page 125

¹ These words دُرّ دُرّ Durr-i-Ghūr, occur again in the list of Malīks at the end of Sultān Ghuyās-ud-Dīn's reign, and in some other places

of Ghūr and she acquired the name of the Malīkah i Hājl [the Pilgrim Princess] and founded a great number of masjids, pulpits and colleges in the Ghūrān country May they both become acceptable in the sight of Almighty God!

XIV SULTĀN ALĀ UD-DĪN AL-ḤUSAIN SON OF [IZZ-UD-DĪN] AL-ḤUSAIN SON OF SĀM SON OF AL-ḤASAN*

When Sultān Bahā ud Dīn, Sām son of [Izz-ud Dīn,] Al Husain who was marching an army against Ghaznīn

* Of all the persons mentioned in Oriental history greater discrepancy occurs with respect to Alā-ud-Dīn, Jahān-sar's name and proceedings, probably than regarding any other man.

Some authors call him Ḥasan, son of Ḥusain some [but these authors are but few] Ḥusain, son of Ḥasan; some, Ḥusain son of Ḥusain, son of Ḥasan, son of Sām; others copy our author, while others again, and they seem most correct—they *certainly are* as to his own and his father's name—style him Alā ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of [Izz ud Dīn] Al Ḥusain, son of Sām, son of Ḥasan [Sūr's grandson], son of Muḥammad, son of Sūr.

With respect to his rise to power the different accounts [I quote here from *various* authors] may be classed under no less than five heads.

The *first* is, that, after Sultān Bahrām of Ghaznīn had been put in possession of the throne by his maternal uncle, Sultān Sanjar, distrust arose between them [Sanjar marched to Ghaznīn to bring Bahrām to submission in 530 H. according to Faṣḥ-i], and, on this, Bahrām began to enter into friendly negotiations with *the sons* of Izz-ud Dīn Al Ḥusain, and invited one of them to his capital, and expressed a wish to take him into his service, in order to strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two families. Khwāb-ud Dīn, Muḥammad [the Malīk-ul-Jibāl of our author], the *eldest* of the sons, proceeded to Ghaznīn, and for some time he was treated with great distinction, but was subsequently guilty [or suspected!] of some crime, and was put to death by Bahrām Shāh's orders.

Enmity now arose between Bahrām and the sons of Al Ḥusain, and they began to attack each other's territory and several encounters took place between them [Faṣḥ-i says they fought about Tigin-Khūd as early as 521 H. but this *may* be an error for 541 H.], and our author himself in his account of Sanjar's reign, page 149, says that hostilities arose in that reign between the Sultāns of Ghaznīn and the *Malīks* of Ghūr and the latter were overcome," and, subsequently refers to the time when the territory of Ghūr came under the rule of Alā-ud Dīn, Ḥusain," and, *on the death* of Al-Ḥusain their father [in 545 H. according to Faṣḥ i, but it must have been *five years* earlier at least] hostility which hitherto had been concealed, was openly shown by Alā-ud Dīn, Ḥusain, and his brothers, and they rose against Bahrām Shāh and he set out on an expedition against Ghaznīn, accompanied by Salf-ud Dīn, Sūr, and Bahā ud Dīn, Sām [Alā's full brothers]. They were opposed by Bahrām Shāh, who was defeated, and retired into Hind.

Having obtained possession of Ghaznīn, Alā ud Dīn, Ḥusain, left his brother Sūr, as ruler there, and returned to Ghūr. [This event is said to

in order to take revenge for [the slaying of his brothers], Sultān Sūrī and the Malīk-ul-Jibāl, died on the way thither,

have occurred in the fifth month of the year 543 H [October, 1052 A.D.], and by Faṣīḥ-ī in 542 H [October, 1051 A.D.], but, as the father only died it is said in 545 H, both cannot be correct.] *On the way back* his brother, Sām, died of inflammation of the brain [phrensy, according to some, a tumour, or small-pox, according to others]

In the following winter Bahrām returned from Hind with a numerous army and several elephants, and appeared before Ghaznīn. Sūrī came out with 300 Ghūrīs and 1000 Ghuzz Turks, and endeavoured to reach Ghūr, but the Ghuzz deserted to Bahrām, and Sūrī was taken, paraded on a bullock through the city, and hung along with his Wazīr. This occurred in 543 H according to Faṣīḥ-ī, but in 544 H according to several other trustworthy authors. 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, again marched to Ghaznīn to avenge Sūrī, again took the city, plundered, and fired it, then abandoned it, and returned to Fīrūz-koh, destroying all the buildings raised by the Maḥmūdī family, on his way back. This is said to have taken place in 547 H, but such cannot have been the case it must have been towards the end of 544 H, or early in 545 H, at the latest Alfī says in 547 of the "Riḥlat" [death of Muḥammad, not the Hīrah], which would make it as late as 558 H!

Most of the authors from which the above is taken contend that 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, was *the first of the family* who attained to independent sovereignty, that the dynasty consisted of *five* sovereigns, and continued for a period of sixty-four years. It terminated in 607 H, so must have commenced in 543 H.

'Alī, Jatrī, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, were defeated by Sultān Sanjar in 545 H [some say in 544 H], but Faṣīḥ-ī says in 547 H, just before he [Sanjar] marched against the Ghuzz, in 548 H, which will be referred to farther on.

Fanākātī says, and somewhat astonishing it is, that Husain, brother of Sām, was put to death by Bahrām Shāh's orders, and he [Husain] went to Sultān Sanjar and *solicited aid*. *Sanjar assisted him with an army* and he then fought a battle with Bahrām Shāh, who was defeated and retreated into Hindūstān. After this, the same author states—and the Jāmī'-ut-Tawārikh agrees—that Husain ['Alā-ud-Dīn] left his brother Sām in charge of Ghaznīn, and returned himself to Ghūr. He then agrees with the statements of other writers as to the hanging of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's brother, but says it was Sām [Bahā-ud-Dīn], not Sūrī, that Bahrām Shāh took and hung after his return from Hindūstān. Husain returned, made a general massacre, and devastated the place, and 70,000 persons were slain. *On this Sultān Sanjar resolved to proceed against him*, and, in a battle, Husain was taken prisoner. For further particulars regarding this see page 357, and notes 2 and 3 page 358.

The *second* account is, that Husain ['Izz-ud-Dīn], the father of the seven sons, raised to the rulership of Ghūr by Mas'ūd-i-Karīm, having died in 545 H [540 H ?] was succeeded by the most prominent of his sons, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, who rebelled against Bahrām Shāh, marched against Ghaznīn, took it, *during Bahrām's absence*, and set his brother, Sūrī, upon the throne of the Maḥmūdī's. Soon after Bahrām returned, and hung Sūrī. The remainder of the account agrees pretty well with the first.

The *third* is, that Bahrām Shāh was *dead before* 'Alā-ud-Dīn reached Ghaznīn the second time, and in this statement a number of the most trustworthy authorities agree, and further that Khusrau Shāh, his son, had succeeded just before 'Alā-ud-Dīn's advance, and, on his approach, Khusrau Shāh

at Kidān Sulṭān Alā ud Dīn ascended the throne of the dominion of Ghūr and assembled the forces of Ghūr of

abandoned Ghamīn and fled to Lāhor [Balpawī states that it happened in 550 H.; but this is the only authority for that date, which cannot be correct; and if Sūrī, according to the other statement, was put to death in 544 H. Alā-ud-Dīn would scarcely allow six years to elapse before avenging him]. On Alā-ud-Dīn's departure, *Khusrān Shāh returned to his devastated and ruined capital, and continued there until the Ghuzs Turks, who had defeated and made captive Sulṭān Sanjar Khusrān's maternal great uncle, invaded Khurāsān, and appeared before Hīrāt and from thence advanced towards Ghamīn.*

Sanjar had marched against the Ghuzs in 548 H.—some few authors say in 547 H.—and was taken prisoner in the first month of the former year [March, 1056 A.D.] they had invested Hīrāt in 549 H. and gave up the attempt early in 550, and then appear to have advanced towards Ghamīn, and this must have been the year in which Khusrān Shāh *finally* abandoned Ghamīn, and not that in which Alā-ud-Dīn, Hūmān, devastated it.

Some writers, who agree generally with this last account, say that Khusrān Shāh had reigned about a year when Alā-ud-Dīn arrived in the neighbourhood of his capital, and that he [Khusrān Shāh] was taken, and confined within the walls of the citadel, and Alā-ud-Dīn set up his two nephews, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and Muṭṭas-ud-Dīn, at Ghamīn. Most authors say Khusrān Shāh died in 555 H. but others again state that his death took place in 544 H., and according to our author who says he succeeded in 552 H., and reigned seven years, it would be in 559 H. See note * page 112.

The *fourth* account is, that, on the death of the father [Izz-ud-Dīn], Al Hūmān, Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, succeeded him, and that he seized upon Ghamīn, while his other brother Alā-ud-Dīn, Hūmān, seized upon Ghūr. This is said to have taken place in 543 H., and it is further said that, after Sūrī had been hanged, Bahā ud Dīn, Sām, set out to avenge him, and died on the way [in 544 H.].

The *fifth* account agrees pretty well with our author and may have been partly copied from his work, although such a fact is not mentioned. It is to the effect, that Sūrī took Ghamīn to avenge the death of his brother Kutb-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, put to death by Bahrām Shāh, and that, after Sūrī's death along with his Wazīr Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, set out to avenge him, and died on the road. Alā ud Dīn, Hūmān, followed, on which Bahrām Shāh fled, and the city was taken. The date of the first capture of Ghamīn is said to have been 542 H. or 543 H. [Our author says that Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, succeeded to the sovereignty of Firūz-koh and Ghūr when Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī his brother set out on his expedition against Ghamīn, in 544 H.—the *first* date he gives in the whole Section—and tends to show that Ghamīn must have been taken in 543 H.]

It is absurd to suppose that Ghamīn was taken by Alā ud Dīn in 550 H., and still more so to suppose that 547 of the Rihlat could be the possible date; and, although the exact date is not to be found in authors generally it is quite clear that Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī took it first in the fifth month of 543 H. [middle of October 1051 A.D.]. Bahrām returned in the depth of winter [probably in January 1052 A.D.], and hung him. Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, his brother succeeded him as ruler of Ghūr in 544 H. and died soon after in the same year; on which Alā ud-Dīn, Hūmān, who was not one to allow *five or six years to elapse* at

the capital, Fīrūz-koh, and of Gharjstān, and determined to march against Ghaznīn

When Sultān Yamīn-ud-Dīn³, Bahrām Shāh, became aware of this matter, and of his ['Alā-ud-Dīn's] intention, he caused the troops of Ghaznīn and of Hindūstān to be got ready and organized, and led them from Rukhāj⁴ and Tigin-ābād, in the district of Garmsīr, towards Zamīn-i-Dāwar. As Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, with his forces, had [already] reached Zamīn-i-Dāwar, Sultān Bahrām Shāh despatched envoys to him, saying, "Return again to Ghūr, and in thy ancestral possession remain in quietness, for thou wilt not be able to resist my forces, for I bring elephants [along with me]." The envoys having delivered the message with which they were entrusted to Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, he replied, saying, "If thou bringest elephants⁵, I will bring the Kharmīl, but, God knows, indeed, thouallest into error, that thou hast put my brothers to death, and I have not slain any person belonging to thee. But hast thou not heard what Almighty God says⁶ ?—"Whosoever is

once marched against Ghaznīn, and took it towards the close of the same year, 544 H, the same in which Guzīdah and a few others say Bahrām died. What tends to prove all this is, that in 545 H 'Alā-ud-Dīn was taken captive by Sultān Sanjar, after the former had sacked Ghaznīn, and was detained in captivity some two years, during which time another ruler was set up in Ghūr, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn only obtained his release just before Sultān Sanjar set out on his unfortunate expedition against the Ghuzz, which was in 547-H, for Sanjar was defeated by them and taken prisoner, on the first day of the first month, Muharram, 548 H [20th March, 1056 A D]. See also page 358, and notes² and³

'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, made no attempt to retain possession of Ghaznīn, and he abandoned it, and retired into Ghūr, but destroyed every building pertaining to the Mahmūdī sovereigns, on his way back. The reason why he abandoned it must have been his fear of Sultān Sanjar, or of Bahrām's or Khusrāu's return, as the case may be, and of meeting a fate similar to his brother Sūrī's

³ In three copies of the text at this place he is called Yamīn-ud-Daulah. In his account of Bahrām Shāh's reign our author styles him Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, and says Khusrāu Shāh's title was Mu'ayyan-ud-Dīn. See pages 109 and 111, and note⁸

⁴ A small tract of country in the district of Bust.

⁵ The word فيل an elephant, is used in most copies of the text, but to make sense of the passage I have been obliged to make it a plural. The context shows there must have been more than one elephant. Some other authors have سريل which certainly agrees better with حرميل and might be translated the *chief*, *head*, or *leader* of the elephants, alluding to some famous war-elephant he may have had

⁶ On the Kur'ān's authority only. It is rather strange that in his account

slain unjustly, we have given his heir or next of kin, power [to avenge him], but let him not exceed bounds in putting the slayer to death, because he likewise will be assisted and avenged⁷”

When the envoys returned both armies were marshalled in ranks and made ready for the conflict. Sultān Alā ud Dīn called unto him two Pahlawāns [champions] of his own, who were the leaders of the army, and famous warriors of the kingdom of Ghūr and both of them were named Kharmīl. One was Kharmīl i-Sām, Husain, father of Nāsir ud Dīn, Husain i Kharmīl and the other Kharmīl i Sām, Banjī and both of them were famed in their day for their valour and prowess. He said unto them — “Bahrām Shāh has sent a message, saying I bring elephants [against thee], and I have sent a reply If thou bringest elephants, I bring the Kharmīl. This day it behoveth that each one of you champions should overthrow and bring an elephant to the ground.” They both kissed the ground and retired [to their posts] and at a place which they call Kotah bāz⁸ the two armies came to an encounter. When the battle commenced, both these champions dismounted fastened up the skirts of their coats of mail⁹ and entered the fight. When the elephants of Bahrām Shāh made a charge¹ each of those champions attacked an elephant, and got beneath the armour of the animals and with their poniards, ripped open the bellies of the elephants. Kharmīl i Sām Banjī remained under his elephant, and it fell upon him and he and the elephant perished together. Kharmīl i Sām Husain brought his

of Bahrām Shāh's reign, pages 109—111 our author does not even mention Sūr's name, although he refers to Alā ud Dīn, Husain, the brother and the capture of Ghazni.

⁷ Kārīm : S. 17 35

⁸ One copy has kāmāh[or Gūnah]-wāz, and two copies have Kotah-bāz fāh. This last appears incorrect, and bāz seems merely bāz repeated in error by the copyist. Kotah wāz cannot be meant, although w and ā are interchangeable. Kotah-wāz is much too far to the east. One copy has Gōthah i-nāh. A place of this name, or Sih Goghah i-nāh, has been mentioned at page 149, but this again is too far to the west. See also page 358.

⁹ The word used signifies to fasten up or back. *Throwing of their coats of mail* would scarcely have been likely at a time like this, and the text contains the word skirts moreover. See Elliot, INDIA, vol. II. page 287

¹ Both the British Museum copies have, when the elephants of Bahrām Shāh charged the elephants, each of the champions, &c.

elephant to the ground, and got away in safety, and mounted [his horse] again

When the battle was duly ordered, Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, after he had arrayed himself in all his panoply, commanded that a surcoat of crimson-coloured satin should be brought to him, and he put it on over all his armour. His kinsfolk and his intimates inquired:—"What device is this of the king's, that he covers his armour with a crimson surcoat?" He answered—"For this reason, that, in case my body should be wounded by arrow, lance, or sword, the redness of my blood, by means of the crimson surcoat, will not show upon my armour, so that the hearts of my followers may not become dejected." The mercy of the Almighty be upon him!

The troops of Ghūr have a method, in the practise of fighting on foot, of making a certain article of one fold of raw bullock-hide, over both sides of which they lay cotton, and over all draw figured coarse cotton cloth², after the form of a screen [or breast-work], and the name of that article of defence is *kārwah*. When the foot-soldiers of Ghūr place this [screen] upon their shoulders, they are completely covered from head to foot by it, and, when they close their ranks, they appear like unto a wall, and no missile or arms can take any effect on it, on account of the quantity of cotton with which it is stuffed³.

When the engagement was fairly begun, Daulat Shāh, son of Bahrām Shāh, with a body of cavalry and an

² Called *kārbās*.

³ Our author has described this instrument of defence tolerably well, but not exactly. The word *kārwah* is contained in *Pus'hto*, and this means of protection was used by some of the Afghāns in former times, before fire arms came into use. The *kārwah* was made from a raw bullock, cow, or buffalo hide stuffed with straw or hay [cotton would be too expensive], and *rolled along before* troops on foot, when advancing, to defend them from the arrows of their opponents. In the battles between the Yūsufzī and Dīlṛāk tribes of Afghāns, in the fifteenth century, of which before long I hope to be able to give an account, the Utmān Khel, one of the lesser and of the many still independent Afghān tribes [who never paid allegiance to Durrānīs or Bārakzīs] who accompanied the Yūsufzīs when the latter first appeared east of the Khūbar Pass, on one occasion formed the advance of the allied forces, and used these stuffed hides above described. They are said to have been very expert in their construction, but I do not think this mode of fighting will be sufficient to prove that the Ghūrīs were "Patans," or Patāns Ghūrīs. Compare Elliot, *INDIA*, vol. II pages 287-8. See my *Afghān Dictionary*, second edition, p. 1151. London 1867.

elephant⁴, made a charge. Sultān Alā ud Dīn directed that the foot soldiers should open their rank of *kārwaḥs* in order to allow Daulat Shāh to enter with his whole division. They opened their ranks accordingly. When Daulat Shāh, with his body of horse and the elephant, entered, the infantry closed the breach in their ranks again, and completely surrounded that Prince on all sides, and he, with the whole of that body of horse were martyred, and the elephant was brought to the ground, and also killed.

When the troops of Bahrām Shāh witnessed that disaster and slaughter they fell into disorder and gave way. Sultān Alā ud Dīn followed in pursuit, from stage to stage, as far as a place which they call *Joṣh i Āb-i-Garm* [the jet of hot water] near to *Tigīn ābād* where Sultān Bahrām Shāh faced about, and a second time prepared to renew the engagement and the whole of the forces then assembled under him again gave battle, but were defeated and put to the rout, and only stopped at the gate of *Ghaznīn*. Sultān Alā ud Dīn followed in fierce pursuit, so that Bahrām Shāh for the third time, assembled the troops of *Ghaznīn*, the men of the city and a large levy of footmen and gave battle for the third time but he was unable to overcome [the enemy], and was again defeated. Alā ud Dīn took the city of *Ghaznīn* by storm, and during seven nights and days, fired the place, and burnt it with obstinacy and wantonness⁵.

The chronicler states that, during these seven days, the air from the blackness of the smoke, continued as black as night and those nights, from the flames raging in the burning city were lighted up as light as day. During these seven days, likewise, rapine, plunder and massacre were carried on with the utmost pertinacity and vindictiveness. All the men that were found were killed, and the women and children were made captive. Alā ud Dīn

⁴ One elephant only is mentioned, and it is not stated that Daulat Shāh was *wounded* on it. It appears to have been intended to break the rank of *kārwaḥs* with it.

⁵ Our author himself says that Saif-ud Dīn, Sūrī, was the *first* of the brothers who came into contact with Bahrām Shāh, and Alā-ud Dīn, Husain, the *last* but he has so arranged his work that his account of Sūrī comes *last*. The reader will perhaps find it less perplexing if he should read the account of Sūrī at Section XIX. first, then that of Bahā' ud Dīn, Sām, at page 341 and this notice of Alā ud Dīn last.

commanded that the whole of the [remains of the] Maḥmūdī Sultāns should be exhumed from their graves and burnt, except those of Sultān Maḥmūd, the Ghāzī, Sultān Mas'ūd, and Sultān Ibrāhīm⁶, and, during the whole of these seven days, 'Alā-ud-Dīn gave himself up to wine and carousal within the palaces of the Sultāns of Ghaznīn. During this time he gave directions so that the tomb of Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, and the mausoleum of the Malīk-ul-Jibāl [Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad], were sought out, and coffins prepared, and caused preparations to be made for putting his whole army into mourning⁷. When the eighth night came round, and the city had become entirely desolated and consumed, and its inhabitants massacred, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, on that night, improvised⁸ several strophes eulogistic of himself, and gave them to the minstrels, with directions to sing them accompanied by their *changs* and *chighānahs*⁹ before him; and the lines, which are appropriate, are as follows —

“The world knoweth that I of the universe am King¹
 The lamp of the family of the 'Abbāsīs am I
 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Ḥusain, am I,
 Whose house's sovereignty be ever enduring!
 When on the bright bay steed of my dominion I sit,
 One, to me, will be both the heavens and the earth
 Death sports around the point of my spear
 Hope follows [as goad] the dust of my troops²
 I should roam the world through, like unto Sikandar
 I should in every city another sovereign place
 I was determined on this, that of the vagabonds of Ghaznīn
 I would set a river of blood running like unto the Nile
 But they are maudlin old dotards and infants,
 And my blooming fortune maketh intercession for them
 For their own sakes I have granted them their lives,
 That the granting of their lives may of mine be the bond³”

⁶ Other writers state that the bones of the whole of the Maḥmūdī sovereigns were exhumed and burnt, with the sole exception of those of Sultān Maḥmūd.

⁷ The greater number of copies of the original leave out the words *عرا*—mourning—entirely, whilst the Bodleian MS, the R A S MS, and one of the Paris copies have *عرا*—food! The other Paris copy has *غرو*—fighting, making war, &c !

⁸ He was gifted with a poetical genius

⁹ The first is a kind of guitar, or harp, and the latter a kind of violin.

¹ 'Alā-ud-Dīn had evidently an exalted opinion of himself, or had imbibed more strong drink than was good for him

² Several other works which give this poem leave out these two lines

³ As far as can be judged from all the exaggeration contained in these

He then commanded saying, "I have spared the remainder of the people of Ghaznīn," and he arose from the assembly, and went to the hot bath and on the eighth day of these proceedings he got up at day-dawn, and accompanied by the whole of the troops of Ghūr and the Malīks [chiefs], came to the mausoleum of his brothers. He then donned mourning garments, together with his whole army and, for [another] seven nights and days, he remained at the mausoleum observing funeral ceremonies.

During this period the whole Qur'ān was read through several times, and alms were there distributed and the coffins of his brothers were placed on biers⁴ and he [Alā ud Dīn] marched from Ghaznīn towards the districts of Dāwar and Bust. On reaching the city of Bust, he entirely destroyed the palaces and other edifices⁵ of the Maḥmūdī dynasty the like of which were not to be found in the regions of the world⁶, and the whole territory which appertained to the Maḥmūdī sovereigns, he directed should be ravaged and desolated⁷.

He returned to Ghūr and by his command the corpses⁸ of his brothers were deposited by the side of their ancestors. He had ordered that several Sayyids of Ghaznīn should be seized according to the law of retaliation, in the place of Sayyid Majd ud Dīn, Mūsawī, who was Sulṭān Sūrī's Wazīr and who along with Sulṭān Sūrī, they had hung up from one of the arches⁹ [of the bridge?] of Ghaznīn

boastful effusions of Alā ud-Dīn, Ḥusām, he seems to have imagined that his own life might be lengthened in proportion to the lives he spared, *after* he had caused almost the whole of the inhabitants of Ghaznīn to be massacred!

⁴ The word *ṣā* has other meanings besides "*cradle*." Elliot INDIA, vol. II. p. 289.

⁵ Such as mosques, colleges, fortifications, &c.

⁶ Some ruins of those edifices still remain. An intelligent man, a native of Kandahār and an Afghan says these ruins are of immense size and height, particularly one arch, which was standing some few years since, said to have been one of the great mosque. There was also a stone bridge across the river Hirmand, near this arch, called the Pul-i-Āshiqān—the Lovers' Bridge—remains of which may still be seen.

⁷ The whole of the district of Zamīn-i Dāwar I presume. The territory of the Maḥmūdī sovereigns, even at that time, was of great extent, and Ghūr formed only a very small portion of it.

⁸ The word used by our author signifies tombs, sepulchres, and the like, which, of course, would scarcely be interred. The coffins and their contents were interred.

⁹ The word used here is *Tāq*, signifying an arch, among other meanings.

and they were brought before the Sultān. Bags were filled with the earth¹ of Ghaznīn, and placed upon their backs, and [they were] brought along with him to Fīrūz-koh, the capital, and, on reaching that city, the Sayyids were put to death, and their blood was mixed with the earth which had been brought from Ghaznīn, and from it several towers² were erected on the hills of Fīrūz-koh, which towers, moreover, were still remaining up to this present time. The Almighty pardon him!

After he had wreaked such vengeance as this, and returned to the capital again, 'Alā-ud-Dīn desired to devote himself to pleasure and revelry, and he gathered around him minstrels and boon companions, betook himself to conviviality and carousal, and improvised lines which he directed the minstrels to sing, and accompany on their harps and violins³. These are the lines —

“I am [he] in whose justice the world hath exultation,
And I am [he] through whose munificence the treasury sustaineth injustice
The finger of his hand, to his teeth, the enemy placeth⁴,
When, to the string of the bow, I the thumble apply⁵

and it is also a proper name, *but no word signifying a bridge is used in any copy of the text collated*, but some other writers say it was the Ṭāk Bridge—the bridge leading to Ṭāk, in Zābulistān, probably. Another writer, however, says, Sūrī and his Wazīr were hung at the head of “the Bridge of Two Arches”—سرهل دو طاق—and this is probably correct. In his account of Sūrī, farther on, our author says it was the Bridge of One Arch. See the first of the Ghaznīn dynasty, Section XIX.

¹ Khāk signifies earth, not “*dirt*”. The context shows what this earth was intended for, but *dirt* would scarcely have answered for making mortar.

² Another author states that it was the *remainder of the people* of Ghaznīn—not Sayyids only—that 'Alā-ud-Dīn removed, and that they were laden with sacks of earth from that city, and on their arrival at Fīrūz-koh they were slaughtered, and a building was raised from the earth which was mixed with their blood. The word used by our author signifies a tower, bastion, &c. The probability is that they were small towers, such as are raised for landmarks, and that the earth brought from Ghaznīn, mixed with the blood of the Sayyids, and amalgamated with the mortar, was used for these buildings.

³ Here again the idiom of the different copies of the original varies so much that it would lead one to imagine that the work of our author must, originally, have been written in a different language. One set of copies has *مطربان را فرمود تا در چاک و چعانه بردند و بواحد* whilst another set of copies has *مطربان را بفرمود تا در عمل برامير اورند و بساختند و بکشد* and throughout the work the two sets agree word for word almost. The latter set is the least trustworthy.

⁴ In token of astonishment.

⁵ A sort of thumble used by archers to protect the left thumb from the bow-string.

When my bay steed leaped a square within the ranks,
 The adversary no longer knew ball from square.⁶
 When, out of hatred towards me, Bahrām Shāh⁷ bent the bow
 I plucked, with my lance, the quiver from his waist.
 The support of my foe, although they were all Rāes [and] Rānah
 I reduced, with my mace, to atoms, both Rāes and Rānah's head.⁸
 To draw forth vengeance by the sword, I have indeed taught
 The sovereigns of the time, and the kings of the age.
 Ah, ravishing Minstrel! since I am released from war
 Sing that strain indeed, and that melody enkindle.
 When fortune hath been grasped, it is not right to renounce
 The singers melody nor the fire-worshippers pure wine."

Trustworthy persons have related after this wise, that, when Sulṭān Ala ud Dīn ascended the throne of Firuz Koh, he ordered his nephews, Ghuyās-ud Dīn Muḥammad i Sām⁹ and Mu'izz ud Dīn Muḥammad i Sām, sons of Sulṭān Bahā ud Dīn, Muḥammad Sam, to be imprisoned, and they were confined in the fortress of Wajiristān¹, and an allowance was fixed for their support.

He [Alā ud Dīn] also began to show a contumacious spirit towards Sulṭān Sanjar and manifested open hostility

⁶ These two lines evidently refer to the game of *Changīn*, from which the lately introduced game of *Pola* is derived. The text of these lines varies considerably in different copies of the original, but I have rendered the translation as close as possible still the meaning is not clear. Probably horse and rider bore everything before them, and spread terror among the foe, and struck Bahrām Shāh with amazement.

⁷ From this line, if correctly quoted, it was Bahrām Shāh who encountered Alā-ud Dīn, Husain; but other authors, as already noticed in note ² page 347 distinctly state that he was dead before the second expedition against Ghaznīn but whether Bahrām or Khusrāu Shāh—the measure would not be lost if

Khusrāu were substituted for Bahrām—it would appear that Rājput and other Hindū princes and chiefs were in the Ghaznawid army on this occasion. See account of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, the second of the Ghaznīn dynasty. In his account of Bahrām Shāh's reign, pages 109 to 111 our author says that he returned to Ghaznīn after Alā-ud Dīn, Husain, withdrew and died there. Those authors who contend that Bahrām Shāh had died a short time before Alā-ud Dīn, Husain, appeared before Ghaznīn, state that it was his son, Khusrāu Shāh, who left it on his approach and who returned to it after the departure of the Ghūrīns, and finally relinquished it on the advance of the Ghuzz Turks, in 548 or 549 B. after the defeat of Sulṭān Sanjar and his falling a captive into their hands in that year two years only before the death of Alā ud Dīn.

⁸ The word *غرس* is used in all but one copy of the text, which has *غرس* signifying a ball, and may even be the most applicable meaning after all.

⁹ Sām [Bahā ud Dīn] was the name of the father only

¹ The fortress of Nāc probably which stronghold was used as a state prison by the Ghaznawid Sulṭāns.

towards him². What the Sultāns of Ghūr had stipulated for, and which used to reach the Sanjarī Court every year, such as arms and armour, rarities, and offerings, 'Alā-ud-Dīn withheld; and matters reached such a pass, that Sultān Sanjar assembled a numerous army, and determined to march into the territory of Ghūr

Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn collected the forces of Ghūr, and advanced to meet the Sultān as far as the limits of the town of Nāb, between Fīrūz-koh and Hirāt, in the valley of the Harīw-ar-Rūd. There is water there, and a delightful and extensive plain³, which they call Sih-goshah-i-Nāb,

² This seems to confirm the statement of Faṣīḥ-ī [note ⁴, page 336], that Husain ['Izz-ud-Dīn], son of Sām, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain's father, had also been made captive by Sultān Sanjar, some years before, and made tributary. Under the reign of Sanjar also, our author states, page 149, "The Malik of Ghūr and Sultāns of the Jibāl were all subject to Sultān Sanjar. It is probable that, as Sultān Sanjar had dethroned Sultān Arsalān, and had set up Bahrām Shāh on the throne of Ghaznīn, he [Sanjar] received, as lord-paramount over Ghaznīn also, the tribute formerly paid by the chiefs of Ghūr to the Sultāns of the Maḥmūdī dynasty. When Bahrām executed Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, 'Alā-ud-Dīn's brother, he sent his head to his uncle, Sultān Sanjar. See also Fanākātī's statement, para. 10 to note ², page 348

³ Two copies have, "There there is a delightful river and an extensive plain," but of course the Harīw or Harī-rūd, as the river of Hirāt is named, was there, and the extra river appears redundant.

Faṣīḥ ī states that the battle took place before Aobah, near Hirāt [Aobah is Pus'hto for "water"], and in this Jahān-Ārā agrees, but the Tārīkh-i-Ibrāhīmī says it took place at Marān-zād, but both places are in the Hirāt district, and not far from each other

In the year 544 H. [Faṣīḥ-ī says as early as 542 H.], 'Alī, Jatrī, [called Chatrī by our author] who held the fief of Hirāt, during Sultān Sanjar's absence, had become disaffected towards the Sultān, in what way is not mentioned, for but little is said about him in history [See note ³, page 237]. He concerted with 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, "Malik of Ghūr," in this hostility, and Sanjar marched against them. They were defeated and overthrown in 545 H.—some say in 544 H., and Faṣīḥ-ī 547 H.—and 'Alī, Jatrī, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, Ghūrī, and the Malik-zādah, Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad [son of Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, of Bāmīān, elder brother of 'Alā-ud-Dīn], were taken prisoners, the last by the hand of the Sipah-sālār, Baranqash. Orders were given to put 'Alī, Jatrī, to death at once, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn was thrown into prison, but Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, having obtained 50,000 dīnārs from Bāmīān, the sum demanded for his ransom, that sum was paid to Baranqash, and he was set free. After some time, Sultān Sanjar took compassion on 'Alā-ud-Dīn, set him at liberty, and made him one of his boon companions

Fanākātī *here* relates the story respecting ['Alā-ud-Dīn] Husain, which Faṣīḥ-ī, and some others relate of his father, Husain, already recorded in note ⁴, page 336, but, although Faṣīḥ-ī relates matters *entirely different* here respecting 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, and gives such circumstantial details, I still cannot but consider Raṣhīd ud-Dīn's account correct notwithstanding, who,

and at that place an engagement took place between the two armies. Sultān Alā ud Dīn, a day before the battle was fought, had directed so that the ground in rear of the forces of Ghūr had been entirely laid under water and he had caused it to be proclaimed that the ground in the rear had become quite flooded and that whoever should attempt to fly to the rear would get into the mud and stick there.

When the battle was arranged and the two armies came in contact a body of about 6000 Ghuzz, Turk, and Khālī horse, which was stationed on the right of the army of Ghūr deserted and went over to Sultān Sanjar and submitted to him and the troops of Ghūr were defeated and overthrown. The whole of the Amīrs and warriors, and

however, styles both of them Hūmāin, without giving their titles. The anecdote is much the same in both authors.

Faḡlī-i says, When Hūmāin [ʿIzz ud Dīn, Hūmāin, of our author], son of Sām, was taken prisoner the Sultān commanded that he should be put to death but, at the intercession of Shaikh Ahmad [the Imām i Rabbanī of Raghīd ud Dīn], Ghazālī, he was spared, and set at liberty. This was in the year 545 H. For two years he used to light the fires of the cooks of the Sultān's army [our author would scorn to relate this, as it did not tend to the glorification of his patrons], until one day the Amīr [commander] of the troops of Khurāsān, Imād-ud Daulah, Kīmāj, chanced to meet with him. Fanākatī says for two years [ʿAlā ud Dīn] Hūmāin wandered about the bāzārs of Sanjar's camp [or capital] as a mendicant, when one day as Kīmāj was passing the shop of a cook he noticed Hūmāin, who was attending the fire and watching the cook's pot.

Kīmāj took compassion on Hūmāin and made known his case to the Sultān, who directed that he should be brought to his presence. When admitted, he kissed the ground before the Sultān, who said to him — I understand thou hast neither wealth nor effects left unto thee. Hast thou no sense of cleanliness left thee either?" [Raghīd-ud Dīn says, Hast thou not the means and power of keeping one head and face clean?"] Hūmāin replied — In the days when this head was mine own head I had the good fortune to be attended by a thousand servants, but, now that it belongs to thee, thou keepest it thus wretched and abject. The Sultān was touched; he pardoned him, treated him with honour and sent him back to his native country attended by a large retinue; and to the end of his days Hūmāin paid obedience to that monarch.

Alā-ud Dīn, Hūmāin, was restored to the sovereignty of Ghūr in 547 H. just before Sultān Sanjar moved against the Ghuzz. He was defeated and made captive in the first month of 548 H. and, when released in 551 H., no power was left to him. Alā-ud Dīn died a month before Sanjar's release. Several authors mention Sanjar's having bestowed a casket of gems, one night at a convivial meeting, upon Alā-ud Dīn, Hūmāin, but treasure, flocks, and herds are not referred to. See page 238, and note *

distinguished men of the Ghūrīān army, got entangled in that swampy ground and morass. Some of them obtained martyrdom, and some were made captive, and Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn himself was taken prisoner.

Sultān Sanjar commanded that he should be put in confinement, and they brought gyves of iron to place on his legs. He urged that it was requisite they should make a representation [from him] to the Sultān, saying —“Do unto me as I intended to have done unto thee, for I obtained gyves of gold, in order that, thereby, reverence for thy sovereignty might be so much the more preserved.” When this request was made known, those identical gyves were called for, and, when they were obtained, those very same gyves were placed upon 'Alā-ud-Dīn's legs, and they mounted him upon a camel, and Sultān Sanjar returned [to his own territory].

As the report of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's wittiness of temperament, and quickness of intellect, was much talked about at that period, and had become famous, and Sultān Sanjar had heard a great deal about it, either the next day, or a few days after, he sent for him, treated him with honour, and set him at liberty [from his gyves]. A salver of precious gems had been placed near the *masnad* of the imperial throne, and that was bestowed upon 'Alā-ud-Dīn, who arose and made his obeisance, and spoke these lines, befitting the circumstance. The following is the quatrain —

“In the rank of battle the Shāh took me, but did not kill,
Notwithstanding, of a verity, I was full worthy of being slain
A casket of precious gems he bestow'd upon me
In such wise his mercy [was], and his bounty such ⁴”

Sultān Sanjar made him one of his associates and boon companions, and there was no pleasure-party without the presence of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, until one day, during a banquet, the sight of 'Alā-ud-Dīn fell upon the sole of Sultān Sanjar's foot, who, seated on his throne, had extended one of his legs, upon the sole of the foot of which there was a large mole. He arose, kissed the mole, and improvised the following lines —

⁴ Some other authors quote these lines differently, particularly the two last

Verily the dust at the gate of thy palace is [my] diadem⁶
 And [this], the collar of thy service, is my adornment.
 In the same manner as I kiss the mole on the sole of thy foot,
 Even so good fortune [likewise] salutes my head.

This anecdote has been already related in the account of Sultān Sanjar's reign. The latter gave him back again, the throne of Ghūr⁷ and he commanded that stores, treasure, all his herds of horses and camels and cattle, and flocks of sheep his own personal property should be made over to Alā ud Dīn and Sultān Sanjar said—"Alā ud Dīn, thou art in the condition of a brother to me. Return, and take all these things—cattle and treasure—along with thee and remove them to the country of Ghūr. If the divine decree should in such wise will, that this host of Ghuzz should be overcome and we should obtain the victory when these things shall be demanded of thee, send them back to me but otherwise, if it should turn out that my dominion shall have come to an end and the thread of the empire's regularity shall have been severed, it is far better that these things should remain with thee than that they should fall into the hands of the Ghuzz!"

During this period of Sultān Alā ud Dīn's absence⁸ from the capital of the kingdom of Ghūr a number of the Amīrs Maliks, and the great men and judges of the Jibāl [mountain tracts] and of the territory of Ghūr had agreed together to bring Malik Nāṣir ud Dīn, Ḥusain⁹ son of Muḥammad of Mādīn, who was the brother's son of Alā ud Dīn, and place him upon the throne of Firūz koh. A body of disobedient persons of the territory of Kashī¹⁰ who excel all the rest of the people of Ghūr in arrogance and obstinacy had committed great violence, and by their turbulence and clamour under pretence of grants, gifts

⁶ The first line here is slightly different in some few copies, and varies a little from what was given at page 150, and reads, "Verily the dust of *thy street's hoof* is my diadem, but the rest agrees with the former version. Other authors quote the line as given in the text above.

⁷ The *Tārīkh-i Ibrāhīmī* says both Ghūr and Ghaznī.

⁸ Another author says that Sultān Sanjar bestowed a standard and kettle drums upon Alā-ud Dīn and restored him to the rulership of Ghūr.

⁹ Captivity did not sound well in Mīnhāj-i-Sarāj's ears apparently.

¹⁰ Some have Ḥasan.

¹¹ This word is written *Kaaf* in several copies.

alms, and robes of distinction, had appropriated the royal treasure and property

When Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn came towards Ghūr from Khurāsān with all that treasure, cattle, and wealth [conferred upon him by Sultān Sanjar], he first proceeded in the direction of the territory of Kashī, destroyed the whole of their Kūshks [fortified villages], which exceeded a thousand Ḳaṣrs in number, and every one of which, in strength and height, was such, that the decision of conjecture and conception could not admit a plan of it

After having taken vengeance upon the Kashī territory and other mountain tracts, he [Alā-ud-Dīn] returned to the capital Fīrūz-koh, and, before his reaching it, they had killed Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, ḡī-Muhammad, as will, subsequently, be recorded. When Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn arrived at Fīrūz-koh, and [again] seated himself on the throne of his ancestor, he turned his attention to the making of fresh conquests. He brought under his sway the districts of Bāmīān and Tukhārīstān², and seized the districts of Dāwar, Jarūm, and Bust also, and, of Khurāsān, took the fortress of Tūlak, which is situated in the mountains in the vicinity of Hirāt, after a period of six years³.

There was a poet within the fortress of Tūlak, whom they called by the name of 'Umr-i-Sarāj, and, when hostilities were about to come to an end, and the fortress of Tūlak was about to be gained possession of by terms of accommodation, he composed some verses, two lines of which, which were deserving [of insertion], are here brought in. —

“Seated on horseback, galloping up-hill and down,
Thy object is Tūlak lo ! there is Tūlak ”

In their language, galloping up-hill and down-dale is called “Wurlak-Fūlak”⁴. “The mercy of God be upon them !”

² See the Tukhārīstān dynasty farther on

³ According to this statement, 'Alā-ud-Dīn must have been investing this place during the whole of his reign, for he only ruled six years

⁴ These words vary in most of the copies of the text, but the best copies have as above written. Some have “Ūrlak-Fūlak,” “Warlak-Tūlak,” and “Wurkal-Tūkal” The words are unintelligible, and are certainly not Pushto

From that place Alā ud Dīn turned his face to the conquest of Gharjistān, and took to wife the lady Hūr Malikah, who was the daughter of the Shār Shāh [by name] son of Ibrāhīm Shār son of Ardshīr one of the Malika of Gharjistān⁶ and the valley of the Murghāb river and [its] fortresses came into his possession. The fortress of Sabekji⁷ [or Sabegji] however held out, and carried on hostilities [against him] for six years⁷ and of this time, for a period of three years he sat down continually before it, until it was given up to him.

Towards the end of Sultān Alā ud Dīn's life, Mulā ḥidah emissaries came to him from Alamūt⁸ and he treated them with great reverence and in every place in Ghūr they sought, secretly, to make proselytes. The Mulāḥidah [heretic] of Alamūt had set his ambition on subjecting the people of Ghūr [to his heresy] and making them submissive. This fact became defilement which adhered to the train of the Alā ī robe of sovereignty. Of his life, however but a short period remained, and he died, and they buried him by the side of his ancestors and his brethren⁹. The Almighty forgive him!

⁶ See note ⁶ page 341

⁶ The name of this place is doubtful. The majority of copies have as written above سبکی but other copies have سبکی — سبکی — سبکی and سبکی. Of Ghūr we have no knowledge whatever and the Politicals, who were stationed in Afghanistan previous to the outbreak in 1841 although they did gain a little knowledge of the eastern parts of Afghanistan, appear almost to have neglected the western parts.

⁷ See note ² preceding page.

⁸ Alamūt, from آل and موت — the eagle's [not vulture's] nest—the name of the stronghold of Ḥasan-i Sabbāḥ, the Shaykh-ul-Jibāl, or the Old Man of the Mountain, or Chief of the Assassins as the chief of this sect used to be called. The person here referred to, however is MUHAMMAD son of BUZURG-UMĪD the third of the Alamūtīahs, who died in 557 H. In Elliot, INDIA, vol. II. pages 289-90, he is turned into "the Mulāḥi-datu-l-mant"¹. See page 365, and note ³.

Alā-ud Dīn, Ḥusain, died at Hīrāt in 551 H. the same year in which Sulṭān Sanjar escaped from the Ghuzz, and Itz, Khwārazm Shāh, died, according to Faṣḥ-ī, Lubḥ-ut Tawārīkh, Ḥabīb-na-Siyar Ḥaṣṭ Ikṣim, Mīrāt-i-Jahān Numā, and several others but, according to Jahān Arā and Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, in 556 H. but this is incorrect. Jamālī says in 566 H. ! Our author, although brought up in the residence of his niece, and the glorifier of all things Ghūrīān, appears neither to have known the year of Alā-ud Dīn's death nor the extent of his reign. He reigned six years.

⁹ How many sons he had our author did not appear to consider necessary

XV MALIK NĀṢIR-UD-DĪN, AL-HUSAIN, SON OF MUḤAMMAD,
MĀDĪNĪ

When Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, was made captive in the engagement with Sultān Sanjar, the [affairs of the] territories of Ghūr and the Jībāl [mountain tracts] became weak and disordered. The refractory and disobedient of Ghūr began to show contumacy, and each tribe fortified itself in the hills and defiles in which it dwelt, and commenced carrying on strife and hostility one against the other.

A party of the great Amīrs who still remained [for a great number had been slain or made captive in the battle against Sultān Sanjar] brought Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Muhammad, Mādīnī, from Mādīn, and placed him on the throne of Fīrūz-koh¹. The treasures of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and the treasures of his son, Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn, he took into his own possession, and the whole of the precious things, treasures, and valuable property, and other effects stored up, he expended upon those Amīrs, and great men, and on mean persons, and seized upon the dominions of Ghūr. His strength lay in the support of the rebels of the Kashī country.

This Malik, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, had a great passion for women and virgins, and he had taken a number of the handmaids and slave girls of the *haram* of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn under his own control, and used to have recourse to them. When Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, having been dismissed with great honour and respect from the presence of Sultān Sanjar, set out towards the dominions of Ghūr, and reached the hill country of Hirāt, and the news of the advent of his exalted banners was brought to Fīrūz-koh, terror, and fright, and the fear of retribution, threw all hearts into dread.

A party, who were loyally devoted to the 'Alā-ī dynasty, secretly instigated and incited those slave girls of 'Alā-ud-Dīn's *haram*, who had been taken into Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn's *haram*, so that they sought an opportunity, and, at

to state here, but we shall find that he had two at least, both of whom succeeded to the sovereignty.

¹ He is not mentioned as a ruler by other authors, who pass at once from 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, to his son, but there is no doubt about Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, having seized the sovereignty and held it during the former's captivity.

a time when Malīk Nāṣir-ud Dīn was lying asleep on his couch, they placed the pillow of the couch over his face, and with all their force, held down the four corners of the pillow until they suffocated him, and he died.

XVI. SULTĀN² SAIF UD DĪN MUḤAMMAD SON OF SULTĀN
ALĀ UD-DĪN AL-ḤUSAIN

When Sultān Alā-ud Dīn departed from this world, his son Sultān Saif ud Dīn, Muḥammad, with the concurrence of the whole of the Malīks, Amīrs, and chief men of Ghūr ascended the throne of Fīrūz koh.

He was a youthful and good looking sovereign and was beneficent in disposition, just, the cherisher of his subjects, and patronizer of his servants, bountiful munificent, open hearted, and liberal, humble, conciliating pious, orthodox, and steadfast in the faith of Islām. When he ascended the throne, he, at the outset, repudiated acts of tyranny and injustice, and for all the injustice, oppression, and violence which his father had committed he commanded that restitution should be made and he carried out his purpose according to the institutes of justice, and the ways of rectitude.

Those emissaries who had come from the Mulāḥidah [heretic] of Alamūt [towards the close of his father's reign], and who secretly had exhorted every person to the vanities of heresy and schism, he directed should be brought to task, and the whole of them by his orders, were put to the sword. In every place wherein the odour of their impure usages was perceived, throughout the territory of Ghūr slaughter of all heretics was commanded. The whole of them were sent to Hell, and the area of the country of Ghūr which was a mine of religion and orthodoxy was purified from the infernal impurity of Ḳarāmīyah³ depravity by the sword. By this orthodox war upon infidels love for him became rooted in the hearts of the people of Ghūr and of the territory of the Jibāl and the

² Styled Malīk by several authors.

³ Our author makes no difference between Mulāḥidah and Ḳarāmīyah, but they are different sects. See Sale, Kuṭūb Preliminary Discourse, pages 130-31

whole of them bound the girdle of his service round their loins, and placed the collar of obedience to him about the neck of sincerity

One of the proofs of his equity, and of the goodness of his rule, was this, that he gave orders for the release from the fortress of Wajīristān of both his uncle's sons, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, the sons of Sām, and he cherished and caressed them, and allowed them perfect liberty of action

During his reign people, both comers and goers, enjoyed plenty, repose, and security beyond compute, but that youthful monarch of excellent disposition had but a short life, and his reign only extended to the space of one year and little more. The mercy of God be upon him !

The cause of his loss of life was this.—One day, seated in his pavilion, he was discharging arrows at a butt, and the Amīrs of Ghūr had been directed to be present, and were in attendance. The Sīpāh-sālār [commander of the troops], War-mesh, son of Shīs, who was the brother of Abū-l-'Abbās, son of Shīs, and the brother of Sulīmān, son of Shīs, was also in attendance on him. It was the custom with the Amīrs of Ghūr, and the Maliks of the Jībāl, at that period, that upon whomsoever they would confer honour, him they should present with a golden gauntlet studded with jewels, after the same manner as, in these days, they bestow a girdle, and on the hand[s] of this commander, War-mesh, son of Shīs, were two gem-studded gauntlets⁴, which Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, Mādīnī, had honoured him with, and both those gauntlets were from the treasury of Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn's own *haram*. When he perceived those two gauntlets belonging to his own *haram* upon the hand of War-mesh, the honour of manhood, and the dignity of sovereignty, began to flame up within his heart, and the fire of wrath burst forth, and he said—"Run, War-mesh, and bring back my arrow from the butt." When War-mesh turned his face towards the

⁴ The word used is دستواره a glove or gauntlet, a bracelet *may* have been what our author intended, as it is difficult, I should imagine, to wear two gauntlets on *one* hand, but he says "on the hand," not the *hands*. The word for bracelet, however, is دستبند. Other writers say, a bracelet, which Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, had taken from one of 'Alī-ud-Dīn's wives, and presented to War-mesh. It is the father's *haram* at page 364

butt, in order to carry out this command, and his back was turned towards the Sultān he, Sultān Saif ud Dīn, fitted a broad steel headed arrow⁶ to his bow, and drew the bow string to his ear, and discharged the arrow with such force into the back of War mesh, that the feathers of the arrow passed out through his breast, and he fell down dead on the spot⁷.

As the empire of the Sanjarī dynasty had come to an end, the Amīrs of the tribe of Ghuzz had acquired power, and had taken possession of the different parts of the territory of Khurāsān and their violence and depredations had extended in all directions, and the disquietude and affliction consequent upon these depredations used to reach the frontier districts of the kingdom of Ghūr and the borders of the hill tracts of Gharjistān.

When Sultān Saif ud Dīn brought the dominions of his father under his jurisdiction, he assembled his forces, and set out for the purpose of restraining the aggressions of the Ghuzz, and reached the confines of Gharjistān, and the district of Mādīn⁸. From thence he advanced to Rūd bār⁹ of Marw and passed beyond Dajzaq, which is a large city [town?] and came to a battle with the Ghuzz.

The Sipāh-sālār Abū l Abbās, son of Shīṣ, who was the champion of Ghūr of the family of the Shīṣānīs, and who nourished revenge in his heart on account of War mesh, son of Shīṣ [his own brother] and waited his opportunity on the day of the encounter with the Ghuzz, came behind the back of the Sultān, Saif ud Dīn, and thrust his spear into his side, and hurled him from his horse, and exclaimed [at the same time], "Men are not killed with their faces to the butt, as thou didst kill my brother otherwise they [themselves] get killed at such a place as this¹⁰."

⁶ The arrow-head called *ak-sā*, formed in the shape of a shovel; hence its name—a little shovel. It is also called the hunter's arrow head, and a double-pointed arrow-head also.

⁷ The meek, conciliating, and pious youth did not hesitate to shoot an enemy in the back!

⁸ Some copies of the text have Fārus, which is sometimes written Kādus, instead of Mādīn. See page 374, and note ⁶.

⁹ Rūd-bār also means a river in a valley but here refers to a place so called.

¹⁰ Some writers mention that he was killed in battle with the Ghuzz of Balḫ and that it happened in 558 H.; but he lived to have reigned some

When the Sultān fell, the troops of Ghūr were defeated and routed, and they likewise left the [wounded] Sultān on the field. A Ghuzz [soldier] came upon him, and, as yet, the Sultān was still alive. The Ghuzz, when he noticed the princely vest and girdle, was desirous of despoiling him of them. The fastening of the Sultān's girdle would not come open quickly, on which the Ghuzz applied his knife to the fastening, and divided it. The point of the knife entered the stomach of Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn with force, and from that wound he obtained martyrdom.

XVII SULTĀN¹ UL-A'ZAM, GHIYĀS UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN,
ABŪ-L-FATH, MUHAMMAD, SON OF BAHĀ UD-DĪN, SĀM,
KASĪM-I-AMĪR-UL-MŪMINĪN²

Trustworthy persons have stated, after the following manner, that Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and his brother, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, were both born of one mother, and that Ghiyās-ud-Dīn was the elder of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn by three years and a little more. Their mother was the daughter of Malīk Badr-ud-Dīn, Kīdānī, both of the lineage of Banjī, son of Naharān, and also of the seed of the Shansabānīs. The Malīkah, their mother, used to call Ghiyās-ud-Dīn [by the name of] Ḥabashī, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Zangī³, but, originally, the august name of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn was Muhammad, and the name of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was

thing less than two years, and, in this case, if his father died in 551 H., there are three or four years unaccounted for, and, if the former date is correct, 'Alā must have died in 556 H., or his son must have reigned about *seven* years, but, as our author says that Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, who succeeded him, died in 599 H., after a reign of forty-three years, Saif-ud-Dīn, 'Alā's son, must have been killed in 556 H. Some other authors, however, say Ghiyās-ud-Dīn only reigned forty-one years, which would make 558 H. as the year of Saif-ud-Dīn's death correct. The Mir'āt-i-Jahān Numā says that his father died in 551 H., and Saif-ud-Dīn reigned one year and a half, and by some accounts seven years, and that he was killed in a battle with the Ghuzz of Balkh. In all probability he was killed in 558 H.

¹ Styled "Malīk" by many authors, like the whole dynasty

² The legendary etymology of this assumed title has already been given at page 315, but its real meaning was, probably, co sharer, or the like, from سهم a share, portion, &c. See also page 316, and note ⁹

³ Why their mother called them by these "pet" names does not appear. We must suppose that they were both very dark indeed, as both words signify Abyssinian, Ethiop, negro, &c

also Muḥammad. In the dialect of Ghūr they call Muḥammad, Aḥmad⁴

When Malik Bahā-ud Dīn, Sām died within the limits of Kidān and Sulṭān Alā ud Dīn Ḥusain, ascended the throne of Firūz koh, he commanded that his two nephews, Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn and Muizz ud Dīn, should be imprisoned in the fortress of Wajristān⁵ and fixed but a small allowance for the supply of their wants⁶. When Sulṭān Alā ud Dīn departed from this world Sulṭān Saif ud Dīn directed that they should be released from that fortress and he allowed them entire liberty of action. Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn took up his residence at the Court of Firūz koh in amity with Sulṭān Saif ud Dīn, and Muizz ud Dīn, his brother, proceeded to Bāmīān to the presence of his paternal uncle Malik Fakhr ud Dīn, Masūd.

Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn accompanied Sulṭān Saif ud Dīn, serving along with the army on the expedition against the Ghuzz tribe, but he had, however but a small following through want of means and scantiness of resources but every one, among the old servants of his father and of his mother used clandestinely to afford him some little help.

Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn continued always in the service of Sulṭān Saif ud Dīn up to the time when the heavenly decree arrived and Sulṭān Saif ud Dīn was removed from the throne of life imperial to the bier of premature death⁷ and the army of Ghūr discomfited, came out of the district of Rūd bār and the borders of Dajzāk towards Gharjistān by way of Asīr Darah and La wār [or Lū īr?], and passed beyond Afghān which was the capital of the Shāhs of Gharjistān and, when they reached the town of Wadā wajd⁸ the Sipāh sālār Abū l Abbās son of Shāh, who

⁴ See note ⁴ page 313.

⁵ ⁶ A few authors have stated that the two brothers were placed in charge of Ghamān [not a province of Ghūr] by their uncle, Alā-ud Dīn, Ḥusain, but such is not correct, and our author's statements here and at pages 357 and 366 are quite correct, and are confirmed by many authors of undoubted authority. See also Thomas: THE PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI, page 10.

⁶ See paragraph 14, note ³ page 347.

⁷ For shooting the greatest of his chiefs in the back, in a cowardly manner in a fit of jealousy.

⁸ The text here in all the copies is more or less exceedingly defective, and it would be almost impossible to make anything of this passage without collating the number of copies I have seen. As it is there is some doubt about two or three of the proper names. Some copies have Abar [أبر] and Asīr

had unhorsed Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn with his spear, there presented himself in the presence of Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and such of the most powerful and illustrious personages, and the Amīrs and Malīks of the troops of Ghūr and Gharjistān as were present, he assembled and brought together, and they all gave their allegiance to the sovereignty and dominion of Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and they raised him to the throne, and congratulated him on his accession to the supreme power. Command was given to erect a castle there [where this occurred], and up to this time, wherein the calamity of the infidel Mughals arose, that town and castle was inhabited. From thence they conducted him to the city of Fīrūz-koh, and, when they reached the city, they placed Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn on the throne.

Previously to this, his title was Shams-ud-Dīn, and his brother's, Shihāb-ud-Dīn, but, after he had been on the throne some time, his own title was changed to Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and, after the successes in Khurāsān, his brother Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn's title became Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn⁹.

When his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn¹, became cognizant of his brother Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn's situation, he proceeded to the presence of his uncle, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Ma'ūd, and asked his permission, and came to Fīrūz-koh and he was invested with the office of Sar-i-Jāndāz [or chief armour-bearer], and he used to be always in attendance on his brother, Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn. The territory of Istīah² and Kajūrān were entrusted to his charge.

[اسر] for Asīr [اسير], and Wajzāward [وزارد] for Wadāwajzd [دواد]. Some copies may be read any way, and have no diacritical points. The name of the capital of Gharjistān, which is also called Gharchistān, is also written in various ways, and, in some copies, is unintelligible, but the above reading is confirmed by Yāfa-ī, who gives a detailed account of the Shārs, but Fasīhī calls the town Afghānah. Ibn-Hūkal says, the two [chief] towns of Gharjistān are شين and سورين. The first is evidently an error of the copyist for امشين and so confirms Yāfa-ī's statement.

⁹ Several years after his brother's accession. Modern writers of Indian history generally, and European writers, English in particular, put the cart before the horse in this respect, but the latest version of his name, in this way, occurs in THE STUDENT'S MANUAL OF INDIAN HISTORY, where he appears as "*Shahab ood Deen, Mahmood Ghoori*"¹. Shihāb has a meaning, but "Shahab" none moreover his name was not Mahmūd.

¹ The writer does not mean that he was *then* Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, but subsequently.

² Written by some other authors, Istiyā. It is the name of a small district and range of hills between Ghaznīn and Hirāt.

When the [Sultān's] pavilion was brought out of the city of Fīrūz koh, and conveyed towards Ghūr³ the contumacious of Ghūr began to manifest opposition. The Sipāh-sālār Abū l Abbās, son of Shīr, who had raised him to the throne, possessed great authority and influence, and the refractory of Ghūr used to shelter themselves under his protection. Both the brothers continued to nourish revenge in their hearts against him [Abū l Abbās], on account of his having killed their cousin, Sultān Saif ud Dīn, and they both concerted a design [against him] It was determined between them, that one of their own immediate Turkish followers should carry it out [in the following manner] —When Abū-l Abbās should enter the audience hall and should stand up in the assembly to make his obeisance, and Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn should raise his hand to his cap⁴ the Turk should strike off Abū l Abbās head and such was done.

After Abū l Abbās had been put to death, Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn acquired strength, and the grandeur of the realm increased. The uncle of the brothers, Malik Faḥr-ud Dīn Mas'ūd, of Bāmīān, being the eldest of the seven Sultān brothers⁵ and there being neither one of them remaining [but himself] he became ambitious of acquiring the territory of Ghūr and the throne of Fīrūz koh. Malik Alā ud Dīn Kīmāy [a noble] of the Sanjarī dynasty who was Malik [ruler] of Balkh, he sought aid from and despatched envoys to Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Yal-dūz⁶ of Hirāt and asked assistance from him also. Subsequently the

³ From the manner in which our author here expresses himself [and the sentence is the same in all the copies collated], Ghūr must have been the name of a town as well as of the whole country. From many of his expressions, however in other places, Fīrūz koh would seem to refer to one district or territory Ghūr to another and the Jibāl to a third.

* ⁴ The word here used signifies not a cap exactly but a head-dress made from the fur or skin of an animal, of cloth or other texture, or of cloth of gold and the like, made into a head-dress, a tiara, diadem, &c. but not a turban. Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, the elder brother engaged Abū-l Abbās in conversation, whilst the other brother gave the sign for his assassination. Abū-l Abbās appears to have suspected treachery for he had half drawn his dagger from its sheath when he was cut down. This is a specimen of the noble qualities of those amiable and pious sovereigns of our author, and is quite in keeping with their treachery or at least with Mu'izz-ud Dīn's towards Khusrāu Malik. See note ⁵ pages 112 13.

⁵ They were not all styled "Sultān," even by his own account.

⁶ I yal-dūz of others.

troops of Bāmīān and the forces of Balkh and of Hirāt advanced from different directions towards Fīrūz-koh

Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, of Bāmīān, being the uncle of the Sultāns, and there being a great number of the Amīrs of Ghūr in his service, and he claiming the territory of Ghūr by right of heritage, set out at first, and Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Kīmāj, the Amīr [ruler] of Balkh, began to follow after him, at the distance of some leagues, by the route of Upper Gharjistān, while Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-dūz, marched to Fīrūz-koh with his army from Hirāt, it being the nearest route by way of the Harīw-ar-Rūd', or valley of the Harī river

Sultān Ghuyāsh-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn came out of Fīrūz-koh, and proceeded to a place which is called Rāgh-i-Zarīr⁸ [the Zarīr plain] and the forces of Ghūr there assembled around them. Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-dūz, of Hirāt, used the utmost expedition, being ambitious of this, that perhaps the capture of Fīrūz-koh and the destruction of the Ghūrīān army might be achieved by him

When he arrived near to the position of the Ghūrīān forces, and both armies confronted each other, and preparations were being made for coming to action, so that only about the distance of half-a-league intervened between them, and the ranks of either army could be seen by the other, two Ghūrīān warriors from the midst of the army formed a compact, and came to the front of the [marshalled] ranks, and presented themselves before the Sultān, dismounted from their horses, and, bowing their faces to the ground, said, "We two your servants will disperse the army of Hirāt," so by command they mounted, and, rousing both their horses, they drew their swords, and, like the fierce blast, and the flying cloud, they approached towards the ranks of the Turks of Hirāt, crying out, "Where is Malik Yal-dūz? We seek Malik Yal-dūz!"

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-dūz, was standing beneath his canopy, and his troops all pointed towards him, so that those Ghūrīān warriors knew which was Yal-dūz; and both

⁷ This clause of the sentence is only contained in the best copies of the text.

⁸ In some copies "Rāgh-i-Zar," which is much the same, see e.g. (1) "Rāgh-i-Zar," and (2) "Zar" the name of a grassy field, a yellow dye. (One of the copies of the Waqf, MS. 100, has "Rāgh-i-Zar.")

of them like hungry lions and rampant elephants fell upon Yal-dūz, and brought him from his horse to the ground by the wounds inflicted by their swords. When the troops of Hirāt beheld this heroism boldness, and intrepidity they gave way and took to flight. As Almighty God had brought those two Sultāns, Ghuyāṣ-ud Dīn and Mu'izz ud Dīn, beneath the shadow of His kindness, He made such a victory and triumph as this a miracle of theirs¹

The next day a body of horse¹ lightly equipped and ruthless, was nominated to proceed against the force of Kīmāj of Balḫ. They fell upon his army unawares, put it to flight, took Kīmāj and slew him, and brought his head to the presence of the Sultāns together with his standard. Then the head of Kīmāj was placed in a bag, and entrusted to a horseman's charge, and they sent him to meet their uncle, Malik Fakhr ud Dīn, Mas'ūd. The latter had arrived near at hand and when they [the Sultāns] had despatched the head of Kīmāj they put their forces in motion to follow and pushed on towards their uncle, Malik Fakhr ud Dīn.

When that horseman brought the head of Kīmāj to the presence of Malik Fakhr ud Dīn he determined upon returning and made his troops mount and by the time they had become ready prepared to begin their retreat, the two Sultāns had come up [with their forces] and had occupied all the parts around. On reaching the place where their uncle was, Sultān Ghuyāṣ-ud Dīn and Mu'izz ud Dīn at once dismounted from their horses, and proceeded to receive him and paid him great attention and consideration and said, "It is necessary that your lordship should return" and they conducted him to their camp and seated

¹ This "miracle" is not mentioned by other authors, with the exception of a very few who copy from our author. The Raupat-nj-Ṣafī says that the brothers despatched two bodies of troops to oppose the advance of two of the confederates, the ruler of Hirāt, whose name is not given, and Kīmāj of Balḫ; and that the Ghūrīn forces slew both of them, and returned triumphant to the presence of Ghuyāṣ ud Dīn, who despatched the head of *the son* of Kīmāj of Balḫ to his uncle, who repented of his expedition, and sought to retire. Troops had been despatched, however, to surround him, and the brothers followed and, when they found Fakhr-ud Dīn, Mas'ūd, their uncle, had been intercepted, they went to him. Then follows much copied almost word for word from our author.

¹ Three copies of the text have "several thousand horse," &c.

him on a throne, and both those sovereigns² stood up before him with their hands stuck in their girdles [in token of servitude] From this Malīk Fakhr-ud-Dīn became filled with shame and compunction, and, overcome with humiliation, he spoke to them some words of rebuke, arose, and said, "You mock me!" They mollified him by many apologies and excuses, and accompanied him one stage, and sent him on his return back to Bāmīān, and the territory of Ghūr was left vacant to Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn

After that event he proceeded into Garmsīr and Zamīn-i-Dāwar, and that tract was liberated³, and, as Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-dūz, of Hīrāt, had been slain, and the army of Hīrāt had returned thither discomfited, Badr-ud-Dīn, Tughrīl, who was one of [Sultān] Sanjar's slaves⁴, took Hīrāt into his own jurisdiction, and held possession of it for a considerable time, until the inhabitants of Hīrāt despatched petitions to Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn inviting him [thither], and that success⁵ was also achieved

² Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was not then a sovereign prince, and did not become so nominally until after the taking of Ghaznīn from the Ghuzz

³ He obtained possession of Bādghīs at the same period, and is said to have entered into a connexion with the chiefs of Gharijstān, and established his sway also over that tract of country From whose possession Garmsīr and Zamīn-i-Dāwar were "liberated" our author does not state. Faṣīḥ-i, however, mentions that in the same year in which he succeeded his cousin, 558 H, Ghīyās-ud-Dīn fought an engagement with the Ghuzz, vanquished them, and imposed tribute on them The Ghuzz were doubtless in possession of the districts mentioned above

⁴ See note ⁵, page 379

⁵ This "success" could have been but a *very temporary one*, for, by our author's own account, Tughrīl was in possession of Hīrāt up to the year when Sultān Shāh, Khwārazmī, was defeated by the Ghūrīs, which event took place in 588 H In another place, our author, referring to this "taking" of Hīrāt, says it happened in 571 H, yet seventeen years after Tughrīl still, by his own account, held Hīrāt See page 249, and note ⁵, page 379

During the Khilāfat of the 'Abbāsī Khalīfah, Mūhdi, the Ghuzz entered Māwar-un-Nahr from the north, and became converts to Islām, but Muḳanna'-i-Mīti [the "great Mokanna" of Moore's poem of "Lalla Rookh"], the false prophet, reduced them under his sway When the 'Abbāsīs set about putting down Muḳanna', the Ghuzz deserted him, and retired to the more southern parts of Māwar-un-Nahr They were constantly engaged in hostilities with the Kārūghīyah Turk-māns, who were generally victorious over them. The Ghuzz were in the habit of paying tribute to the sovereign of the period, and, when Sultān Sanjar ascended the throne of the Saljūqs, 40,000 Ghuzz families entered the territory of Khutlān and Chaghānīān, and paid a tribute of 24,000 sheep to the royal kitchen In 545 H, according to Alfī, when Amīr Kimāj [the Kimāj mentioned above, and in note ⁴, page 336, also probably] was Wālī of

After some years Fāras and the territory of Kālyūn [or Kāl yūn], and Fiwār and Baghshor* came into his posses-

Balkh, the Ghuzz became disaffected about the collection of the tribute. Kīmāj was at enmity with Amīr Zangī, son of Khalfāh, Shāhānī, the Wālī of Tukhārīstān [this was a short time before Fakhr ud Dīn, Mas'ūd, Ghūrī became ruler of Tukhārīstān and Bāmīān] who, seizing the opportunity of Kīmāj's absence at the court of Sulṭān Sanjar and fearing lest the Ghuzz, who had lately been worried by the Kāringha, and had abandoned Mīwar-on Nahr and contemplated migration into Khurāsān, might be induced to join his enemy Amīr Kīmāj he invited them to take up their quarters in Tukhārīstān, wherein he assigned them lands. In a dispute about the revenue, brought about by Kīmāj out of enmity to Zangī, the Ghuzz slew him and one of his sons, and, at last, Sulṭān Sanjar moved against them, and he fell captive into their hands. Sanjar returned from captivity in 551 H. having effected his escape by the aid of Aḥmad, son of Kīmāj, governor of Tirmid [see page 155, and note * and note * page 156], and died in 552 H. In 553 H. the Ghuzz poured forth from Balkh [the province of?] and moved towards Sarakhs. Mu'ayyid i Ā'īnah-dār the slave of Maḥmūd, Sanjar's nephew and, afterwards ruler of Nīshāpūr [see note * page 180], and other parts of Upper Khurāsān, made a night attack upon them, and overthrew them with great slaughter. He encountered them again, two months after in sight of Marw whither they had moved, when the Ghuzz were victorious, and they carried on great depredations in Khurāsān. Other events followed, which are too long to be related here but, subsequently Mu'ayyid became independent, and acquired power over greater part of Khurāsān. The Ghuzz were in possession, however of Marw Sarakhs Balkh, and some other tracts; and some parts were under the sway of the Khwārazmīs. Hīrāt was held by a chief named Malik Aetkīn, who, in 559 H. marched into Ghūr with a considerable army; but, the Ghūrīs being prepared to receive him, Aetkīn was slain in the battle which ensued. This in all probability is the Tāj ud Dīn, Yal-dīz, of our author. He was succeeded at Hīrāt by one of his own officers, styled Bahar-ud Dīn in Aḥṡ, and he must be our author's Bahā-ud Dīn, Tughrīl. This chief, not considering himself safe from the power of Amīr Mu'ayyid, and having some previous acquaintance with the Ghuzz chiefs, called upon them to help him, intending to give up Hīrāt to them. On the appearance of the Ghuzz, however the people of Hīrāt rose against Bahar-ud Dīn, and put him to death in the same year [See note * page 239.] Mu'ayyid was himself put to death in 569 H. Saif ud Dīn, Muḥammad of Ghūr was slain when engaging the Ghuzz of Balkh in 558 H. and in the same year his successor Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn, defeated them with great slaughter and imposed tribute on [some portion?] of them, and in 571 H. his brother Mu'izz-ud Dīn, encountered a tribe of them, as will be mentioned under his reign. Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn, Ghūrī, gained possession of Hīrāt [temporarily?] in 571 H. These events appear to be identical with what our author relates above. See also second paragraph to note at page 349, page 367 and note * page 379.

* With respect to these proper names there is great discrepancy in the different copies of the text. The majority of the best and oldest copies are as above but in place of Fāras, some have Fīdas and Kīdas, and one Kīdagh, which place is mentioned, in several places, written in the same manner. In place of Baghshor contained in one set of copies, Saif rūd is contained in the other set. I have before alluded to this curious fact that the twelve copies collated appear, in several places, to be two distinct sets of the original. In

sion, and, when these parts came under his jurisdiction, he took to wife the daughter of his uncle, the Malīkah, Tāj-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Gohar Malīk [Malīkah ?] the daughter of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain The whole of Gharjstān, and Tāl-kān ⁷, and Juzarwān ⁸, devolved upon him, and Tigīn-ābād, out of the district of Jarūm ⁹, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn made over to his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, after he had returned from Sijistān ¹ He [now] began to despatch [bodies of] horse towards Ghaznīn, and the district of Zābul, and parts adjacent thereunto, and, at that period, the territory of Kābul, Zābul, and Ghaznīn were in the hands of the tribes of the Ghuzz, who had wrested them out of the possession of Khusrau Shāh ² The reign of Khusrau Shāh had terminated, and his son, Khusrau Malīk, had made Lohor his capital

The Amīrs of the Ghuzz [tribe] who were in Ghaznīn, not being able to oppose the forces of Ghūr [in the field] threw up intrenchments, and, from the excessive firmness of the Ghuzz, the Ghūrīān army very nearly sustained an overthrow Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn retired, and despatched a body of Ghūrīāns to the aid of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn ³. Suddenly a body of Ghuzz warriors attacked [the army of Ghūr], and captured the royal standard of the Ghūrīāns, and carried it away within their own intrenchments The Ghūrīān forces in the right and left wings imagined that the list of places and territories acquired at the end of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn's reign farther on, the name of Baghshor is not mentioned. It is probable that Fīwār and Baghshor are correct, and that one has been omitted by different copyists

⁷ A different place to Tāe-kān

⁸ This is the place referred to fifth paragraph of note ², pages 257-8

⁹ In a few copies "and the district of Jarūm and Tigīn-ābād," &c.

¹ See page 184.

² This remark confirms the statements of those authors who state that Khusrau Shāh returned to his sacked and devastated capital after 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, had abandoned it, and also tends to show that it must have been the same monarch, and not his father, who fled from Ghaznīn when 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, appeared before it. See para. 10 to note ², p 347, and note ³, p 350

³ The whole of this sentence, and the first word of the next, are neither contained in either of the Paris copies, nor in the Bodleian MS, the I O L MS, 1952, or the R A S MS, and, certainly, the passage is somewhat obscure. It would appear that Ghiyās-ud-Dīn retired to obtain reinforcements, and also that he subsequently returned [as mentioned a few sentences after], which latter statement is contained in those very copies which omit the former The Sultān, however, could not have retired to any very great distance, otherwise he would not have been in time to take part in the closing scene of the battle

yal standard had accompanied their own centre into the trenchments of the enemy and they advanced to the front in all directions, broke through the intrenchments of the Ghuzz, and carried them and put the Ghuzz to the rout.

The news reached Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn who ordered and the troops of Ghūr commenced slaughter of the Ghuzz and laid the greater number of that race on the sword, and Ghaznīn was left in the possession of the Ghuzz. This victory was gained in the year 569 H.

When Ghaznīn was conquered Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn placed his brother Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn upon the throne of Maḥmūdīd⁶, and returned himself to Fīrūz koh.

After two years, he [Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn] summoned his troops [again] and the armies of Ghūr and Ghaznīn got ready and he advanced to the gates of the city of Hirāt. The people of that place had been manifesting loyalty of duty and desire [to place themselves under his rule].

When Bahā ud Dīn Tughrlū became aware of this [fact], he evacuated the city of Hirāt and retired to Khwārazm Shāhīd⁷, and in the year 671 H.⁸ the city of Hirāt was taken possession of. Two years subsequent to this Fūshanj was taken and after these successes the

city is the second date given by our author throughout the whole of this work. At page 112 he says the Ghuzz held possession of Ghaznīn twelve years and here says Ghīyāṣ ud Dīn took it from them in 569 H. by which they must have got possession of it in 557 H. Khwārazm Shāh died in 560 H. so, if the above dates are correct, they could not have wrested it out of his hands. I think our author is pretty correct as to the date when the Ghuzz held Ghaznīn, and they appear to have obtained possession of it in 557 H. or 558 H. probably after the death of Saif-ud Dīn, Sūfī, Abū Bakr, Humān's son, and defeat of the Ghūrīdīs by the Ghuzz.

From which time only he is entitled to be styled Sultān. Faṣḥ-I says as early as 566 H. the Malik of Ghūr had acquired power in the Ghaznīn and in part of Hind and the Khwārazm Shāhīd in Irāk and Khurāsān. It agrees with our author as to the date of the acquirement of the city of Ghaznīn, but some other authors state that it was taken in 568 H. It was in the year 568 H. that Malik Mu'ayyid-i Ā'īnah-dār in concert with Sultān Shāh fought an agreement with Sultān Imād ud Dīn, Takīsh. See note⁷ page 180, and note⁸ page 245.

Faṣḥ-I does not mention the acquirement of Hirāt among the events of the year 671 H. but states that in that year Mu'izz-ud Dīn, Malik of Ghaznīn, entered the Sanjūrān, a sept of the Ghuzz tribe, and slew many of them. Other authors, who say that Ghaznīn was taken in 568 H. state that it was acquired two years after—in 570 H. The particulars of Tughrlū's conquest will be found at page 379.

See note⁶ page 379.

Malik of Nîmroz and Sijistān despatched envoys, and he enrolled himself among the vassals of that Sultān

Subsequently to these events, the Ghuzz Maliks who were in Kirmān⁸ paid submission to him; and different parts of the territory of Khurāsān, which were dependent upon Hīrāt and Balkh, such as Tāl-kān, Andkhūd, Maimand⁹ Fāryāb, Panj-dih, Marw-ar-Rūd, Dajzak, Kīlaf¹, the whole of those towns came into the possession of the Ghiyāshī officers, and the Khutbah and the coin became adorned by the august name of Sultān Ghiyāsh-ud-Dīn.

After some time, Sultān Shāh, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, son of I-yal-Arsalān, Khawārazm Shāh, was ousted by his brother, Takīsh, Khawārazm Shāh, and presented himself at the Court of Sultān Ghiyāsh-ud-Dīn² After a time he became seditious, as has been previously recorded, and departed for Khitā, and from thence brought aid, and took Marw, and began to ravage the frontier districts of the territories of Ghūr, and commenced harrying and plundering them, until, in the year 588 H, Sultān Ghiyāsh-ud-Dīn commanded, so that Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn from Ghaznīn, Malik Shams-ud-Dīn³ of Bāmīān, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Ḥarab, from Sijistān, with their forces, assembled at Rūdbār of Marw, and they came and confronted the forces of Sultān Shāh, who, with his troops, marched out of Marw, and proceeded up [the river], and, in opposing the Sultān, used to make irregular and sudden attacks, and to continually harass the foragers of the Sultān's army For a period of six months

⁸ Malik 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Dīnār, the Ghuzz chief, driven out of the territory of Sarakhs by Sultān Shāh, Khawārazmī [see note ⁸, page 246], retired towards Kirmān in 581 H, and, taking advantage of the distracted state of that kingdom, succeeded in establishing himself therein in Rujab, 583 H, and reigned over it for a period of eight years, and his son succeeded him. The subjection of the Ghuzz rulers of Kirmān to Ghiyāsh-ud-Dīn is not confirmed by other authors

⁹ Called also Maimand by some other writers "Meemuna" and "Meimuna" are mere Anglicised forms, according to the rule of writing Oriental names *contrary* to the mode of the inhabitants of places, and also contrary to the way in which they are *spelt*

¹ This name is somewhat doubtful. Some have Kashīf, but the majority of copies have كشاف the كوسف probably of Ibn-i-Ḥūkal.

² See page 239 and note ²

³ The same that was taken prisoner in the battle with Sultān Sanjar, along with 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, and 'Alī, Jatrī, and ransomed for 50,000 dīnārs See note ³, p 358

this harassing warfare went on, and the two armies continued in proximity to each other until Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn commanded that a ferry over the river Murghāb should be sought for and he crossed it [with his own forces] and the other troops crossed over after him and Sulṭān Shāh was defeated and put to the rout.

This success was gained in the year 588 H.⁴, and Malik Bahā ud Dīn Tughril the Sanjarī in that encounter fell into the hands of the Bāmlān troops, and they brought his head to the presence of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn⁵. On that day, likewise, Malik Shams-ud Dīn of Bāmlān son of Malik Fakhr ud Dīn Masūd who was the Sulṭān's uncle obtained [the honour of] a canopy of state, and they gave him the title of Sulṭān.

In this same year likewise, previous to the time that the forces of Ghūr Ghaznīn and Bāmlān were about to assemble at Rūdbār of Marw for the purpose of restraining Sulṭān Shāh commands had been issued for the martyrdom of the gentle and beneficent Sulṭān Khusrāu Malik⁶. The mercy of the Almighty be upon him!

Every year fresh successes were taking place in different directions of the territories of Ghūr⁷ until in the year

⁴ This was the year in which, according to most writers, and also our author himself Mu'izz ud Dīn of Ghaznīn defeated the Rāe of Dihlī.

⁵ Our author, in another place page 377 says Ghaznīn was taken in 569 H. [others say in 568 H.], and that in 571 H. Hīrāt was taken, and Bahā ud Dīn, Tughril, evacuated the city on the approach of the Ghūrls, and joined the Khwārazmīs. The Ghūrls could not have held Hīrāt very long for this affair with Sulṭān Shāh, in which Tughril was taken took place, by our author's own account, in 583 H. *seventeen years* after that evacuation of Hīrāt by Tughril, and he is even then styled "Tughril of Hīrāt" by our author and so he styles him in his account of Tughril and his death, at page 249. From this it is obvious that the Ghūrls could only have held Hīrāt for a very short time after 569 H. and Tughril must have regained possession of it soon after and only finally left it, on the advance of the Ghūrls against Sulṭān Shāh, in this year 583 H. or more correctly in 587 H. See note ⁸ page 374.

⁶ One of these pious brothers and model Sulṭāns of our author Mu'izz-ud Dīn, having deceitfully inveigled this amiable monarch into his power broke his promises, and sent him and his family away into Ghūr to his other worthy brother who immured him in a fortress. At the time in question, finding Khusrāu Malik an obstacle in their way they had him put to death, and also his son, Bahān Shāh. Here our author says it took place in 588 H. and 587 H. in his account of Mu'izz-ud Dīn, but, in his account of Khusrāu Malik, he says it happened in 598 H.! See pages 114 and 115, and note ⁸ to page 112, para. 10.

⁷ *See* in all the copies.

596 H, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn⁸-i-Takīsh, Khwārazm Shāh, died Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn moved into Khurāsān with the armies of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and advanced to the gate of Nīshāpūr. While the forces occupied a position in the vicinity of Nīshāpūr, and hostilities commenced, trustworthy persons have, among the miracles of the victorious Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, related on this wise, that one day he mounted, in order to reconnoitre a place from which to attack the city, and rode round the edge of the ditch, and reached a spot from whence, in his august opinion, he determined to make the attack, as being the point where the capture of that city was likely to be effected⁹. He made a sign with his whip, saying — "It is necessary that the battering-rams should be planted from this tower to that tower, in order to make a breach, and enable a general assault to be made, so that the capture of this city may be effected, and this victory achieved." At the very time that he made this indication [with his whip] towards those towers, the very portion of the walls of the city which he had pointed out, and the [two] towers, with everything near them, gave way, and the whole fell down, and became destroyed in such wise that not one brick remained upon another, and Nīshāpūr was taken. Malīk 'Alī Shāh¹, son of Sultān 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Takīsh, Khwārazm

⁸ At page 255, in our author's account of his succession, he says, "'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Takīsh, brought his father's dominions under his own jurisdiction in 595 H."

⁹ If we choose to be guided by what English and some other European writers of Histories of India say, on the authority of translations of Firghatah's work, from which their inspirations are drawn, Ghīyās-ud-Dīn was either a mere imbecile or a puppet, for he is said by several of them to have "*retained nothing of the empire but the name*," whilst others, including Elphinstone, of whom I expected something better, rush into the almost opposite extreme and say, that "he appears to have *resumed his activity* before his death, and to have been present in person *in all the campaigns in Khōrāsān* except the last," but they forget, or, more likely, are unable to, mention, when *all* these campaigns took place, and against whom. The fact is that none of these statements are correct. Ghīyās-ud-Dīn reigned in glory to the end of his days, and his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, held the sovereignty of Ghaznīn subject to him, and undertook the conquest of Upper India by his commands. His *last* campaign, according to Yāfa-i, was in 597-8 H, only a few months before his death. See the specimens of translations under his brother's reign, Section XIX, and note 7, page 255, and note 2, next page.

¹ He is styled "Sultān 'Alī Shāh," and "a very great and illustrious prince," at page 252, and also "Malīk" in some places.

Shah together with the Khwārazmī Maliks who were there, and chiefs and other persons of distinction such as Sur tūsh and Gaz lak Khān and a considerable body of others, fell into their hands².

To Malik Ziyā ud Dīn Muhammad son of Abū All Shansabī, who was the uncle's son³ of both the [Ghūrīan] Sultāns, and the son in law of Sultān Ghuyā-ud-Dīn they gave the government and throne⁴ of Nishāpūr and returned [to their own dominions] that same year. The next year [597 II] they advanced to Marw i Shāh i Jahān and took it, and Malik Naṣir ud Dīn Muhammad i Khar nak, they installed at Marw and conferred the government of Sarakhs upon their uncle's son Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Zangī who was the son of Malik Fakhr ud Dīn Masūd Bāmlānī. Malik Tāj ud Dīn acquired jurisdiction over the whole of that territory and Khurāsān became clear⁵.

Malik⁶ Alā ud Dīn Muhammad Khwārazm Shāh used great endeavours that they [the Sultāns] might perhaps

² Vāfa I gives the following account of this "miracle" which our author makes so much of. In the month of Rajab, 597 II the Ghūrīs with an immense army and ninety great elephants, each of which was like a mountain in size, advanced against Shād yākh [of Nishāpūr] where was, at that time, All Shāh Sultān Muhammad's brother who had very recently arrived there on his return from Irāk, and several men of distinction in the service of his other brothers. The Ghūrīan Sultāns [the two brothers], in order to reconnoitre the place were making a circuit around it and came to a stand opposite the city [Nishāpūr]. A vast crowd of people, from within Shād yākh, in order to gaze upon the Ghūrīan army flocked to one of the towers facing it. Suddenly the tower gave way from the crowd within it [the fortifications at the time were not in good repair], and fell down. This the Ghūrīs took as a good omen, and, during the same day [through this accident], took possession of the place. Another author states that the place was at once assaulted, captured, and plundered, and the date given is Rajab, 597 II not 596 II as our author states. Nishāpūr was retaken from the Ghūrīs five months after. See page 393, note².

³ This is incorrect. See page 346, and note² and note³ page 391.

⁴ Malik Ziyā ud Dīn was merely left in charge as governor. The throne of Nishāpūr² is one of our author's absurdities.

⁵ After getting possession of Nishāpūr Sultān Ghuyā ud Dīn returned to Hīrat, and his brother Muḥammad ud Dīn, marched into Kuhistan for the purpose of destroying the strongholds of the Mulāhidah heretics of that part, and, after several [minor] encounters with them, an accommodation was brought about, and Junābād was occupied, and the Kāfī of Tūlak [the same who was previously left as governor of Tabarhindah. See the reign of Muḥammad ud Dīn, Section XIX] was left there in charge.

⁶ Sultān, by his own account, and a much greater one than either of the Ghūrīs in many respects, and the ruler of a far greater extent of territory

consent to accept his services [as their vassal], and relinquish Khurāsān to him again, but it was not given up to him. Trustworthy persons⁷ have related after this manner, that, when Takīsh, Khwārazm Shāh [the father], died, Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh [the son], sent envoys to the presence of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, the purport of their embassy being to the effect, that, between the Sultāns of Ghūr and his father, a compact of friendship and unanimity was firmly established. He, their servant, desired that, according to that same compact, he might be [accounted] in the series of their other servants. If his exalted opinion thought well of it, the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, should take his [servant's] mother to wife, and consider him, his very humble servant, as a son, that from the Ghiyāṣiāh Court he, his [Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn's] servant, might receive an honorary robe, and a patent of investiture for Khurāsān and Khwārazm⁸, and his servant would set free all the territory of 'Irāk and Māwar-un-Nahr from the hands of enemies.

When they [the envoys] had discharged the purport of their mission, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn did not become agreeable to the proposed union, and hostility arose. As the Almighty God had ordained that the whole of the dominions of Īrān should fall under the sway of Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh⁹, he, upon several occasions, towards the close of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn's life, retired discomfited before the forces of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and, at last, those Sultāns died before him.

Upon several occasions rich dresses of honour from the Court of the Khilāfat, from the Lord of the Faithful, Al-

Here again our author brings forward his absurd statement as to this mighty monarch's seeking to become the vassal and servant of the Ghūrīs, which is not worthy of the least credit whatever.

⁷ Who, as usual, are nameless.

⁸ Very probable, seeing that his ancestors ruled over it for more than a century previously, and over all Khurāsān and greater part of 'Irāk, by our author's own accounts, for many years. See the reign of Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, farther on, where a treaty with the Khwārazmīs is mentioned.

⁹ Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, recovered most of his Khurāsān possessions, which the Ghūrīs had overrun the previous year, in 598 H. See previous note, and our author's own account of Sultān Takīsh's conquests at pages 241-2, and note ⁸, page 393, and his account of the Khwārazmīs Sultāns generally.

Mustaẓī Billah¹ and from the Lord of the Faithful Un Nāṣir ud Dīn Ullah reached the Court of Sulṭān Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn. On the first occasion Ibn ur Rabbī came, and the Kāẓī Majd ud Dīn, [styled] the Model, went along with him to the Court of the Khilāfat, and on the second occasion Ibn ul Khaṭīb came and the father of this their servant, Maulānā Sarāj ud Dīn son of Minhāj i Sarāj he [the Sulṭān] nominated to proceed along with him to the Court of the Khilāfat². On the arrival of the honorary dress from the Court of Un Nāṣir ud Dīn Ullah, the imperial *naubat*³ five times a day was assumed by the Sulṭān.

His dominions became wide and extended and from the east [eastern extremity] of Hindūstān from the frontier of Chīn and Mā-Chīn, as far as Irāk and from the river Jihūn and Khurāsān to the sea shore of Hurmuz, the Khuṭbah was adorned by his auspicious name. He reigned for a period of forty three years.

His bounty and benefactions bestowed upon the meritorious, the learned, the recluse, and the devout reached to the extremes of the empire of Islam from the east to the west, to Arab and to Ajam to Turkistān and to Hind and the names of all those meriting his bounty and charity were recorded in his civil courts and record offices. His life extended to a period of sixty three years, and the removal of this great monarch from this transitory sphere to the eternal habitation took place at the city of Hirāt, on Wednesday the 27th of the sacred month of Jamādī ul-Awwal⁴ 599 H. His mausoleum was raised by the side of the Jāmi' Masjid of Hirāt. The mercy of the Almighty be upon him!

The Most High God had adorned the incomparable nature of the victorious Sulṭān, Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn, Muḥam

¹ The Khālīfah's proper name and title is Al-Mustaẓī Bi Nūr Ullah. He died 575 H.

² The Khālīfah was stimulating the Ghūrīān Sulṭāns to hostility against Sulṭān Muḥammad's father Sulṭān Takīsh, and afterwards did the same with respect to himself. See page 243, and note¹.

³ Kettledrums and other instruments sounded, at stated periods, before the gate of sovereigns and great men.

⁴ Some copies have the 7th, but the 27th of the month is confirmed by other authors. His tomb was on the north side of the Jāmi' Masjid which he had himself founded. Some authors state that 597 H. was the year of his decease, and others again, 598 H.

mad-i-Sām, with divers virtues and endowments, both outward and inward, and his Court was graced with learned doctors of religion and law ecclesiastical, accomplished scholars, illustrious philosophers, and the celebrated in eloquence, and his magnificent Court had become the asylum of the world, and the retreat of the worthy and laudable persons of the earth. Chiefs of the [holders of] religious tenets of every sect were there gathered together, incomparable poets were there present, and masters in the art of poetry and prose were entertained in the service of his sublime Court.

At the outset of the career of those sovereigns [Sultān Ghiyās-ud Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn], both the brothers followed the tenets of the Kīrāmī sect⁵, in imitation of their ancestors and [the people of] their dominions, but Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, the younger brother, when he ascended the Ghaznīn throne, the people of that city and territory being followers of the tenets of the Great Imām, Abū Ḥanīfah of Kūfā, in conformity with them, adopted the doctrines of Abū Ḥanīfah. Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, however, saw, whilst in a dream, that he was used to be in the same masjid along with the illustrious Qāzī, Wahīd-ud-Dīn, Marwazī, who followed the religious doctrines of the Traditionists⁶, and who was one of the leaders of the Shāf'ī sect. Unexpectedly, Imām Shāf'ī himself enters, and proceeds to the Mihrāb⁷, and begins to repeat the prayers, and Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and Qāzī Wahīd-ud-Dīn, both of them follow Imām Shāf'ī in so doing.

On awakening from his dream, the Sultān commanded, so that, at break of day, Qāzī Wahīd-ud-Dīn was requested to deliver a discourse. When he occupied the seat of the pulpit, he remarked, during the discourse⁸, saying,

"Sovereign of Islām! this your servant hath during the past night dreamt a dream" and he related the very same dream that the Sulṭān had himself dreamt for he had had one like it whereupon when the Kāẓī descended from the chair and went up to make his obeisance to the Sulṭān the latter seized the blessed hand of Kāẓī Wahīd ud Dīn and adopted the tenets of Imām Shāfi'.

When the withdrawal of the Sulṭān to the sect of the Traditionists became divulged a load came upon the hearts of the Ulamā of the sect of Muhammad i Kirām [the Kirāmīs]. Of this body the great ecclesiastics were numerous but, at that time, the most eloquent among them all was Imām Ṣadr ud Dīn, All Haṣam the Nīshāpūrī who was resident at and the head of the college of the city of Aḡshīn of Ghazistān. He composed a strophe on the Sulṭān and in it censured his withdrawal from the sect, and when that strophe came to the Sulṭān's knowledge his sacred mind became much irritated with him, and Imām Ṣadr ud Dīn found it impossible to continue to dwell within the dominions of Ghūr. The strophe is this —

[This polemical squib is of some length and varies more or less in almost every copy is of no particular interest, and need scarcely be translated.]

Imām Ṣadr ud Dīn on this account removed out of the territory of Ghūr, and proceeded to Nīshāpūr and there he remained for the space of a year after which he despatched [another] strophe to the presence of the Sulṭān so that he was sent for to come back again and a robe of honour was despatched and he returned to the Court from Nīshāpūr again. Strophe —

[These lines have also been left out for the reasons previously given. As may be imagined, they are as full of fulsome adulation as the first were of aspersion.]

Trustworthy persons have thus related that Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud Dīn, in his early youth was greatly addicted to conviviality and fond of the sports of the field and from

* The Āḡār ul Billād states that Ghiyās ud Dīn used to copy Qur'āns with his own hand and sell them, and give the money they were sold for in alms to the poor. The celebrated Imām, Fakhr ud Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Umr of Rāz, wrote and dedicated to him a work entitled Laṭā'if-i-Ghiyāsī. See under the reign of Mu'izz ud Dīn, Section XIX.

the capital city, Firūz-koh, which was the seat of government, as far as the Zamīn [district] and town of Dāwar, which was the winter capital, not a human being dared to pursue the chase. Between these two cities [towns] is a distance of forty leagues, and he [the Sultān] had commanded that a pillar should be erected at each league of distance, and in Zamīn-i-Dāwar he had laid out a garden, and he had given it the name of Garden of Iram¹, and certainly, for pleasantness and freshness, no such garden had ever been seen in the whole world; nor did any monarch possess the like of it. The length of this garden was more than sufficient for two courses of a horse, and the whole of its glades were adorned with pine and juniper-trees, and various sorts of shrubs and odoriferous herbs, and the Sultān had commanded, so that, adjoining the wall of that garden, a plain had been cleared corresponding in length and breadth with the garden itself.

Once every year he used to give directions, so that for a distance of fifty or sixty leagues or more, a *nargah*² [semicircle] of huntsmen would be drawn out, and it would require the space of a whole month for the two extremities of this semicircle of huntsmen to close up. More than ten thousand wild beasts and animals of the chase, of all species and descriptions, used to be driven into that plain, and, on the days of chase³, the Sultān was in the habit of coming out on the pavilion of the garden, and holding a convivial entertainment, and his slaves, his Maliks, and the servants of the Court, one by one, with the royal permission, would mount on horseback and enter the plain, and chase and kill the game in the Sultān's august sight.

Upon one occasion he was desirous of entering the plain and enjoying the sport, upon which Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mubārak Shāh⁴, got upon his feet, and repeated a quatrain. The Sultān retracted his intention, and devoted himself

¹ The famous garden of Shadād, son of 'Ād, described by the eastern poets as a perfect model of the promised Muḥammadan Paradise.

² One set of copies of the original use the word نرگ and the other نرگ. They are both of much the same signification.

³ If such can be called "the chase."

⁴ The same who composed the History of the Shansabānīs in verse, referred to by our author at page 300. Other writers state that he was one of the most learned of his time in the science of astrology.

to enjoyment. The following is the quatrain in question —

To follow the wine, the beloved, and enjoyment,
Will be better than that thou shouldst pursue the chase.
When the gazelle of paradise is within thy net
Of what use that thou shouldst follow the mountain goat ? ”

Trustworthy persons have related that, when Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn forswore wine, and devoted himself to rectitude and goodness, at the period that Sultān Shāh Khwārazm Shāh⁶, brought the forces of Khitā against Khurāsān, and made Marw his capital the latter began to harry the border tracts of the territory of Ghūr, and brought his troops to the Dahānah : Sher—the Lion s Jaws—[Pass] of Sarabhs, and despatched an emissary to the presence of the Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn and preferred certain requests of his own to him. The Sultān commanded that an entertainment should be prepared to do honour to the envoy and a gay party was brought together. Wine was circulated among the Maliks and Amīrs of Ghūr and the envoy was treated with great honour and he was plied with wine in order that, when in a state of inebriety the disposition of Sultān Shāh might be discovered from his emissary.

For the Sultān s own drinking sweet pomegranate juice was poured into a flask, and when it came to the Sultān s turn to pledge, they would fill his goblet with that pomegranate juice, and would present it to him. When the envoy of Sultān Shāh became excited from the effects of the wine, he rose to his knees, and requested a minstrel to sing the following quatrain, which he accordingly did —

Of that lion whose abode is within the Lion s Jaws,⁷
The lions of the universe are in great affright.
Thou shouldst, O lion, from The Jaws show thy teeth,
Since these are [as though] in The Lion s Jaws from terror ”

When the envoy called for this verse, and the minstrel sang it, Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn s colour changed and the

⁶ See page 246 and note *

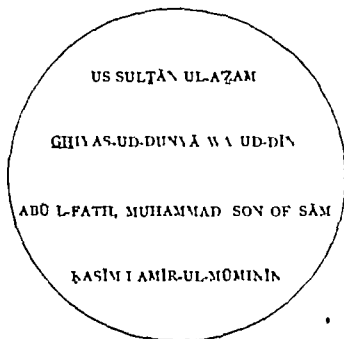
⁷ The point of these lines depends upon the play on the word Dahānah. It signifies the jaws the mouth of a pass, yawning, and the like.

Maliks of Ghūr became much agitated Khawājah Safī-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, one of the most distinguished of the Wazīrs of his Court, and who was a miracle of wit and address, and endowed with a forcible poetic genius, and composed excellent poetry, arose to his feet, and, looking on the ground, in reply to the envoy, called on the minstrel for this verse —

“On that day when we shall raise the standard of hostility,
And shall take in hand the enemy of the territory of the world,
Should any lion from ‘The Jaws’ [dare] show his teeth,
We, with our mace, will crush his teeth within ‘The Jaws’ ”

Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn was greatly pleased at this, and bestowed a liberal present upon the Khawājah, and honoured him with honorary dresses of great value, and the whole of the Maliks commended him. The Almighty have mercy upon the whole of them! and may He keep the Sultān of Islām, the sovereign of the seven climes, the great king of kings, the lord over all the rulers of Turk, 'Arab, and 'Ajam, the defender of the world and of the faith, the glory of Islām and of the Faithful, the aider of kings and emperors, the protector of the dominions of the Almighty, the pastor of the servants of God, the aided by Heaven, the victorious over the greatest of all species, the place of safety to the orthodox, the heir of the dominions of Sulīmān, ABŪ-L-MUZAFFAR-I-MAHMŪD, son of the Sultān [I-yal-timīsh], the Ḳasīm [the co-sharer] of the Lord of the Faithful, in sovereignty and dominion for years unending, permanent and lasting, for the sake of His Prophet Muhammad, on whom be peace abundantly abundant⁷

⁷ I have generally abstained from giving our author's fulsome and unctuous prayers for his patron, the puppet and recluse, who nominally ruled at Dihlī, but this was such a curious specimen that I could not leave it out. It shows that our author did not stick at any exaggeration—and the above contains many—and is a convincing proof that he “rarely indulges in high-flown eulogy, but relates his facts in a plain straightforward manner,” &c. We must not imagine that all the epithets bestowed upon these rulers by their parasites were the titles they assumed.

Titles and Names of the Sultān —**Offspring*

Sultān ul A'ẓam Ghīyās-ud Dīn Maḥmūd
Malīkah ul Mu'azzamah Jalāl ud Dunyā wa ud Dīn.

Length of his reign —Forty three¹ years.

Summer capital —The City of Fīrūz kōh of Ghūr

Winter capital —The district of Dāwar

Kāzīs of his Court

Kāẓī-ul Kuḫāt [Chief Kāẓī] Mu'izz ud Dīn Harawī
Kāẓī Shihāb-ud Dīn, Harmawādī²

Wazīrs of the Kingdom

Shams-ul Mulk Abd ul Jabbār Kidānī.
Fakhr ul Mulk Sharaf ud Dīn³, Wadūrī⁴

* From the way in which his titles and names are here written in the very old copy of the text, within a circular area, it is evident that this was the inscription on his coins.

¹ A few copies have Mu'azzam, but it is incorrect.

² Forty-one in a few copies.

³ Also written Harmahādī in one or two copies: probably Jarmahādī or Jarmawādī may be more correct.

⁴ Sharaf-ul Ashraf.

⁵ In one copy Fardārī.

'Ain-ul-Mulk, Sūrānī [or Sūrīānī]
 Zahīr-ul-Mulk, 'Abd-ullah, Sanjarī
 Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Dīw-Shārī [or Dīw-Shāhī]
 Majd-ul-Mulk, Khwājah Ṣafī-ud-Dīn

Standards

On the right, Black, on the left, Red

Motto on his august Signet

"For me God alone is sufficient."

His Sultāns and Maliks

Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, his brother,
 ruler over Ghaznīn.

Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Mas'ūd,
 Bāmīānī.

Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad Sām, Bāmīānī

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Ḥarab, Sijistānī

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Alb-i-Ghāzī, son of Ḳazıl Arsalān

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Tımrānī.

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī, son of Mas'ūd, Bāmīānī.

Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Yūsuf, Tımrānī

Malik Ziyā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Durr-i-Ghūr [the Pearl
 of Ghūr]⁵

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, son of Sūrī, Mādīnī

Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Kīdānī.

Malik Shāh, Wakhshī [of Wakhsh of Badakhshān]

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Tımrānī

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn of Mukrān

Malik Mu-ayyid-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, Tımrānī

*Victories and Conquests*⁶

The territory of Hirāt, [defeat of] Ḳīmāj, Dāwar, Fāras⁷
 Kāhyūn, Fīwār, Saif-rūd, Gharjīstān, Tāl-kān, Juzarwān,

⁵ See page 346, and next page

⁶ The list of these victories and conquests is only contained in three copies of the original. Even if a place was evacuated before the arrival of the Ghūrīs, it is styled a "conquest" on their reaching it. What the "conquest" of Nīmroz and Sijistān was may be seen from what our author himself says at page 378. The Malik of Sijistān merely acknowledged his suzerainty.

⁷ Also written Bāras. See page 375 and note ⁶

Jarūm Tigīn-ābād, Kābul Ighrāk' victory over Bahā ud-Dīn Tughrīl of Hirāt, Ghaznīn Fūshanj Sijistān Nīmroz, Maimand [or Malhand] Fāryāb Panj-dih Marw-ar Rūd victory over Sulṭān Shāh Lohor' and Maro Malkah[?]' Nishāpūr and Nisā.

XVIII. MALIK UL-HĀJĪ ALĀ UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD SON OF MALIK SHUJĀ UD-DĪN ABĪ ALĪ, SON OF [IZZ UD-DĪN], AL-HUSAIN SON OF AL-HASAN SHANSABĪ.

Malik Alā ud Dīn Muḥammad was the son of Malik Shujā ud Dīn Abī Alī² and he was the uncle's son of both the Sulṭāns Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn and Muizz ud Dīn and was older than either of the brothers. He had performed the pilgrimage, as well as fought against infidels and in addressing him, they [the Sulṭāns] used to style him Khudāwand [my Lord]. The daughter of Sulṭān Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn who was named Māh Malik [Malikah] and styled by the title of Jalāl ud Dunyā wa ud Dīn, whose mother was the daughter of Sulṭān Alā ud Dīn, Jahān soz was married to Malik Alā ud Dīn³.

That daughter was a highly dignified princess and knew the sacred Kur'ān by heart, and she had also committed to memory the Akhbār i Shihābī [the Shihābī traditions⁴]

¹ In some copies ٢١١ but it is evidently the tract from whence Saif-ud Dīn, who joined Sulṭān Jalāl ud Dīn, Khawārm Shāh, at Ghaznīn [see note ² page 287] against the Mughals, took his name.

² Lohor will, of course be repeated as one of Mu'izz-ud Dīn's victories, as Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn never passed the Indus.

³ This name is doubtful, and is not very plain in either copy of the text. It might be, Mar and Malkah. No such place is mentioned in the account of his reign, and some of the places here recorded as conquests were derived by marriage, or their rulers, as in the cases of Sijistān and Nīmroz, merely acknowledged his suzerainty.

⁴ See page 346, para. second. This Malik-ul-Hājī, or the Pilgrim Malik, was, by our author's own account, the son of Abū Alī, son of Shujā ud Dīn, Abī Alī, and therefore he was not the uncle's son of the two Sulṭān brothers, but the son of their uncle's son—a second cousin.

To save perplexity to the reader I must mention that this personage is the same as was mentioned at page 346 by the name of Ziyā ud Dīn, Muḥammad, the Pearl of Ghūr. See also page 393, and note⁵.

⁵ She was first betrothed to Sanjar Shāh, son of Tughān Shāh son of Mu'ayyid-i A'īnab-dīr Malik of Nishāpūr; and, after his, Sanjar Shāh's, captivity betrothed to Ziyā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad. See page 182.

⁶ At page 301 our author states that this princess was the depositary of the traditions of martyrdom [مجاهدات] but it is evident from what he says here,

and her handwriting was as pearls befitting a king. Once every year she was in the habit of performing a prayer of two genuflexions, during which she would repeat the whole *Ḳur'ān* from beginning to end. The cause of her passing from the world a maid was this, that, before he was joined in wedlock to her, *Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn*, *Muhammad*, possessed a Turkish hand-maid, who was the mother of his son [*Rukn-ud-Dīn*], but he had contracted marriage with her, and was not capable of consummating his marriage with this princess. In beauty, purity, and self-restraint, she had no equal in the whole world.

The mother of the writer of these pages was the foster-sister and school-companion of this princess, and this devotee [himself] was brought up in the princess's own hall of favour and her *haram* of chastity, up to the period of his entering upon the bounds of adolescence, in the service of her royal dwelling, and her private apartments. The maternal uncles⁵ of this devotee, and his maternal ancestors, were all attached to the service of that princess's Court, and to the Court of her father, and this poor individual [himself] received many proofs of that lady's favour and bounty. God reward her! At last her martyrdom and death took place in the territory of 'Irāk during the calamities which arose on the irruption of the infidels [the *Mughals*]. The mercy of the Almighty be upon her!

During the lifetime of *Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn*, *Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn* held in fief, belonging to *Ghūr*, the district of *Bust*, and *Wajīah* [or *Wejah*] of the territory of *Garmsīr* [of *Ghūr*], and *Ürgān* [or *Urkān*] of *Ghaznīn*⁶. In the battle

and from what other writers state, that the book in question was the work entitled "*Akhbār-i-Shihābī*" [شهابی], the *Shihābī* Traditions, so called from the author's name, or the person to whom he dedicated his work.

⁵ A few copies have *احوان*—brothers, instead of *احول*—maternal uncles.

⁶ The text is hopelessly defective here, and of the whole of the twelve copies collated no two agree, except the I O L. copy and the Ro As Soc copy, but they agree in leaving out several words. The two oldest copies agree as above given, with the exception that one has *Wurmasḥān* [ورمشان] or *Durmasḥān* [دورمشان] which last word also occurs in the defective passage in the two first-named copies. *Wajīah* [وجیه], which here, in several copies, seems written *وجیه* and *وجیه* was referred to at page 340. Some copies have *قراکان* and *قراکان* and even *رواکان* in place of *Ürgān* [ورکان] of *Ghaznīn*, whilst the third best copy of the text omits these two words *ورمشان* and *اورکان* altogether. It is tiresome not to be able to fix this passage of the text for certain.

which the Sultān i-Ghāzī Mu'izz ud Dīn fought against Pithorā Rāc of Ajmīr⁷ and in which the Sultān was defeated Alā ud Dīn Muḥammad accompanied the Sultān i-Ghāzī, and during that expedition did good service. When the Sultāns of Ghūr proceeded into Khurāsān and Nishāpūr was taken Alā ud Dīn was installed in the territory of Nishāpūr, and for a considerable period⁸ he remained at the city of Nishāpūr, and acted towards its people with justice and beneficence.

When Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh arrived from Khwārazm before the gate of Nishāpūr Alā ud Dīn defended the place for some time. At last he entered into a convention and surrendered the city to Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh and returned again into Ghūr.

When Sultān Ghīyā-ud Dīn was removed to the Almighty's mercy the Sultān i-Ghāzī Mu'izz ud Dīn conferred the throne of Fīrūz koh and the territories of Ghūr, Chaghistān, and Zamīn i-Dāwar upon him and in the Khutbah his title became Malīk Alā ud Dīn Muḥammad. Previous to this they used to style him Malīk Ziyā ud Dīn⁹ the Pearl of Ghūr.

⁷ The L. O. L. copy and also the Ko. Ac. Soc. MS. and one of the others, have— In the battle which Sultān Ghīyāz and Mu'izz ud Dīn fought &c. See under Mu'izz-ud Dīn, Section VII.

⁸ Nishāpūr [Shāh yākh] was taken in Rajab 597 H. Five months afterwards—in Zi ḥa dah—Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, appeared before it. Malīk Ziyā-ud-Dīn had been left there, in command, at the head of a large force; and the walls [which, like the walls of Jericho, had fallen when Sultān Ghīyāz-ud Dīn performed the miracle of pointing his ruling whip at them, as related by our author at page 380] had been put into thorough repair. The Ghūrīs came out to fight, but finding what the Sultān's army was, they retired," says Ṣāfi like so many mice into their holes. The walls were pounded to dust and the ditch filled, when Malīk Ziyā ud Dīn sent out the chiefs of the Ulamā to solicit quarter for himself and troops. The Sultān acceded to his request, and he and his troops were treated with honour and sent back to Ghūr. So the Ghūrīs only held Nishāpūr about five months. It must have been on this occasion that Ziyā-ud Dīn stipulated never again to draw his sword against the Sultān, referred to at page 418. After retaking Nishāpūr the Sultān advanced to Marw and Sarakhs, which latter place was held by his own nephew Hīndū Khān [see page 252], on the part of the Ghūrīs. He fled to Ghūr on the approach of his uncle, but, the officer he left in charge not presenting himself Sultān Muḥammad left a force to invest it, and set out *tad* Marw for Khwārazm to prepare for an advance upon Hīndū.

⁹ Our author has a peculiar way of his own for distracting his readers very often. After giving an account of Malīk Ziyā-ud Dīn, under the heading of his grandfather Shajī-ud Dīn at page 345-6, and calling him there by the title of Ziyā-ud Dīn, he is here introduced again under a totally different

He held possession of Fīrūz-koh and the territories of Ghūr and Gharjistān for a period of four years, and in the year 601 H, when the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, proceeded towards Khwārazm, and took [with him] the armies of Ghūi and Ghaznīn, Malīk 'Alā-ud-Dīn, the Pearl of Ghūr, conducted sundry of the troops of Ghūr into Mulhidistān¹ and Kuhistān, and advanced to the gate of the city of Kā-in, and [from thence] pushed on to Junābād of Kuhistān², and captured the castle of Qākh of Junābād, and, after having performed numerous feats of arms and holy warfare, he returned into Ghūr again

When the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, attained martyrdom, Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, son of [Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn] Muhammad, son of Sām, advanced out of Bust, which was one of his fiefs, into Zamīn-i-Dāwar, and the Malīks and Amīrs of Ghūr joined Sultān Mahmūd, and he set out towards the capital city, Fīrūz-koh

Malīk 'Alā-ud-Dīn came from Fīrūz-koh into Gharjistān, and, when he reached the head of the bridge over the Murgh-āb river, the Sīpah-sālār, Ḥasan-i-Abd-ul-Malik, came up after him, and caused him to turn back, and, by command of Mahmūd, he was confined in the castle of Ashiyār of Gharjistān³

name, and it is only now, after three or four pages, that he tells us that 'Alā-ud-Dīn is the same person as figured before, in another place, under the title of Ziyā-ud-Dīn. The fact is, that his correct title, *up to this time*, was Ziyā-ud-Dīn, and, when Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn conferred the throne of Fīrūz-koh and other tracts upon him, his title was then changed to 'Alā-ud-Dīn. Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn held him in great estimation, and he appears to have deserved it, and this fact, taken in connexion with Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd's real character, noticed farther on, will account for the Sultān's making him sovereign over Ghūr in preference to Mahmūd, and also for Mahmūd's enmity towards him, and the murder of his son, Mahmūd-i-Īrān Shāh

¹ Not the name of a territory. It is derived from mulhid—heretic, &c. The Kuhistān of Khurasān was full of these schismatics. All the copies of the text have the conjunction *and* between Mulhidistān and Kuhistān, but it reads redundant, and "the heretical country of Kuhistān" appears to be the more correct rendering.

² Junābād, also called Gūnābād, is situated between Tabas and Hirāt. Kākh itself means a castle, a lofty building, and the like, but here refers to a small town of that name, a dependency of Junābād,—the "Goonabad" of Frazer and the maps.

³ Our author takes a most round-about way of relating ordinary events, and seems desirous of making a mystery of them. Malīk 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, unable to resist the combination against him, retired from Fīrūz-koh, was pursued, and imprisoned.

When Sultān Maḥmūd was assassinated, and the sovereignty of Ghūr fell to Sultān Alā ud Dīn Utsuz i Husain⁴ he caused Malik Alā ud Dīn Muḥammad to be released from the fortress of Aḡhiyār brought him to Firūz koh and treated him with honour and respect until he slew the Sipah sālār Umr i Shalmatī for murdering his son, Malik Rukn ud Dīn, Maḥmūd i Irān Shāh. The cause of it was this, that, when Malik Alā ud Dīn, in the reign of Sultān [Ghiyās-ud Dīn] Maḥmūd son of Muḥammad i Sām⁵ was seized [as just previously related] his son Malik Rukn ud Dīn Maḥmūd i Irān Shāh, retired to Ghaznīn. He was a prince of sufficient greatness, and endowed with perfect wisdom knowledge and understanding and famed for his lofty mindedness and activity. From Ghaznīn he proceeded into Garmīr, and from thence came into Ghūr and the Kaḡhī people, who were the [most] refractory of Ghūr to the number of about 50,000 men⁶ joined him Sultān Ghiyās-ud Dīn Maḥmūd son of Muḥammad i-Sām, with about 500 horse, of the main portion of his army and some 2000 or 3000 foot came forth from Firūz koh and a fight took place between them and defeat befell the Ghūrlāns⁷, and Malik Rukn ud Dīn Maḥmūd i Irān Shāh, discomfited retired to Ghaznīn and again came into Garmīr. He was seized by the Khudāwand zādah⁸ Sarf ud Dīn Timrānī and he brought him to the presence of Sultān Ghiyās-ud Dīn Maḥmūd who directed that he should be imprisoned in the residence of the Amīr i Hājib, Umr i Shalmatī.

On the day that Sultān Ghiyās-ud Dīn Maḥmūd was assassinated the Turkish slaves of Maḥmūd raised a tumult, and despatched one, who was named Amīr Mang baras-i Zard⁹, to put Malik Rukn ud Dīn, Maḥmūd i

⁴ Another son of Sultān Alā-ud Dīn, Husain, Jahān-sor. He was named Utsuz after the third monarch of the Khwārazmī dynasty. See page 238.

⁵ That is to say Ghiyās-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyās-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Bahā ud Dīn Sām.

⁶ Five thousand more likely. Our author grossly exaggerates the numbers here. See page 399.

⁷ From this it is evident that the Kaḡhīs were Ghūrlāns.

⁸ The son of a lord or great man.

⁹ There is some discrepancy with regard to this person's name. Some copies of the text have منگورس—منگورس and the second word, Zard signifying pale, sallow and the like, is written in some copies Zāl, swift, quick and in one

Īrān Shāh, to death The writer of these words, Sarāj-i-Minhāj, states on this wise —I was in my eighteenth year in the year 607 H¹, and was present at the entrance [gate-way] of the Sultān's palace, in the capital city of Fīrūz-koh, standing looking on, as is the custom among youths, when this Amīr Mangbaras-i-Zard came riding up with a wallet, with blood dropping from it, hanging from his arm The head of Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd-i-Īrān Shāh—may he rest in peace¹—he had placed in that wallet, and he entered into the Sultān's palace² with it

I now return to my relation again —In the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz-i-Ḥusain, when Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, obtained an opportunity, he seized Amīr 'Umr-i-Shalmatī, saying, "Thou hast used thy endeavours in bringing about the murder of my son," and at night he slew him Early the next morning, when [Sultān] 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, became aware of it, and the Amīrs of Ghūr demanded redress, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, issued commands for Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, to be imprisoned the second time in the fortress of Balarwān of Gharjistān The remaining account of him, respecting what befell him when he ascended the throne of Fīrūz-koh the second time, will be related at the end of this Section

XIX SULTĀN GHIYĀS-UD-DĪN, MAHMŪD, SON OF GHIYĀS-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF BAHĀ-UD-DĪN, SĀM, SHAN-SABĪ

Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, son of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, was a sovereign of good qualities, and conviviality, pleasure, and jollity were dominant in his disposition³

When Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, his father, died⁴, Mahmūd was desirous that his uncle, the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, should assign to him the

Zāl, which means old, decrepit, &c One copy has Mangūras-i-Zūd suwār, which would signify Mangūras, the swift or quick horseman

¹ Our author, being in his eighteenth year in 607 H, would have been in his sixty-ninth year when he composed this work

² The palace or residence of the Sultāns

³ See note³, para 3, page 400, and page 405

⁴ The L. O. L. MS, 52, is minus a leaf here.

throne of his father. But that expectation was not fulfilled and the throne of Fīrūz koh was conferred upon Malik 'Alā ud Dīn Muḥammad⁶, the Pearl of Ghūr to whom the daughter of Sultān Ghīyāḡ-ud Dīn, Muhammad i Sām was betrothed⁷ and the territory of Bust, Isfīzār⁸ and Farāh were given to Sultān Maḥmūd⁹.

In the year in which [his uncle] the Sultān i Ghāzī led an army into Khwārazm Ghīyāḡ-ud Dīn Maḥmūd, marched the troops of Bust Farāh and Isfīzār into Khurāsān and proceeded to the gate of Marw i Shāh i Jahān and in that expedition he manifested many marks of skill and activity¹⁰. When the Sultān i Ghāzī Mu'izz ud Dīn was assassinated Maḥmūd determined to proceed from Bust to Fīrūz koh and, when he reached Zamīn i Dāwar the Khālī¹¹ Amīrs of Garmsīr with a numerous following joined him. The Amīrs and Maliks of Ghūr all came forth to receive him and in the year 602 H¹² he reached Fīrūz koh and the throne of Ghūr came into his possession, and he brought the territories of his father under his jurisdiction¹³.

Malik Ala ud Dīn Muhammad retired from Fīrūz koh into Gharnjstān and therein he was taken prisoner and

⁶ Styled Zīyā ud Dīn before he was raised to the throne of Fīrūz koh.

⁷ She was either the full or half sister of Maḥmūd.

⁸ In some copies written Isfīzār—the present Salzwär.

⁹ Not styled Sultān until he gained the throne after the death of his uncle. His title had been Malik hitherto.

¹⁰ The compact which our author states to have existed *previously* between Maḥmūd and Sultān 'Alā ud Dīn, Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, at page 400, may have been entered into at this period. See also note ³ page 400. The object he had in marching to Marw-i Shāh-i Jahān does not appear neither in the account of his uncle's reign is it referred to.

¹¹ The Khālī tribe I beg to remark are neither Afghāns nor Pāṭāns, although some persons have made such an absurd assertion. I shall have more to say about them as I proceed.

¹² In this same year Fakhr ud Dīn, Muḥrak Shāh, the author of the history of the Ghūrīs in verse, referred to at page 300, died.

¹³ When information reached Maḥmūd of the assassination of his uncle, Sultān Mu'izz-ud Dīn, he, in the first place, sent intimation to his brother-in-law 'Alā ud Dīn, Muḥammad [the Pearl of Ghūr], son of Abī 'Alī, and called upon him to acknowledge his authority. Maḥmūd also communicated the tidings to Izz ud Dīn, Husain, son of Khar mī, Wālī of Ilrāt. Both of them, however declined to acknowledge his authority on which Maḥmūd advanced to Fīrūz koh with a large army. On this the generality of the Ghūrīn Amīrs deserted the cause of 'Alā ud Dīn, Muḥammad and went over to Maḥmūd, and he gained possession of Fīrūz-koh, and threw 'Alā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad into confinement. See also note ³ page 400.

was confined in the castle of Ashīyār, as has been previously recorded, and when the whole of the various parts of the dominions of Ghūr, and Gharjstān, Tāl-kān, and Guzarwān⁴, and the district of Fāras⁵, and Garmsīr, came under the sway and jurisdiction of his Slaves, such as Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-dūz, and Sultān Kuṭb-ud-Dīn Ī-bak, and other Turk⁶ Maliks and Amīrs, who were Slaves of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, each of them despatched a person of rank to the presence of his Court, and solicited from Sultān Mahmūd letters of manumission, and the investitures of the territories of Ghaznīn and of Hindūstān respectively⁷

He despatched a deed of investiture of the territory of Ghaznīn and a canopy of state to Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-dūz⁸, and, when Sultān Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, advanced to Ghaznīn, he despatched Nizām-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, to Fīrūz-koh, in the year 605 H⁹, and Sultān Mahmūd directed that a scarlet canopy of state and a deed of investiture of the government of the dominion of Hindūstān should be sent to him

Throughout the whole of the territories of Ghūr, Ghaznīn, and Hindūstān, the Khuṭbah was read for Sultān Mahmūd, and the coin was stamped with his name¹, and, as he was

⁴ Also with j, as at page 376, and in the same way as Sijstān for Sigistān, the one being the Arab mode of writing the word, and the latter the local

⁵ This name also is written Bāras, and in some few copies Kādus See page 342

⁶ All these Slaves were of Turkish parentage. Mahmūd having succeeded to the sovereignty of the dominions of his late uncle, the latter's slaves became his slaves also, according to Muḥammadan law, by succession. It is not to be supposed that either Yal-dūz [I-yal-dūz] or Ī-bak were then styled Sultāns, or that our author means it to be so understood. They were styled so ultimately. See note⁹, page 496, and page 502,

⁷ Just above he says, "Yal-dūz, Ī-bak, and other Turk Maliks and Amīrs," but *all* could not have demanded the investitures of Ghaznīn and Hindūstān. Yal-dūz [I-yal-dūz] and Ī-bak sent agents to Sultān Mahmūd expressing their loyalty, submission, and obedience to him, and in the whole of the empire the Khuṭbah was read for him and the money stamped with his name and titles

⁸ Two copies of the text add here, "in order that he might assume jurisdiction over the Ghaznīn territories"

⁹ See the reign of Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, beginning of next Section. There our author contradicts this statement entirely, and says Kuṭb-ud-Dīn received the investiture in 602 H, and that he went to Lohor to receive it

¹ These events occurred, as our author here states, in 605 H, but Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, appears to have received the investiture of Ghaznīn some time previous to this, and it is somewhat strange that he should have continued to coin money in the name of the late ruler, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, after what our author

the heir of the kingdom of his father and his uncle, all the Maliks and Sulṭāns paid reverence to his dignity and showed the obedience of vassals unto him²

When one year of his sovereignty had passed Malik Rukn ud Dīn Maḥmūd ī Irān Shāh son of Malik Ala ud Dīn³ Muhammad advanced from Ghaznīn towards Fīrūz koh, as has been previously recorded⁴ and Sulṭān Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn Maḥmūd, marched from Fīrūz koh, and put him to the rout, and about 5000 Ghūrls [in that affair] bit the dust.

After a period of two years and a half Sulṭān⁵ Alā ud Dīn Utsuz, son of [Alā ud Dīn] Husain, who was his [Maḥmūd's] father's uncle's son proceeded from the country of Bamīān into Khwārazm and sought assistance from Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh to enable him to seize the dominions of Ghūr. The Malik ul Jibāl Ulugh Khan ī Abī Muhammad⁶ and Malik Shams-ud Dīn Utsuz, the Hājib who were two of the greatest of the Turkish Maliks of the Khwārazm Shāhs with the troops of Marw and Balkh, Sarakhs and Rūdbār were nominated to give him assistance and he [Alā ud Dīn Utsuz] proceeded by way of Tāl ḥān towards Ghūr.

Sulṭān Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn Maḥmūd brought out his forces from Fīrūz koh and on the limits of Maimand and Fār yāb⁷

here states, and even after Sulṭān Maḥmūd, the former's successor had given Tāj ud Dīn his freedom with the investiture of Ghaznīn, much more up to the year 610 H. when even Maḥmūd had been killed in 607 H. But see page 497 and 500—505; and Thomas: Coins of the PATIḤĀN KINGS OF DELHI page 30.

² He was heir certainly in name at least; but the two favourite slaves of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud Dīn already possessed the greater portion of their master's dominions, from which Maḥmūd would have, in all probability been unable to oust them. Mu'izz-ud Dīn had, on more than one occasion, expressed a desire that these slaves, especially I yal-dūz, should succeed to his dominions. See page 500.

³ Styled Ziyā-ud Dīn, the Pearl of Ghūr before he came to the throne from which Maḥmūd deposed him. See page 393 and note⁸ and page 408.

⁴ Page 395.

⁵ Our author styles him Sulṭān,⁹ as well as many others, before their attaining sovereignty.

⁶ Referred to in the account of the Khwārazm Shāhs. He subsequently became the father-in-law of Rukn-ud-Dīn, son of Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh. See page 235.

⁷ Also called Fār-āb, Fār-āw Bār-āb, and Bār yāb. This battle and victory of Maḥmūd is not mentioned by other authors. See also pages 409 and 414.

at a place which they call [by the name of] Sālūrah⁸, a battle took place between the two armies. The Almighty bestowed the victory upon Sultān Mahmūd, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, and the Khwārazm Shāhī Malīks, and the troops of Khurāsān were overthrown⁹.

When four years of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd's reign had expired, Malīk 'Alā-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh¹, son of Sultān Takīsh, Khwārazm Shāh, sought refuge from his brother's [Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh] presence with Sultān Mahmūd. On the Khwārazmī Sultān² becoming aware of this, he despatched distinguished personages [as envoys] to Fīrūz-koh. During the lifetime of the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, a firm compact existed between Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd³, son of [Ghiyās-ud-Dīn], Muhammad-i-Sām, and

⁸ A few copies have Aslūrah.

⁹ See note³, below

¹ His title was Tāj ud-Dīn, *not* 'Alā-ud-Dīn. See the account of him, page 252-3. He had been a prisoner in Ghūr some few years previously, and was known to the Ghūrīān Princes.

² The I O L MS No 1952, and R A Soc. MS both have—"when Sultān Takīsh became aware of it." Takīsh had been dead many years. The printed text, of course, is the same.

³ By this statement our author entirely contradicts that made at pages 256 and 382, and the present statement is certainly one more likely to be correct. It tends to confirm what Yāfa-ī and some other works say, and which I shall presently refer to.

Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, after the death of his father, expected that his uncle, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, would have placed him, the son, on his late father's throne of Fīrūz-koh and the kingdom of Ghūr, instead of which, knowing Mahmūd's love of wine and other sensual pleasures, he bestowed it upon the son-in-law of the late Sultān, Malīk Ziyā-ud-Dīn, the Pearl of Ghūr, and gave the western districts of the empire to Mahmūd as his appanage, as stated by our author at page 472. On this account Mahmūd entertained no very good feeling towards his uncle, and he *may have* entered into communication *secretly* with the Sultān of Khwārazm, who was naturally hostile to Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and such an understanding as our author mentions may have been entered into at the time Mahmūd went on the expedition to Marw, mentioned at page 397, when Mu'izz-ud-Dīn invaded Khwārazm.

I rather expect, however, that our author, who rarely indulges in dates, has confused the events of this period, as Mahmūd, previous to the assassination of his uncle, was not in a position to enter into "a firm compact" with Sultān Muhammad, unless secretly. Yāfa-ī says [and Jāmī'-ut-Tawārīkh agrees] that when Mahmūd seized the throne of Ghūr, shortly after his uncle's death, "he gave himself up to drinking and riotous pleasures, as was the habit of the Amīrs of Ghūr, and attended to singing and jollity, whilst he neglected the affairs of the kingdom, and could not endure the fatigues of war. His great chiefs and nobles, perceiving his weakness of character, began to

Muhammad i Takīsh⁴ Khwārazm Shāh that friendship and concord should exist between them, and that the

⁴ Sulṭān Alī ud Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Takīsh. Before he succeeded his father his title was Kutb-ud Dīn. See note¹ page 253.

grow disaffected; and Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Khar mīl the Wālī of Hīrāt, who was the greatest prop of the Ghūrīn empire, took precedence of all the other chiefs in tendering allegiance to the Sulṭān of Khwārazm, and despatched agents repeatedly soliciting that the Sulṭān would annex Hīrāt. Although that monarch had other important matters to attend to, still, fearing lest a portion of the Ghūrīn dominions, such as Balkh and districts around might offer allegiance to the ruler of Harā Khīā, and that that city might fall into his hands, he determined to move towards Balkh.

"The Wālī of that part, styled Imād ud Dīn, the chief of the Nāmān [Nāmān] Amīra [called by our author at page 260, Imād ud Dīn, Umr Fīwārī], at first was most warm in his professions of loyalty and fidelity and Balkh was made over to the Sulṭān, who continued the government, as heretofore, in the Wālī's hands but, being afterwards detected in acts of treachery and an intercepted letter having been placed in his hands, he threw himself at the Sulṭān's feet. His life was spared but he was sent away to Khwārazm, after being allowed to take what treasure and other valuables he desired with him. His son [name not given] was also removed from the charge of the fortress of Tirmīd, and that important post was made over to the guardianship of Sulṭān Lughmān of Samarkand."

The Tārīkh i Alī differs considerably on these matters. It is stated therein, that, on the death of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud Dīn becoming known to Sulṭān Muḥammad, he assembled a large army for the purpose of attacking Balkh, then held by the officers and troops of Malik Alī ud Dīn, Muḥammad son of the late Sulṭān Bahā-ud Dīn, Sām, of Nāmān and Tukhāristān, and invested that stronghold. At this crisis, Malik Alī ud Dīn Muḥammad, had led an army against Taj ud Dīn, Iyāl dūr ruler of Ghaznī. On this account Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd, who had intended to march his forces against Hīrāt to reduce Izz-ud Dīn, Husain, son of Khar mīl, to obedience paused in order to see what the upshot of the other two affairs would be.

Taj ud Dīn, Alī Shāh [Sulṭān Muḥammad's brother who subsequently took refuge with Maḥmūd], who commanded the forces investing Balkh, being unable to take it Sulṭān Muḥammad proceeded thither in person, and summoned the governor to submit. All was of no avail, and the Sulṭān determined to proceed without further loss of time to Hīrāt, when news reached him that Malik Alī ud Dīn, Muḥammad, and his brother Jalāl-ud Dīn Alī had been defeated by Taj-ud Dīn, Iyāl-dūr, taken prisoners, and thrown into confinement. This happened, according to Faḥṣṭ i 605 II. On this, Imād-ud Dīn [Umr], Governor of Balkh, hopeless of succour surrendered the place. He was treated with honour and kindness, and continued in charge of Balkh as before. After this, Sulṭān Muḥammad advanced to Bākhūz, got possession of that place then proceeded to Tirmīd, and obtained possession of that stronghold likewise and then he returned to Khwārazm.

This latter statement is incorrect. The Sulṭān proceeded to Hīrāt before returning to Khwārazm, as will be presently stated.

The Ghūrīn Amīra and Chiefs, who were in accord with Amīr Maḥmūd were preparing forces, says Yāsa fī, to attack Sulṭān Muḥammad's forces, then

enemy of one should be the enemy of the other, and, on this occasion, Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, sent

before Bal^{kh}, but the Sultān's troops made a swoop upon them, like a falcon on a covey of partridges, and routed and dispersed them before they had had time to complete their preparations. This must have been the affair called a victory of Maḥmūd's by our author. The territory of Bal^{kh} was now entrusted to the charge of Badr-ud-Dīn, Jā'lish [?], with a strong force to support him, and, after having disposed of the affairs of Bal^{kh}, the Sultān proceeded by way of Juzarwān [or Guzarwān] to Hirāt, which he entered in the middle of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 605 H, to the great joy of its people. [Yāfa-ī is, as well as other writers, somewhat confused as to the dates here, and says this took place in 607 H, and so it is stated in note ², page 257-258, taken from that work, but it is evidently an error for 605 H, as it was only in the third month of 607 H — some say in 606 H — that the Sultān first defeated the forces of Karā-Khitā under Bānīko of Ṭarāz, and a month *after* Maḥmūd Ghūr's death, *if* he died in Ṣafar 607 H, as our author and some others say, and not in 609 H.]

Rulers and chieftains from the adjacent parts now hastened to tender submission and allegiance to the Sultān, and to present themselves, and among these was the Malīk of Sijstān [Yamīn-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh ?], who was received with great honour. 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Khar-mīl, was continued in the government of Hirāt and its dependencies, as previously related, and the Sultān, having disposed of these matters, despatched several ecclesiastics of the Kīrāmī sect [Yāfa-ī says in 606 H] with proposals to Amīr Maḥmūd, ruler of Fīrūz-koh and Ghūr. Maḥmūd accepted those proposals, which were, that he should acknowledge the suzerainty of Sultān Muḥammad. He despatched valuable presents to the Sultān from the hoards accumulated by his ancestors and his uncle, and, among other rarities, a *white elephant*. [A white elephant is said to have been captured in the battle in which Jai Chandra, Rājah of Kinnau, was defeated by Mu'izz-ud-Dīn. See page 470.] Amīr Maḥmūd was named Nāyab or Deputy of the Sultān, for whom he read the Khuṭbah, and stamped the coin with his name. This must be the treaty our author refers to, but he has confused the events. This acknowledgment of the superiority of the Sultān is evidently what Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, took umbrage at, as mentioned in Alfī, in note ⁷, page 433, when he set at liberty Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, of Bāmīān, who, in 605 H, along with his brother, was taken prisoner in a battle against him [I-yal-dūz], and sent him back to recover the throne of Bāmīān, which probably was early in 606 H.

Sultān Muḥammad, leaving 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Khar-mīl, as Wālī of Hirāt, returned to Khwārazm, and subsequently entered on the campaign against Gūr Khān of Karā-Khitā. 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Khar-mīl, hearing the report of the Sultān having been killed or taken captive in the second engagement with Gūr Khān's troops [see page 258, and last para. of note ²], began to pave the way to make his peace with his former sovereign, and he again read the Khuṭbah for the ruler of Ghūr, and substituted his name on the coin. This must refer to Maḥmūd, as his young son, three months after his father's death, was taken away to Khwārazm, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, had been set up by the Khwārazmī Sultān as ruler of Ghūr, and, such being the case, Maḥmūd could not have been assassinated in Ṣafar, 607 H, for this reason, that these events took place in the latter part of that year, or even in 608 H, but if Ṣafar, 607 H, is correct, then Maḥmūd was *dead one month before the first battle between the Sultān and Bānīko of Ṭarāz*.

'Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Khar-mīl, finding almost immediately after that

Maḥmūd a copy of that treaty, with a request, saying 'As All Shāh is the enemy of my dominion, it is necessary that he should be seized' In compliance with the terms of that compact Sultān Maḥmūd seized All Shāh, and imprisoned him in the Kaṣr which they call the Baz' Kūshk i Sultān at Fīrūz Koh.

That Kaṣr⁶ is an edifice the like of which is not to be found in any country or in any capital—a Kaṣr in height and area, and with buttresses, balconies, and turrets, and of

the Sultān was safe, to get himself out of this scrape, sent a requisition to the Khwārazmī nobles located in Eastern Khurāsān for aid against the Ghūris, who, on account of Izz-ud Dīn, Husain a perfidy were marching against him. This evidently is the matter referred to by our author at page 503, where he says Iyal-dūs aided Maḥmūd against Izz-ud Dīn, Husain, son of Khar-mī, but distorts the fact to suit his own purposes and inclinations, about the Sultān of Khwārazm 'flying before the forces of Ghūr and Ghamsīn,' and what Allī refers to, namely that Amīr Imā'il, Maḥmūd's general, sent against Izz-ud Dīn, was defeated and taken prisoner and the remnant of his army returned to Fīrūz Koh. See note² page 504.

With the aid of the Khwārazmī nobles of Khurāsān the Ghūris were overthrown, and this affair broke their power entirely and their party dispersed; and Izz-ud Dīn, Husain, was also seized and put to death, as related at page 258, last para. note²

The Ḥabīb-us-Siyar states that Sultān Muḥammad demanded that Maḥmūd, Ghūrī should seize the former's brother Taj-ud Dīn, All Shāh and send him back in conformity with the terms of treaty previously existing between himself and the late Sultān, Mu'izz-ud Dīn" [see note² page 481], but says nothing about a previous treaty between him and Maḥmūd. This event, our author says, happened in the fourth year of Maḥmūd's reign, which, by his own account, would be towards the close of 606 H. The treaty thus referred to is doubtless the treaty mentioned by Fasiḥ-i and others, which took place between Sultān Muḥammad and Sultān Mu'izz-ud Dīn, after the latter's disastrous campaign against Khwārazm.

I have lengthened the text with this lengthy note in order to show what discrepancy exists with regard to the events in the history of the Ghūris about this time and to show the impossibility of the correctness of the dates given by several authors. Yāsa'i and Fasiḥ-i and several others [see note² page 407] also say that Maḥmūd was assassinated in 609 H., and the Mir'at-i-Jahān-Namā confirms it. It is also certain, from our author's statements, as well as from the statements of others, that Maḥmūd was assassinated in the same year as Taj-ud Dīn, All Shāh was; and that event, even our author says, happened in 609 H. See also page 253.

It is moreover proved beyond a doubt that, soon after the decease of Sultān Mu'izz-ud Dīn, the Ghūrīan rulers became mere vassals of the Khwārazmī sovereigns, who, at last, annexed the whole of their extensive territory as far as the Indus, or even to the Jihām.

⁶ The word *bas* [باز] which is doubtless correct, signifies a mound, the spur of a mountain or hill, high ground. Some of the more modern copies have *abar* [ابر], and some leave out the word altogether.

⁶ The signification of *Kūshk* and *Ka r* has been given in note² at page 331.

such configuration as no geometrician hath made manifest. Over that *Ḳaṣr* are placed five pinnacles inlaid with gold, each of them three ells and a little over in height, and in breadth two ells, and also two gold *humāe*⁷, each of about the size of a large camel. Those golden pinnacles and those *humās*, the Sultān-i-*Ghāzī*, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, after the capture of Ajmīr⁸, had sent in token of service, and as valuable presents, to [his brother] Sultān *Ghiyās-ud-Dīn*, Muhammad-i-Sām, with many other articles of rarity, such as a ring of gold, with a chain of gold attached, the dimension of which was five ells by five ells, and two great *kos* [kettle-drums] of gold, which were carried on carriages. Sultān *Ghiyās-ud-Dīn* directed that the ring and chain, and those *kharbūzah*⁹ [kettle-drums], should be suspended before the portico of the Jāmi' Masjīd at Fīrūz-koh, and, when the Jāmi' Masjīd was destroyed by a flood, the ring, chain, and those *kharbūzah* [kettle-drums], the Sultān sent to the city of Hirāt, so that after the Jāmi' Masjīd of that city had been destroyed by fire, they rebuilt it by means of those gifts¹.

Sultān *Ghiyās-ud-Dīn*, Mahmūd, son of [*Ghiyās-ud-Dīn*], Muhammad-i-Sām, was a sovereign very great, beneficent,

⁷ A fabulous bird peculiar to the East. It is considered to be a bird of happy omen, and that every head it overshadows will, in time, wear a crown. See also G. P. R. James's *ATTILA*, chap. vi.

⁸ The word used is شرات signifying small turrets in the wall, and also sometimes used for battlements, cornices, pinnacles, &c. The last is the most probable meaning here, or possibly small open domes, such as we see in some old Hindū buildings.

⁹ The text here again is very defective in all but the three oldest copies. Some of the more modern copies have "one *kos*," and state that the ring was "five ells by five ells," and instead of *Kharbūzah* have *jazīrah*, which signifies an island. The same word occurs in *Firishṭah*—the original text I mean—who says two were presented to Kuṭb-ud-Dīn by the ruler of Ajmīr, which Dow, very correctly, translates "*two melons of gold*," without apparently knowing what they were, but BRIGGS, by way of improving on Dow, turns them into "*two tents of gold tissue*"! See his translation, vol. I, p. 194-5. The word حرور or حرور which signifies a musk melon, suggests the shape of these drums.

¹ I do not find any notice of this fire in other works, not even in *Faṣiḥ-i* which generally contains minute particulars of every event occurring at Hirāt, as the author was a native of that city. *Rauzat-us-Safā* merely mentions that Mahmūd finished the Masjīd of Hirāt which had been left unfinished at his father's death, and this statement is confirmed by the *Khulāsat-ul-Akḥbār* and some other histories. I do not find any account of a flood. Amīr 'Alī Sher, the celebrated Wazīr of Sultān Ḥusain, Bahādur *Khān*, subsequently rebuilt this masjīd in 905 H., just a year before his death.

humane, munificent, and just. When he ascended the throne he opened the door of the treasury of his father. That treasury remained untouched as before, and Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn had not appropriated any portion of it, and they have related, that of pure gold there were four hundred camel loads, which are eight hundred chests—but God knows best—and rich garments vessels, pearls and jewels in proportion together with other valuable property of every description the whole of which he disposed of.

During his reign gold apparel perfumed leather² and other things through his munificence and his presents became very cheap. He also purchased a number of Turkish slaves, and greatly valued them all and raised them to competence and wealth, and his presents, gifts, and donations were constantly reaching people, until one day during the second year of his sovereignty the son of his aunt the sisters son of the Sulṭāns [Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn Muhammad and Mu'izz ud Dīn Muhammad] Malik Tāj ud Dīn, died³, and no heir survived him and his effects and treasures consisting of ready money, gold and silver vessels, a vast quantity of wealth were brought to the presence of Sulṭān Maḥmūd. He commanded that a banquet and festal entertainment should be arranged beneath [the walls] of the Kūshk which is situated in the middle of [the city of] Firūz koh⁴.

He spread the carpet of pleasure, and directed that festivity and gaiety should be the order of the day and from the time of meridian prayer to the period of evening prayer the whole of that money, consisting of *darhams* and *dīnārs* contained in leathern bags and in scrips, was poured out of the windows of the Kaṣr. As it was a

² Perfumed leather [دراغ] must have been extremely valuable in those days.

³ Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Zangī, son of Sulṭān Shams-ud Dīn, Muhammad, sovereign of Bāmīān and Tukhārīstān. He was taken prisoner in battle with a body of Khwārazmī troops in the vicinity of Marw-ar Rūd, at a time when peace existed between the Sulṭān of Khwārazm and Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn, of Ghaznī, and sent to Khwārazm with other chiefs taken at the same time, and their heads were struck off. See page 425, and page 481 note⁶.

⁴ The text varies here again. The oldest copies are plainly written as above; but, according to some, the sentence may be read: in the Kaṣr of Nar Kūshk which is [situated] in the midst of [the city of] Firūz koh⁷ and, according to others, merely in the Kaṣr which is [situated] in " &c. It is quite a different place to the Kaṣr of Baz Kūshk. The Europeanized *Livak* is derived from this latter word.

public banquet and a largess to both high and low, great and small, every description of the different classes of the people of the city of Fīrūz-koh were arriving in crowds at the foot of the Kūshk, and kept themselves under the Sultān's observation. To each class of persons he was giving a liberal share of dishes, long-necked flasks, lamps, ewers, cups, platters, bowls, goblets, and other vessels of different descriptions, all of gold and of silver, and, among other presents, above a thousand slaves of his own, both male and female, which he repurchased again from their [new] owners. The whole city, from those largesses, became [so to speak] filled with gold.

Sultān Maḥmūd was a sovereign of very great good qualities, and his alms, donations, and honorary robes, to a large amount, were received by all classes of the people, but, as the decree of fate had [now] come, the motives of its advent began to appear. Having, at the request of Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, seized the latter's brother, 'Alī Shāh, and imprisoned him, 'Alī Shāh's servants, followers, and dependents, consisting of 'Irākīs, Khurāsānīs, Khwārazmīs, and Turks, in great numbers, together with his mother, his son, and his women, along with him, the whole of them agreed together with one accord, and several times, by means of each of the most notable among them, sent messages, secretly, to Sultān Maḥmūd, saying: "The reliance we have in the Sultān is, that as we have all come and sought refuge with his Highness, in the service of our master, 'Alī Shāh, and have thrown ourselves under the shadow of the Sultān's power and protection, it behoveth he should not deliver us up into the hands of the enemy, for to seize and make captive of those who have sought one's protection will not turn out fortunate, otherwise we will make sacrifice of ourselves, and let it not be that the Sultān should be in dread of his life from us."

As the decree of destiny had gone forth, this communication, which they continued to represent to the Sultān, was without any effect whatever, and a party* of 'Alī Shāh's dependents used, at night, to ascend to the summit of the hill, called Koh-i-Āzād, which was facing the Qaşr, and the sleeping apartment of Sultān Maḥmūd, and there they sat concealed, and examined the Qaşr and noticed the Sultān's sleeping apartment, and marked the way to the

place. All this they had done, until on the night of Tuesday the 7th of the month of Šafar in the year 607 H¹, four individuals of the party referred to climbed up on the roof of the Sulṭān's Kašr and assassinated him and got away again by the same road as they had got up. They then crossed the river of Fīrūz koh² which flows in front of the Kašr and also climbed to the top of that high hill [the Koh : Āzād] and cried out with a loud voice 'O foes of our Malīk! we have killed the Sulṭān arise, and search for your Malīk!' When the day broke, the whole city became agitated and they buried the Sulṭān in the Kašr itself, and subsequently the body was removed to Hirāt, and finally interred in the Gāzār-gāh³ [catacombs] of Hirāt.

The eldest son of the Sulṭān, namely Bahā ud Dīn, Sām was raised to the throne.

¹ There is considerable discrepancy among authors respecting the year of Maḥmūd's assassination. Yāsa'ī Jāmi' at Tawārīkh, Faṣṭh-f, Alfi, Lubb-ut Tawārīkh Guzdah, Mir'at i Jahān-Numā [which says 'after reigning nearly eight years'] and some others say it happened in 609 H while Jahān Ārā, Raṣṭat-uz-Šafā, Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh, and a few others agree with our author's statement here as to the year 607 H. The former says it took place on the 7th of Šafar whilst the latter Raṣṭat-uz-Šafā, and some others say on the 3rd of Šafar Ḥabīb-us-Siyar on the other hand, affirms that it happened in 606 H. Khulāṣat-ul Akhbār 607 H. and the Tārīkh i Ibrāhīmī that it happened on the 3rd Šafar 597 but this must mean the year of the Rihlat [death of Muḥammad], not the Hijrah [Flight], between which two eras a period of about eleven years intervenes; and 597 of the former is about equal to 608 of the latter. There is no doubt but that Maḥmūd was assassinated in the same year in which Fīrūz koh was taken by the Khwārazmīs, and Tāj-ud Dīn, Alī Shāh, put to death; and this last event our author himself states, at page 253, took place in 609 H. The words ع and ع without the diacritical points, may be easily mistaken by a copyist. See note * page 410.

* A feeder of the Harī Rūd probably if not the main stream, which rises in Ghūr.

² It is not certain who killed Maḥmūd, and authors are at variance on this point. Raṣṭat-uz-Šafā agrees with our author but merely copies his statements. Ḥabīb-us-Siyar of course agrees with Raṣṭat-uz-Šafā. Yāsa'ī, Faṣṭh-f, Tārīkh i Ibrāhīmī, and a few others, state that he was found dead on the roof of his palace and that his slayer was not known, and Jahān Ārā, and Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh agree with our author. Another writer says Alī Shāh slew him with his own hand.

³ Sometimes written Gāzār-gāh as above, and also Gāmr-gāh. It signifies the place of caves or hollows, a grave yard, catacombs. There is one at Shīrūz in which the Poet Saḍī was buried, and the one near Hirāt in which the venerated Khwājah Abdullāh, Anqārī was buried. The meaning of gāmr is certainly a bleacher or washer and gāh a place, but the above term does not refer to any 'bleaching ground,' as a modern writer terms it, except that it is the bleaching ground for dead men's bones.

XX SULTĀN BAHĀ-UD-DĪN, SĀM, SON OF GHIYĀS-UD-DĪN, MAHMŪD, SON OF GHIYĀS-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF BAHĀ-UD-DĪN, SĀM, SHANSABĪ

Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, son of Sultān Mahmūd [at this time] was about fourteen years of age, and his brother, Malīk Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, about ten Their mother was the daughter of Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, of Tīmṛān, and in the *haram* likewise were two daughters by this Malīkah

When Sultān Mahmūd was martyred, the next morning, all the Amīrs of Ghūr and the Turk Amīrs assembled together, and raised Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, to the throne of Fīrūz-koh, and the Malīkah-i-Mu'izzīah⁹, who was the mother of Bahā-ud-Dīn, and the other children of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, incited the Turkish slaves¹ to slay the competitors for the sovereignty² Of that party one was Malīk Rukn-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd-i-Irān Shāh, the son of Malīk 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Abī-'Alī, and they martyred him, as has been previously recorded³ Malīk Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Tīmṛānī, was imprisoned, as was Malīk Shihāb-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Mādīnī, likewise, who was the son of the uncle of the Sultāns [Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn], and the Ghūrī and Turk Amīrs, in concert, stood around the throne with girded loins

The followers of 'Alī Shāh, after five days, when they found the city had become tranquil, and that 'Alī Shāh still remained in durance, contrived to get up another tumult They placed a number of men in chests, and pretended that they were going to bring treasure⁴ into the city from without, such was the plan they chose to enable them to enter the city and create another disturbance, but, unexpectedly, one among them who had conceived the idea of this wicked action came and gave information about

⁹ Her title, not her name.

¹ In some of the more modern copies this is reversed, and they have "the Turkish slaves incited her," &c

² Several Princes of the family who were supposed likely to cause trouble, and interfere with this arrangement, were put to death by his supporters

³ See pages 394, and 396 At page 399 this is differently related.

⁴ Other writers say, "cases of merchandize," and that forty-five persons were made to come out of these chests, and were, at once, put to the sword

it. The chests were seized at the gate of the city and about eighty men came out of the chests, of whom three were of those who had killed Sultān Maḥmūd⁴. All three were made a public example of and put to death, two others were cast headlong from the hill [of Āzād] and seventy five were thrown at the feet of the elephants and killed amid the clamours and reprobation of the crowd.

Subsequent to this Malik Husam ud Dīn Muḥammad i Abī All Jāhān Pahlawān from Fīwār and Kāl yūn presented himself [at the court] and when three months of the sovereignty of Sultān Bahā ud Dīn Sām had passed away Malik Alā ud Dīn, Utsuz [son of Alā ud Dīn] Hūsain [Jāhān soz] who was in attendance on Sultān Muḥammad Khwarazm Shāh solicited aid from that monarch to enable him to possess himself of the dominions of Ghūr. Malik Khān [governor] of Hīrat, who at the commencement of the reign of the Khwarazmī Sultān bore the title of Amīr i Hājib and who was an Ajamī Turk⁵ of great intrepidity and the slayer of Muhammad i Kharrak⁷ was nominated to proceed from Khurāsān to render assistance to Alā ud Dīn Utsuz, son of [Alā ud Dīn] Husain.

Malik Khān with the forces of Khurāsān set out accordingly to assist Sultān⁶ Alā ud Dīn, Utsuz i Husain in possessing himself of Fīrūz koh. When they arrived in the vicinity of Fīrūz koh the Maliks and Amīrs of Ghūr took counsel together and came to the conclusion⁸ that it was advisable to release Malik All Shāh from confine

⁴ If it was so well known that All Shāh's followers had done the deed, it seems strange that they should have been allowed even to approach the gate, and that they should have come near the place and thus thrust their heads into danger.

⁵ That is a Turk born in Ajam. This personage is mentioned in a number of places. He is the chief who joined Sultān Jalāl-ud Dīn, Khwarazmī in after years, with 50,000 men, was present in the battle of Barwān, and was the unfortunate cause of Salf ud Dīn, Ighrāk's desertion. Our author styles him Malik Khān, Amīn i Hājib, at page 287 but more correctly Amīr i-Hājib, at pages 415, 416, and the last Section on the invasion of the Mughals. His correct name appears to be Malik Khān, entitled Amīn-ul-Mulk, the Amīr i-Hājib. See notes to pages 287-291. The Jāmī at Tawārīkh styles him Amīn Malik of Hīrat.

⁷ See note⁸ page 287 and note⁸ page 471.

⁸ Subsequently perhaps styled Sultān, after he had been set up as a vassal of the Khwarazmīs, but Malik is more correct.

⁹ Some copies are much more curt with the following passage.

ment, and treat him with great honour and reverence, so that, on his account, some of the Khurāsānī forces might evince an inclination towards that Prince, and, as he was also the adversary of his brother [Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh], he might, in concert with this sovereignty, oppose in battle the forces of Khurāsān Malik 'Alī Shāh they accordingly set at liberty, and they appointed Amīrs to the [defence of] different sides around the city¹

Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, son of 'Abī-'Alī, and Amīr 'Uṣmān-i-Khar-fash², and other Amīrs, with troops, were appointed to occupy the summit of the Koh-i-Maidān, and Amīr 'Uṣmān-i-Maraghānī, who was the Sar-i-Jāndār [the Chief Armour-Bearer], with a body of forces, was named to occupy the upper part of the Koh-i-Āzād³ Other Amīrs, such as Muhammad-i-'Abd-ullah, and Ghūrī, Shalmatī, and 'Umr, Shalmatī⁴, were nominated to the Zār-Margh gate⁵, and on a Thursday, during the whole day, round about the city and on the hills constant fighting went on. On a Friday, in the middle of the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, in the year 607 H⁶, the city [of

¹ After strengthening the defences as well as they were able

² This is evidently a nickname or byname [like Khar-mīl, Khar-nak, &c.] of no very complimentary nature—Ass like "Fash" has, however, other significations, which see. Two good copies have حرش and حرش respectively, but no doubt حرش is intended

³ This was the hill the followers of 'Alī Shāh used to climb to reconnoitre the palace of Sulṭān Mahmūd

⁴ Some copies have "Salmanī" and "Sulīmān," but the above is correct

⁵ Some few copies of the text, the best Paris copy included, name it the Tarī'in gate. It is possible a gate might subsequently have been so named in remembrance of the victory over Pithorā Rāe, but the other best and oldest copies are as above

⁶ Sulṭān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, having delivered Hirāt from 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Khar-mīl, did not interfere in any way with Sulṭān Mahmūd, Ghūrī, who had previously acknowledged his suzerainty, as already stated in note ³, para. 10, page 402. While, however, Sulṭān Muhammad was engaged in a campaign beyond the Jīhūn, his brother, Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh, having become dissatisfied with his brother, the Sulṭān, left his dominions and sought the Court of Mahmūd, who received him honourably and with distinction, and supplied all his requirements. After some time had passed 'Alī Shāh [and some of his adherents probably], managed to effect an entrance, secretly, into the Sarāe-i-Haram [private apartments] in the middle of the day, where he found Mahmūd asleep on the throne, and slew him, and no one knew who had done the deed. It however became noised abroad, that Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī Shāh, had conspired against him, in order to obtain the throne of Ghūr for himself.

Fīrūz koh] was taken [by the Khwārazmī forces] and the dominion of the family of [Ghiyāṣ ud Dīn] Muḥammad, son of Bahā ud Dīn Sām passed away

I have already pointed out [note * page 407] what discrepancy exists between authors as to the year of Maḥmūd's assassination, and that, in all probability 609 H is the correct date, and not 607 H. Our author himself says, in his account of Tāj-ud Dīn, All Shāh [page 253], that he was put to death in 609 H, and every copy of the text available agrees, and Yāfa ī, and Faṣīḥ-ī and Jāmi' ut Tawārīkh confirm it; and, from the various accounts of these events, it is beyond a doubt, that both Maḥmūd and Tāj-ud Dīn, All Shāh, were put to death in the same year probably within a few months of each other and before All-ud Dīn Utanz, ascended the throne subject to the Khwārazmīs.

Our author here says it happened in the *ṣawth* year of Maḥmūd's reign, and, as he ascended the throne about the middle of 602 H this would make it before the middle of the year 606 H; and, in this case, the date given by most authors for the battle between Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh and Balloko of Tarāz, namely Rabī-ul Awwal 607 H cannot be correct, as it is certain that the Sulṭān entered Hīrāt, after 'Izz ud Dīn, Husain, son of Khar mīl, had been put to death, in Jamādī-ul Awwal, 607 H *thirteen months* after the date of Maḥmūd's assassination given by our author and several others. See note 7 pages 260-261.

Faṣīḥ-ī distinctly states, that, after Maḥmūd had been killed in 609 H as no one remained of the descendants of the Sulṭāns of Ghūr worthy of the wand of sovereignty the chief personages of Fīrūz koh concerted together [our author's own statement above tends to confirm this, although probably he did not like to acknowledge that the Ghūrīan Amīrs had set up a Khwārazmī as ruler], and raised Tāj-ud Dīn, All Shāh, to the throne. They then despatched an emissary to the presence of Sulṭān Muḥammad, to represent to him the facts of the case, and to solicit him to confirm All Shāh in the sovereignty. The Sulṭān [seemingly] acceded to their request, and despatched Muḥammad-ī Baghīr [one of his chamberlains] with a robe of honour for All Shāh. After Muḥammad-ī Baghīr arrived and began to congratulate All Shāh with the usual ceremonies, All Shāh proceeded towards an inner apartment and commenced arraying himself in the robe, when Muḥammad-ī Baghīr drew his sword, and with one blow struck off his head and congratulation was turned into condolence.

After this event no other could be found capable of the sovereignty and Fīrūz koh and Ghūr and parts adjacent, were left in the possession of the Khwārazmī Sulṭān.

Ḥabīb-ur-Siyar says that Khwārazm Shāh, unable to secure his brother's person, advanced upon Ghūr with a numerous army. The Ghūrīan nobles released All Shāh to create a diversion, but it was of no avail, and Fīrūz-koh was taken in 607 H. Raṣṣat-ur-Ṣafā states, that, after two or three days fighting in the hills and around the city it was taken, as our author mentions, in the middle of Jamādī-ul Awwal 607 H. and in this Jahān Arī, Muṣṭafakhab-ut Tawārīkh, and others agree, the latter giving the 15th of that month as the exact date, which was just three months and seven days after the death of Maḥmūd, if he died in that year.

The statement of Yāfa ī is different from those of other authors, who probably copied from our author's work, but as the former work gives far more details

The Amīrs, who had been despatched to occupy the hill-tops around, all escaped in safety, and 'Alī Shāh, and Malīk Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Abī-'Alī⁷ of Kāl-yūn, went out by the gate of the Reg Pul of Bust⁸, and each and every one of them betook himself to some part or other. Malīk Ḥusām-ud-Dīn betook himself to Kāl-yūn, and 'Alī Shāh set out towards Ghaznīn. Sultān A'lā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, was placed on the throne, and Malīk Khān of Hīrāt returned thither.

Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, with his brother [Malīk Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad], his sisters, and his mother, together with the treasure then ready at hand, and their aunt the Malīkah-i-Jalālī, the daughter of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, who was betrothed to Malīk 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, and the whole, with the bier of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, were conducted towards Khurāsān. The bier of Sultān Mahmūd was deposited in the Gāzār-gāh [catacombs] of Hīrāt. The dependents, the married and the younger ladies of the family, and their property were removed to Khwarāzm, and, up to the time of the troubles caused by the irruption of the infidels of Chīn, they continued in Khwarāzm, and were treated with esteem and honour.

Chroniclers have related in this wise, that, when the Mughal troubles arose, the mother of Sultān Muhammad, Khwarāzm Shāh, had those two Princes [Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, and Malīk Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad] drowned in the Jihūn of Khwarāzm⁹—the Almighty have mercy upon them and forgive them!

Two daughters of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, up to the date of the composition of this History [are still living]—one is at Bukhārā, and the other is at Balkh,

respecting the Khwarāzmīs than any other writer with whom I am acquainted, its statement, taken in consideration of what our author mentions, appears worthy of credit. Jahān-Ārā, another good authority, states that it was 'Alī-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, with an army sent along with him by Khwarāzm Shāh, who invested Fīrūz koh, and took the city in the year and date above mentioned, when Bahā ud-Dīn, Sām, and his brother were sent away to Khwarāzm and met the fate mentioned by our author, at the time of the irruption of the Mughals.

⁷ Styled Jahān Pahlawān at page 409

⁸ The "sand" or "gravel gate" leading to Bust. The text is very defective here, in nearly every copy.

⁹ See page 280

married to the Malik zādah of Balḥh, the son of Al mās, the Hājib

XXI SULTĀN ALĀ UD DĪN UTSUZ, SON OF SULTĀN ALĀ UD-DĪN AL ḤUSAIN JAHĀN-SOZ.

Sultān Alā ud Dīn Utsuz¹ was the son of Sultān Alā ud Dīn Husain, Jahān soz, and was left by his father [at his death] very young in years and he had grown up in the service of the two Sultāns, Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn and Muizz ud Dīn but served the greater portion of his service at the court of Ghaznīn with Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn.

The chronicler relates after this manner that, upon one occasion, Sultān Muizz ud Dīn was attacked by the cholic, to such degree that people had given up all hope of his recovery. The Amīrs of Ghūr agreed together in secret, on this matter that, if the Sultān should unfortunately die, they would raise Sultān² Alā ud Dīn Utsuz, to the throne of Ghaznīn. Almighty God sent the draught of health from that dispensary whence "*indeed when I am sick HE healeth me*"³ to Sultān Muizz ud Dīn and he recovered.

Certain informers⁴ made the Sultān acquainted with this circumstance and this compact and he commanded that it was necessary that Alā ud Dīn should be removed from the court of Ghaznīn lest, through the wrath of humanity odium might chance to touch him. Alā ud Dīn proceeded to the court of Bāmlān to his uncle's sons and [at that time] the throne of Bāmlān had passed to Sultān Bahā ud Dīn Sām⁵, son of Sultān Shams-ud Dīn, son of Malik Fakhr ud Dīn Masūd. After he [Utsuz] had pro-

¹ Ḥabīb-us-Siyar and some others likewise agree with our author and say that Alā-ud Dīn, Utsuz, was set up by Khwārazm Shāh after the dethronement of Bahā ud Dīn, Sām; and that Alī Shāh fled to Ghaznīn after the capture of Fīrūz koh. The reason why this Khwārazmī, or rather Turkish name, was given to Alā ud Dīn is mentioned at page 238. He was, no doubt, set aside by Abū l Abbās-i Shī; who slew Utsuz's brother Salf ud Dīn, Muḥammad, for killing his brother War-mesh, otherwise he was the next heir to the throne after his brother Sultān Salf-ud Dīn, Muḥammad.

² Not Sultān at that time for he had not then come to the throne.

³ Kur'ān: chap. 26, verse 80.

⁴ It appears that all rulers had these news-givers or informers in their employ.

⁵ See page 428 for the account of him.

ceeded thither, they treated him with reverence, and the district of Nāe⁶ of Bāmīān was assigned to his charge

After some time his [Utsuz's] daughter was given [in marriage] to his [Sultān, Bahā-ud-Dīn's] eldest son, Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad⁷, as will subsequently be, please God, recorded in the Section on the Maliks of Bāmīān

The course of the days allotted to the extent of the dominion of the Sultāns, Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, having run their course, and Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, having likewise died⁸, Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, proceeded from the court of Bāmīān to the presence of Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh⁹, to solicit assistance to enable him to obtain possession of the dominion of Ghūr and the throne of Fīrūz-koh. He was treated with great honour there, and received the most princely usage, and the Amīrs of Khurāsān, such as Ulugh Khān-i-'Abī-Muhammad¹, Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Utsuz [the Hājib], and the Majd-ul-Mulk, Wazīr of Marw, with the whole of the troops of Upper Khurāsān were directed to afford assistance to Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, in possessing himself of the territories of Ghūr²

Sultān Mahmūd advanced out of Fīrūz-koh to meet them and overthrow their forces, as has been previously recorded³, and they [the Khwārazmī nobles] retired, and again resumed their duties in the service of Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh

⁶ This place is often mentioned in Baihakī

⁷ See account of him, No III of Section XIX

⁸ Bahā-ud-Dīn of Bāmīān must be meant. Mahmūd's son, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, only reigned three months, but he did not die until cast into the Jihūn between ten and eleven years after these events, and after the slaves of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn had succeeded to the whole of his dominions. See page 409

⁹ The reader will not fail to observe that this mighty sovereign to whom the latter Ghūrīs appealed when they wanted help, and whose suzerainty the nephew of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn acknowledged, is the same that our author would make us believe sent such abject petitions to Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn and his brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, mentioned at page 381-2

¹ Styled Malik-ul-Jibāl at page 399

² Scarcely probable, even by our author's own account, if the "firm compact" mentioned at page 400 is correct, but, as mentioned in note ³, page 400, the "treaty" must, really, mean Mahmūd's acknowledgment of Sultān Muhammad's supremacy, which took place *after* the affair here alluded to. The defeat of the Khwārazmī troops is not mentioned by the various authors I have quoted, but quite the contrary

³ At page 400

Matters continued in this wise until after the assassination of Sulṭān Maḥmūd when Malik Khān of Hirat, the Amīr i Hājib and [Malik] Alā ud Dīn, Utsuz, from Bust, and the forces of Khurāsān, advanced towards Fīrūz koh⁴ and they placed Alā ud Dīn Utsuz, on the throne of Ghūr, and Malik Khān of Hirat again retired.

The Malīks and Amīrs of Ghūr submitted to Sulṭān Alā ud Dīn Utsuz, but hostility showed itself between him and the Turk Amīrs of Ghaznīn, and Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Yal-duz, and Mu'ayyid ul Mulk Muhammad i Abd ullah Sīstānī⁵ who was the Wazīr of Ghaznīn and in pomp like a sovereign encountered Sulṭān Alā-ud Dīn Utsuz, in the limits of Kīdān and the Margh i Nūlah in battle and the army of Ghaznīn was defeated and overthrown.

Sulṭān Alā ud Dīn, Utsuz, was a just monarch, learned and a patron of learned men and the Kitāb-i Masūdī on ecclesiastical jurisprudence he knew by heart. In the promotion of Ulamā [theologians] and the bringing up of the families of men of learning he used to do his utmost and every one among the sons of Ulamā whom he continued to find diligent and persevering he was accustomed to honour with his benevolent regard.

When he ascended the throne he set at liberty Malik⁶ Alā ud Dīn, Muḥammad from the fortress of Aghiyār of Gharjistan but, on account of his killing Umr i Shalmatl the Sulṭān again shut him up within the walls of the fortress of Balarwān.

Sulṭān Alā ud Dīn Utsuz, reigned⁷ for a period of four years, until Malik Naṣīr ud Dīn, Husain the Amīr i Shikār [Chief Huntsman] brought an army from Ghaznīn against him and a battle took place between them in the

⁴ Compare the account at page 409, and on the preceding page. In a few copies of the text the words "and [Malik] Alā ud-Dīn, Utsuz," are left out.

⁵ Styled Sanjarī in the list of Mu'izz-ud Dīn's ministers and nobles, at page 205.

⁶ Sulṭān Alā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad the last of the dynasty. See page 417.

⁷ Subject to Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwāram Shāh.

⁸ Any one reading this would imagine that this Naṣīr ud Dīn, Husain, was some independent chief who had made war upon Alā ud Dīn, Utsuz. He was sent by Tāj ud Dīn, I yal-dūz, against Alā-ud Dīn, who, being a vassal of the Khwāramshāh, was naturally inimical to I yal-dūz the trusted Slave of the late Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn, and on whose side most if not all, of the

centre of Ghūr, within the limits of Jarmās. The right wing of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz's, army was commanded by Malīk Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, son of Abī-'Alī⁹, who attacked the left wing of Malīk Nasīr-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain's, troops, and overthrew and routed [that portion of] the Ghaznīn forces, and pursued the fugitives [off the field]. Malīk Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, [with his centre] charged the centre of the Sultān's army, and wounded him with his spear, and a Turk among the troops of Ghaznīn smote the Sultān on the head with his mace in such wise that both his august eyes exuded from their sockets¹, and he fell down from his horse. Malīk Nasīr-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, remained on horseback over the head of the Sultān, when Malīk Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, returned from the pursuit of the routed left wing of the Ghaznīn army, and charged Malīk Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, and again recovered the [wounded] Sultān, and conveyed him towards the district of Sangah, and on the way the Sultān was received into the Almighty's mercy². They buried him by the side of his kindred, the Malīks of the family of the Shansabānīs.

Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, reigned for a period of four years and a little over, and, after his death, his sons became dispersed. One of them, Malīk Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, went into Gharjistān to the castle of Sīyā-Khānah³, and

Turkish Amīrs were ranged, whilst the Ghūrī Amīrs were on the opposite side.

⁹ This chief is again mentioned by our author in his account of the Mughal invasion of these parts. Malīk Kuṭb-ud-Dīn was directed by Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, under whose rule the Ghūrīān empire west of the Indus had fallen, to put all the fortresses of Ghūr into a state of efficiency for defence against the Mughals. Malīk Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, at last, succeeded in reaching Hindūstān after a narrow escape of falling into the hands of those infidels.

¹ The idiom here, as in many other places, differs considerably, for example one set of copies has هر دو چشم—سیرون امداد and the other set هر دو چشم—ارحای برحاست.

² This event happened, near Ghaznīn, in 611 H. 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, ruled over Ghūr for about four years, and most authors state that he was the last of the race of Shansabānī who held sovereign power, and, with him, the dynasty terminated. This must have happened very shortly before the death of I-yāl dūz, who was put to death in the tenth month of this year, according to some, and in 612 H. according to others, but it is very probable that I-yāl-dūz did set up the favourite and trusted kinsman of his late master. See page 418.

³ Several of the more modern copies of the text have Satā-Khānah for Sīyā-Khānah. This fortress is again referred to in the last Section containing the account of the Mughal invasion.

there he remained for some time, another Malik Naṣīr ud Dīn Muḥammad went to the fortress of Bindār [or Pindār] in Upper Ghaznīstān and long continued there. The youngest son Jamshēd by name during the troubles of the infidel Mughals entered into the district of Hariwār Rūd and, in the Darah of Khisht Āb⁴ he was martyred [by Mughals]. Those two elder sons of the Sultān through the calumny of Malik Khān of Hirāt received martyrdom at the hands of the slaves of Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh. They strove greatly and strained every nerve but, as it was not the Divine will, neither one of them attained unto sovereignty.

XXII SULTĀN ALĀ UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD SON OF SHUJA UD-DĪN I ABŪ ALĪ* THE LAST OF THE SULTĀNS OF GHŪR†

Previous to this in several places Alā ud Dīn Muḥammad has been made mention of that at the outset of his career he used to be styled Malik Ziyā ud Dīn the Pearl of Ghūr and when after Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn Muḥammad, son of [Bahā ud Dīn] Sām he ascended the throne of Firūz koh his title became Malik [Sultān] Alā ud Dīn⁷

Since Malik Naṣīr ud Dīn Husain⁸ at this time martyred Sultān Alā ud Dīn Utsuz Firūz koh and the dominion of Ghūr came under the control of the Amīrs and troops of Ghaznīn, and of Ghūr. They in concert, set up Malik Husām ud Dīn Husain i Abd ul Malik Sar i Zarrād⁹ over Firūz koh, and they repaired the fort of Firūz koh and in the midst of the city and on the hill of

Khisht and Khusht, in P_u__to, signify damp, wet humkl, dank, soaked, &c. and Āb is Persian for water. The P_ush_{to} equivalent for water is so-hah.

⁴ Our author makes the same blunder here as at page 391. Shujā ud Dīn, Abū Alī was Alā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad's *grandfather*. See page 346.

⁶ This should be, Sultān Alā ud Dīn, Muḥammad, *referred*. See page 391.

⁷ See note page 393.

⁸ Previously mentioned as Amīr i-Shikār or Chief Huntsman. The idiom here varies considerably.

⁹ One copy of the text has Sh-Zarrād, and another Si Zād. He was set up as temporary ruler perhaps. He is, no doubt, the same person who is referred to by our author in his account of the Mughal invasion, and who, at that time held the fortress of Sangah of Ghūr for Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh, and his son Sultān Jalāl-ud Dīn.

the fortress of Baz Kūshk, they placed a barrier of iron, and raised a rampart, and commenced hostilities¹ They brought Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, out of the castle of Ashiyār [of Gharijstān] and carried him away to Ghaznīn These events happened in the year 610 or 611 H²

When Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, reached Ghaznīn, Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, treated him with great honour and reverence, and commanded so that they took the canopy of State of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn from the head of that monarch's mausoleum, and they raised it over the head of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, and he [Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz] gave him the title of Sultān, and sent him to the capital, Fīrūz-koh

He returned to Ghūr again, and, when he had ruled for a period of one year and a little more, and the Khuṭbah was read, and the money was coined in his name³, and his title of Sultān was made universally [public] in the Khuṭbah, Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, sent him the treaty which the Sultān had, at Nishāpūr, taken from him, to the effect that he ['Alā-ud-Dīn⁴, Muḥammad] should never, at any time soever, draw sword against him [Sultān Muḥammad] Accordingly, in the year 612 H, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, delivered up the city of Fīrūz-koh to the trusty officers of Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm

¹ The text here is very defective in most copies, and varies considerably both in words and idiom Whom hostilities were carried on with does not appear

² Sultān Maḥmūd was killed, according to our author and some other writers [see note ⁶, page 407 and 410], in the second month of the year 607 H, and 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, was killed after a reign, by our author's account, of four years and a little over, which, supposing the "little over" to have been one month only, would bring us to the *third* month of the year 611 H, and, according to several authors, on the 3rd of the *tenth* month of that same year, Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal dūz, was himself put to death at Budā'un by Ī-bak's son-in-law, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timīsh, who then ruled at Dihlī If these dates be correct, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, could not have reigned more than six months, which is evidently incorrect Jahān-Ārā says he vacated the throne, and retired to the court of Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, leaving him to take possession of the country, after he had reigned *one year and a little over* This would bring us to about the fourth month of 612 H, and the Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh states that I-yal-dūz was defeated and put to death in this year, not in 611 H The period assigned for Utsuz's reign is probably too great See under Tāj ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, No IV, Section XIX

³ I do not think any of his coins have been found.

⁴ At that time styled Ziyā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad See note ⁸, page 393

Shāh and was himself conducted to Khwārazm and was treated with great honour and veneration⁶

He took up his residence near to the Malikah i Jalālī, the daughter of Sulṭān Ghīyā-ud Dīn Muḥammad i Sām, who was joined in wedlock to him. They dwelt together⁷ in the Khwārazmī dominions for a considerable time, and [at length] death's decree arrived and he was received into the Almighty's mercy. During the period of his own dominion and sovereignty he had despatched trusty and confidential persons, and had acquired a place adjacent to [the tomb of] Shāh Abū Yazīd Busfāmī and had caused the position of his tomb to be fixed upon and at the time of his decease, he had made it his last request that his body should be removed from Khwārazm to Busfam.

⁶ Tāj-ud Dīn, I yal-dūz, being dead at this time, Sulṭān Alī-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, was deprived of his support; and this may have been another reason for his abdicating. Several other authors agree with respect to this year but others again distinctly state that Sulṭān Muḥammad obtained possession of Fīrūz koh and Ghūr and also of Ghaznīn, in 611 H. Ghūr as previously stated, had been subject to him in the time of Utuz. *Ala* says:

After these events [before related], in 611 H. [the Jamī ut Tawārīkh agrees,] news reached the Sulṭān [Khwārazm Shāh] that Tāj-ud Dīn, I yal-dūz, had died at Ghaznīn [our author and several others state that he was put to death at Badkūh], leaving no heir who was capable of succeeding him [he left no son] and that *one of his slaves* had assumed his place. This determined the Sulṭān to devote his energies to the annexation of that territory together with other extensive provinces. Having effected his purpose Hīrāt, Ghūr, Ghazjīstān, and Sijistān, and the territory as far as the frontier of Hind an extensive empire, and containing many flourishing cities and towns, previously ruled by Sulṭān Maḥmūd i-Sabuk Tigin and his descendants, up to the period of the rise of the Sulṭāns of Ghūr fell under his sway and he nominated his eldest son, Jalāl-ud Dīn, to the government of it, and a Khwārazmī Amīr [see page 217] was appointed to rule it as his deputy or lieutenant. See the reign of I yal-dūz further on.

In the treasury at Ghaznīn, where Sulṭān Muḥizz-ud Dīn had placed them were found, at this time that Sulṭān Muḥammad obtained possession of Ghaznīn, several documents from the Khalfah's Court to the Ghūrīn Sulṭāns, inciting them to hostility against him, and vilifying and maligning him and his acts. The finding of these documents proved to him that the hostility of the Ghūrīs towards him proceeded from the invigilation contained in them. He did not make known the contents of these documents at this time, intending to do so after sufficient time had elapsed for him to free the countries of the East. See note⁴ page 265.

⁷ How was it possible for them to have *dwelt together* when, as our author himself states at pages 301 and 392, the marriage was never consummated, and the princess died a maid? They may have *resided* near each other. She had been betrothed to Tughan Shāh, grandson of Malik Mu-ayyid i Āl Inah-dār before she was betrothed to Zayn-ud Dīn. See page 182.

When, in accordance with his last will, they conveyed his remains to Bustām, the attendant at the Khānkah [monastery] of Bustām, the night previously, saw Shaiḵh Abū-Yazīd in a dream, who said to him, "To-morrow a traveller and guest arrives it behoveth that thou shouldst perform the rite of going forth to receive him" ' At the dawn of the morning the attendant of the Khānkah set out from Bustām, and, at about the first watch of the day, the bier of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, arrived from the direction of Khwārazm. It was conducted with all reverence and veneration into Bustām, and they buried him likewise adjoining the Shaiḵh-ul-'Ārifain, Abū-Yazīd—the mercy of the Almighty be upon them!—and the Maliks of Ghūr, and the Sultāns of the Shansabī race, by the extinction of his dominion, came to a termination

SECTION XVIII

THE SHANSABĀNĪAH SULTĀNS OF TUKHĀRISTĀN AND BĀMĪĀN

MINHĀJ I SARĀJ JORJĀNI the humblest of the servants of the Almighty s threshold thus states, that, as Almighty God raised up great and powerful Sultāns from the race of the Shansabānīs, who were Maliks over the mountain tracts of Ghūr and brought within the grasp of their jurisdiction and under their subjection sundry territories of the countries of Ajam and of Hind one of those territories was Tūkhārīstān and the mountain tracts of Bāmīān the rulers of which part have been famous and celebrated upon all occasions from the most remote ages, for the grandeur of their station the abundance of their riches the vastness of their treasures, the number of their mines and their buried wealth, and on sundry occasions the sovereigns of Ajam, such as Kubād and Fīrūz¹ these rulers have vanquished and overcome. That tract of country has also been famed and celebrated to the uttermost parts of the countries of the world for its mines of gold silver rubies, and crystal bejādah² [jade], and other [precious] things.

When the sun of the prosperity of the Maliks and Sultāns of Ghūr ascended from the eastern parts of eminence and Sultān Alā ud Dīn Ḥusain Jahān soz had wreaked vengeance upon the people of Ghaznīn he had leisure to turn his attention to the subjugation of that territory. After having subdued it, he installed therein his eldest brother Malik Fakhr ud Dīn, Masūd, and from him descended an illustrious posterity and Maliks of grandeur and dignity the marks of whose equity and beneficence,

¹ See note ⁶ page 423.

² The name of a gem, by some said to be a species of ruby and by others a species of sapphire; but *jade* is no doubt meant. Goes refers to a species of jasper found in these parts.

and the fame of whose munificence and obligations conferred, became published throughout the four quarters of the world³ The mercy of the Almighty be upon the whole of them¹

I MALIK FAKHR-UD-DĪN, MAS'ŪD, SON OF 'IZZ-UD-DĪN,
AL HUSAIN, SHANSABĪ

Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, son of Al-Husain, was older than his other six brothers, and his mother was a Turkiah⁴ He was a sufficiently great monarch, but, as he was not by the same mother as [his brothers] the Sultāns⁵, they did not permit him to occupy the throne of the dominions of Ghūr, for this reason, that five other brothers⁶, both on the side of the father and mother, were Shansabānīs, while the Malik-ul-Jibāl, Muhammad, who attained martyrdom at Ghaznīn, was by another mother, who was the attendant of the mother of the Sultāns, and Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, was by a Turkish bond-woman, as has been previously stated

After Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain [Jahān-soz], became disengaged from taking revenge upon the inhabitants of Ghaznīn, and had demolished the Kaṣrs of Bust, which was the place of residence of the house of Mahmūd, he caused an army to be got ready from the capital of Ghūr, and marched towards Tukhārīstān, and, in the subjugation of that territory, and the strongholds thereof, manifested great alertness and dexterity, and the Amīrs of Ghūr, in that army, displayed such valour and martial heroism, that, if Rustam-i-Dastān⁷ had been present, he would have recited the story of their valour

When those tracts were taken possession of, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, placed Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd [his brother], upon the throne of Bāmiān, and that territory was com-

³ A term constantly quoted by Eastern authors before the time of Columbus

⁴ The feminine of Turk

⁵ They only assumed the title of Sultān some time subsequent to this period, and, of course, were not all Sultāns at once

⁶ Here our author refers over again to the "Sultāns" just mentioned There is no improving his style without taking great liberty with the original

⁷ Dastān, a name of Zāl-i-Zar [Zāl of the Golden Locks], the father of Rustam

mitted to his charge* Malik Fakhr ud Dīn Mas'ūd, having ascended the throne, the adjacent hill territories, [namely] the mountain tract of Shaḡnān* Tūkhāristān as far as Dar-gūn¹ and Bilaur and the tracts towards Turkistān

* Here again, our author contradicts his own previous statements. At page 339 he says that, on the death of Malik Izz-ud Dīn, Husain [the father of Fakhr ud Dīn, Mas'ūd, Ali-ud Dīn, Husain, and others], 'Izz-ud Dīn, Sūfī the eldest legitimate son, who succeeded to his father's authority divided the dominions among his six brothers and himself and that, in that division Bāmīn was assigned to the eldest brother Fakhr ud Dīn, Mas'ūd. Now he states that Ali-ud Dīn, Husain, conquered this territory several years subsequently after he had destroyed the city of Ghāmīn. Jahān Arā also states that, in the division of the father's hereditary patrimony among the brothers, Bāmīn went to the eldest son by a Turkish bond woman, Fakhr-ud Dīn, Mas'ūd.

The older Chroniclers contain a great deal respecting the affairs of Tūkhāristān and the Hayātīlāh, whatever the clay-stamped annals of *Sennacherib* [Sennacherib?] may say Ibn i Khurdādhbih, in his account of the Turks, also refers to them. Hayātīl [هياتل], according to the ancient dialect of Bakhārī is said to signify a man of great strength and size; the Arabs made it Haytāl [هياتل]—the plural form of the word, applied to the people generally being Hayātīlāh [هياتلا]. One writer states that Haytāl was the name of the territory of Khutlān, a dependency of Badakhshān, also called Hol-āb [hol i āb, which signifies a lake] but this is contrary to the MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK, and to our author's account.

Fīrūz, son of Yādsijurd, son of Bahrām i Gūr when his brother Hurmuz ascended the throne fled from his fief of Sijistān, by way of Ghazistān and Tūkhāristān, and sought shelter and aid from Khush nawāz, the king of the Hayātīlāh. According to the *Rauzat uṭ Ṭahīra*, the name of the ruler he sought aid from was Faghānī, the Chaghānī, or Shāh of the Chaghānīāns. He espoused the cause of Fīrūz, and agreed to aid him with 30,000 men if Fīrūz would cede to him Tirmid and Wesāh. Another author calls the people of Tūkhāristān itself Hayātīlāh likewise. By Faghānī's aid Fīrūz gained the throne of Irān; and for many years subsequent to this, and during several succeeding reigns, there was alternate peace and war between the sovereigns of Irān and the Hayātīlāh rulers. In the time of Nūsherwān, the Hayātīlāh, being without a ruler are said to have chosen Faghānī [this would seem, from what was stated above from another author to be the name of the family not the person's name], the Chaghānīān ruler of Tūkhāristān. I have neither space nor time to say more at present; but will merely observe, that, by some modern writers, Tūkhāristān and Turkistān are often confused, one for the other.

* Shaḡnān and Shaḡnān are synonymous: Shighnan is not correct, but such as one would adopt who could not read the original for himself, and depended entirely on the statements and translations of others.

¹ Considerable discrepancy exists here, in some copies of the text, with respect to these names. The best copies have as above, although the oldest leaves out the *and*, which makes it Dar gūn of Bilaur. The next best has Dar-gūt [or Dar kot or kūt], which, if the *o* of the original MS was written rather long drawn out, as is often done, might be mistaken for *o*. The next best copies, which are comparatively modern, have Dar-gūr [or Dar-gor], and one Dar būr

to the boundary of Wakhsh² and Badakhshān, the whole came under his jurisdiction³

Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, had able and accomplished sons, and, when Kimāj⁴, from Balkh, and Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz⁵, from Hirāt, who were slaves of the Sanjari dynasty, conspired to eject Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, in order to take possession [of the country] as far as Fīrūz-koh, and the Ghiyāsiyah sovereignty was, as yet, in the morning of its ascendancy, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, rendered assistance to them, under the stipulation that whatever pertained to Khurāsān should go to them, and what belonged to Ghūr to [him] Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd⁶

When Almighty God bestowed victory upon Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, of Hirāt, was slain, he despatched the head of Yal-duz⁷ to his uncle, Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, whose forces had arrived near at hand. Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn followed in pursuit of them, and Malik Fakhr-ud-Dīn was put to the rout. Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn discerned him, and caused him to turn back again, and conducted him to his camp, and there placed him on the throne⁸, and Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, both of them, stood before the

[or Dar-bor] The printed text, and one of the most recent copies, have Dar-kūfah, and the former, in a note, Būr-Bilaur, and, in brackets, as the probable reading, "*Darwāz and Bilaur*," but the different copies of the text collated do not show that this is at all the correct reading

² Also called Khutlān.

³ The dominions of the Sultāns of Bāmīān and Tukhārīstān, according to Jahān Arā and several other works, extended north to the territory of Kāshghar, south as far as Gharjstān and Ghūr, east to Kashmīr, and west as far as Tirmid. See note⁶, page 426

⁴ This appears to be the same Amīr Kimāj referred to in note³, page 358, and he is probably the same as mentioned in note⁵, page 374, and this Yal duz [I-yal dūz] must be the same who is mentioned in the same note, which see

⁵ See pages 371-4.

⁶ Mr E Thomas, in his paper on the "COINS OF THE KINGS OF GHAZNI," Ro As Journal, vol xvii, in a note, page 199, erroneously states that, "On the first rise of Ghiās-ud-din, Fakr[Fakhr]-ud-din aids him, under the condition that all the conquests in Khorāsān should pertain to the former, while the acquisitions in Ghór should fall to his own share." The conditions were between Kimāj and Yal-duz and Fakhr-ud-Dīn, not Ghiyās-ud-Dīn.

⁷ See the account given in Ghiyās-ud-Dīn's reign, where our author says that Kimāj's head was sent, page 373, and note⁹

⁸ A round-about way of stating that they took him prisoner

throne in attendance on him. Chroniclers state that Malik Fakhr ud Dīn, Masūd became enraged [at this], and that he reproached both of them unjustly saying that they mocked him. His words were these 'You two rascally boys laugh at me!' The Almighty's mercy be upon them!

This exclamation of his has been mentioned here for this reason, that the beholders and readers of these pages may know the laudable qualities of these two monarchs, the extent of their compassion and clemency to what degree they guarded the honour and respect [due] towards their uncle, and to what extremity they bore his injustice⁷

When the two Sultāns¹ became disengaged from this audience, they caused complete arrangement to be made for the return of their uncle and conferred honorary dresses upon the whole of his Amīrs and Slaves, and caused them to return. Malik Fakhr ud Dīn Masūd retired towards Bāmlān again and there he acquired great power and the Sultāns and Maliks of Ghūr used constantly to pay him homage.

His career came to an end in [the enjoyment of] sovereignty² and he ruled for a long period and died. He had several worthy and deserving sons. Sultān Shams-ud Dīn was the eldest, and Malik Tāj ud Dīn Zangī³ and Malik Husām ud Dīn All.

II SULTĀN SHAMS UD-DĪN MUHAMMAD SON OF MAS ŪD SON OF AL HUSAIN SHANSABĪ

When Malik Fakhr ud Dīn, Masūd of Bāmlān, was

⁷ We have ample proofs of their amiability and long-suffering, from our author's point of view in the fate of Sultān Khusrāu Malik and his family and Abūās-i-Shīq.

¹ Mu'izz-ud Dīn, the younger brother only received the title of Sultān some time after this occurrence.

² Such are the words in the original: it seems a truism if the passage is not corrupt.

³ This is the Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī, who had his head struck off at Khwāram, mentioned in note⁶ page 481. He can scarcely be the same person as mentioned at page 342, because the latter's mother was one of the sisters of the two Sultāns, Ghiyās-ud Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud Dīn. If he is, his father Fakhr ud Dīn, Masūd, must have married his own niece; while his son, Shams-ud Dīn, Muhammad, must have married her sister a most unlikely alliance, illegal according to Muhammadan law. There must have therefore been two persons named Tāj-ud Dīn, Zangī, but of the same race.

taken to the Almighty's mercy, his eldest son was Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad⁴, and they raised him to the throne of Bāmīān, and the sister of the Sultāns Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was married to him, which princess's title was Hurrah-i-Jalālī. She was older than either of the Sultāns, and was the mother of Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, the son of [Shams-ud-Dīn] Muhammad

When Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, ascended the throne of Bāmīān, in accordance with the last will of his father, and with the concurrence of the Amīrs, Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn sent him a robe of honour, and paid him abundant deference and respect. He brought the whole of the territory of Tukhārīstān under his sway, and, subsequently, the city of Balkh, Chaghānīān⁵, Wakhsh, Jarūm, Badakhshān, and the hill tracts of Shaknān⁶, came under

⁴ This is the Malīk's son, Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, who was taken prisoner by the Sipah-sālār, Barankash, along with 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain [Jāhān-soz], and 'Alī, Jatrī, in the engagement with Sultān Sanjar before Aobāh in 547 H. Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, obtained 50,000 dīnārs from Bāmīān for his ransom, which sum was paid over to Barankash. Our author, had he known this, is not likely to have related it

⁵ The best Paris copy, the I O L MS, and the Ro As Soc. MS, have Ishkān !

⁶ Others say Balkh, Bughlān or Buklān [both are correct], Chaghānīān, and some part of Badakhshān. According to our author, his father, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mūs'ūd, held sway over some of these very tracts, now mentioned as "subsequently" coming under the sway of the son. However, it is clear, whatever "*Hsien Tsang*" may say to the contrary, that Tukhārīstān was but a district or province of Balkh, and not a vast tract of country "*reaching from the frontiers of Persia*" [wherever that might mean in those days] "*to the Tsurug-In g or Mountains of Pamir*," and that "*the great Po-chu or Oxus*" did not "*run through the middle*" of the Tukhārīstān here referred to, for the very good reason that it lies south of the Jihūn, Āmū, or Oxus. The MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK plainly states, that of Balkh there are a number of divisions and districts, such as Tukhārīstān, Khulum, Samnagān, Bughlān, Zawālīn [this, in all probability, is Mr Thomas's "Warwālīn" [وروالین]—the first, is the copulative conjunction, and the, wants the point to make it ر], and Burhākīs, Walwālīs — والیح — may be traced to the same source. Of this Tukhārīstān, Tālān was the chief and largest town. Had such a place as Walwālī been a *tal* of Tukhārīstān, our author would, without doubt, have known of it, and have mentioned it here. Chaghānīān and Wakhsh lie to the northward of this Tukhārīstān, and are accounted in Māwar-un-Nahr, as this latter term signifies, viz. beyond the river. "*The Wakhsh-Āb—river of Wakhsh—issues out of Turkistān into the territory of Wakhsh, runs onward towards Balkh and falls into the Jihūn, near Tirmid*" In his account of the Mughal invasion, our author mentions Balkh [بلخ] and Wakhsh [وَلِخ] sometimes as one and the same place, and, at others, as separate places.

While on this subject, I must now mention another matter. In the MĀSĀLIK

his jurisdiction. He marched forces in every direction and throughout the whole of those parts his mandates were obeyed.

In the year in which the Sultāns of Ghūr and Ghaznī led an army into the territory of Rudbar of Marw to repel Sultān Shāh the Khwārazmī⁷ Sultān Shams ud Dīn Muḥammad by command of the Sultāns brought the forces of Bāmlān and Tukhāristān and joined them. On the occasion of Sultān Shāh's overthrow Malik Bahā ud Dīn Tughril of Hīrat who had been a slave of Sultān Sanjar and who obliged to evacuate Hīrat, had joined Sultān Shāh in this engagement fell into the hands of the troops of Bāmlān. They slew him and brought his head to the presence of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn. The Sultān [in consequence] became very cordial towards Shams-ud Dīn Muḥammad and upon this very occasion his advancement⁸ took place, and he received the title of Sultān Shams-ud Dīn and a black canopy of state was assigned to him.

Previous to this neither Malik Fakhr ud Dīn Mas'ud nor he had any canopy of state, and his designation was Malik Shams-ud Dīn but when he acquired a canopy of state, he obtained the title of Sultān⁹ and by Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn and Mu'izz ud Dīn who were his uncle's sons, he was treated with great honour and reverence.

WA MAMĀLĪK, Bāmlān is described as a town about half the extent of Balkh [in those days Balkh was a very extensive city], situated on a hill, and in front of it flows the river which runs through Ghaznīn. The *Tārīkh-i-Aḥṣā*, a work of great authority Jahān-Arā, the *Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh*, and some others, distinctly aver that there was *no town whatever* called Bāmlān, which is the name of the country and that Rāṣīf [راسف], Rāṣīf [راسف], was the name of its chief town, which place was totally destroyed by Chingiz Khān on his advance towards Ghaznīn. The *Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh* says Bāmlān is also called Tukhāristān! Rāṣīf is probably the place called "Gulguṭh" by Maxon, but such name is not to be found in any Persian history that I know of. The Mughals styled it *Mauddilg*—the unfortunate city—after its ruin.

⁷ See pages 249, 378, and note⁸ page 379.

⁸ The printed text and J. O. L. MS. 1952, and two others, have *دفعه*—*to repulse, drive away* and, in the R. A. Soc. MS. *دفعه*—*repulsing driving away!*

⁹ The text here exhibits considerable variations, and great differences of idiom express the same signification. Some authors state that, on this occasion, Mu'izz ud Dīn also received the title of Sultān, and that before his title was only Malik.

The Almighty bestowed upon him worthy and excellent offspring, and blessed him with six sons¹, and for a considerable time the country of Tukhārīstān continued under the jurisdiction of his officers. He patronized learned men of distinction, and they took up their residence in his dominions, and acted with equity and beneficence towards his subjects, and died renowned and popular, and, after him, the sovereignty came to Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām

III SULTĀN BAHĀ-UD-DĪN, SĀM, SON OF SULTĀN SHAMS-UD DĪN, MUḤAMMAD

Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, was a very great and august monarch, and was just and enlightened. He was the patronizer of learned men, and the dispenser of equity, and, in his day, the whole of the learned 'Ulamā were unanimous, that there was no Musalmān sovereign who was a greater cherisher of learned men, for this reason, that his intercourse, his communion, and his converse, were exclusively with 'Ulamā of judgment and discrimination.

He was, on both sides, a Shansabānī², and his mother was the Ḥurrah-i-Jalālī, the daughter of Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, the sister of the two Sultāns, and older than either of them. Ḳāzī Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zawzanī, who was the most eloquent man of his day, [upon one occasion] was delivering a discourse within his [Bahā-ud-Dīn's] palace, and, during the invocation, the Sultān said "What adornment can I give to the bride of the realm upon the face of whose empire two such moles exist, one Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and the other Mu'izz-ud-Dīn³!" The Almighty's mercy be upon them all!

¹ Our author, like others, does not even give the names of these sons Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, however, was not the eldest of the sons of Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad. When the latter died, the Bāmīān nobles raised his eldest son, 'Abbās, by a Turkish wife, to the throne. The two brothers, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, were angry at this, and they deposed 'Abbās, and set it, their sister's son, Sām, and he received the title of Bahā-ud-Dīn. 'Abbās might have been here entered among the rulers of Tukhārīstān and Bāmīān as well as Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, among the sovereigns of Ghaznīn.

² The mother of his grandfather, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, was a Turkish bond-maid.

³ These are our author's exact words, but what the "invocation" was our chronicler does not say, but it is a way he has of mystifying his own statements. The fact is, as related by another author, that the Ḳāzī, mentioned

In short, the admirable benevolence of that monarch towards the 'Ulamā of Islām was more than can be contained within the compass of writing. That Miracle of the World Fakhr ud Dīn Muḥammad Rāzī⁴ composed the Risalah-i Bahārah in that Sulṭān's name, and for a considerable period he continued under the shadow of that sovereign's favour and protection. That Chief of learned Doctors, Jalal ud Dīn Warsak⁵ during the Sulṭān's reign attained the office of Shaykh ul Islām of the district of Balkh and Maulānā Saraj-i Minhāj⁶ that Most Eloquent of Ajam and the Wonder of his Age was sent for secretly by Sulṭān Bahā ud Dīn Sam from the Court of Fīrūz koh who despatched a seal ring of turquoise stone with the name of Sām engraved upon it and with great respect and reverence invited the Maulānā to his Court. When this circumstance occurred the writer of this History Minhāj-i Sarāj was in the third year of his age.

The requests and solicitations of Sulṭān Bahā ud Dīn Sām were continuous and unremitting. The reason of this was, that during the time of [his father] Malik⁷ Shams-ud Dīn, Muḥammad the Maulānā proceeded from Ghaznīn towards Bāmlān and at that period, Bahā ud Dīn Sām held charge of the district of Balarwān⁸. He paid his respects to the Maulānā, and sought to retain

above, began one day from the pulpit to eulogize Bahā ud Dīn, and was extolling the flourishing state his dominions were in, when that monarch exclaimed: What adornment can I give unto the kingdom-bridle, when on the cheek of her sovereignty are already two such moles? The word *khāl* signifies a mole and also a maternal uncle and the moles here referred to are his two maternal uncles, Ghīyās ud Dīn and Mu'izz-ud Dīn.

⁴ Jahān Arā and Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh say that Bahā ud-Dīn, Sām was a learned monarch, and a friend of learned men—as an example of which he entertained, near his person, the Imām Fakhr ud Dīn, of Rāz, and treated him with great favour and consideration. They do not, however mention that Most Eloquent of Ajam, and the Wonder of his Age, our author's ^{the}ther; in fact, I have never noticed his name mentioned in any other work ^{any} his name Imām was subsequently accused, by some parties, of having brought ^{conf} about the assassination of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud Dīn. See note² page 485, and note⁹ page 385.

⁵ In some copies Warsak and Kadsak. The above seems the most correct.

⁶ Our author's father

⁷ Sulṭān Shams ud Dīn, whose reign has just been given.

The majority of the best copies are as above, but two others have Bal wān, and three others Barwān, and one Balarwān of Bāmlān but at page 115 our author says Balarwān is in Ghaznīn.

him, and showed him great respect and veneration, and he had both seen and heard his soul-inspiring discourse, and his heart-expanding conversation, and the pleasure he had derived therefrom remained impressed upon his royal mind, and he was desirous of enjoying all the delicacies of the benefits of the Maulānā's conversation⁹ When Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, reached the throne of sovereignty of Bāmīān, he sent for the Maulānā repeatedly, and charged him with the administration of all the offices connected with the law, and sent him his private signet-ring

The Maulānā proceeded to the Court of Bāmīān from the Court of Fīrūz-koh without the permission of Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and, when he arrived in that part, he was treated with great respect and honour, and the whole of the [legal] functions of that kingdom, such as the Chief Kāzī-ship of the realm and other parts, the judicial administration of the triumphant forces, the chaplaincy of the State¹, together with the office of censor², with full power of the ecclesiastical law, the charge of two colleges, with assigned lands and benefactions abundant, all these offices, the Maulānā, was entrusted with The diploma conferring the whole of these offices, in the handwriting of the Ṣāhib³, who was the Wazīr of the kingdom of Bāmīān, up to the present time that this TABAKĀT was put in writing in the sublime name of the great Sultān, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Muzaffar-ī-Mahmūd, son of Sultān I-yal-timīsh, Ḳasīm-ī-Amīr-ul-Mūmmīnīn⁴—whose monarchy may the Almighty perpetuate¹—still exists in the Kharītah [a bag of embroidered silk] containing the author's diplomas, along with his banner and his turban of honour The mercy of

⁹ Allowance must be made for a little family blamey

¹ Here, too, the text varies much One set of copies—the oldest—has as above—قضاء ممالك و اقطاع دنكر و قضای لشكر مصور و خطابت—whilst the other—comprising the more modern copies—قضاء ممالك و انقطاعى دعای حشم مصور و خطابت—“the Chief Ḳāzī-ship of the country, and settlement of the requests of the triumphant forces or retinue”

² An official who examines the weights and measures, and has a supervision over merchants and shop-keepers, superintends the markets, and fixes the price of grain, &c. He can whip those found wine-bibbing, and interfere in other matters relating to public morality

³ The title given to a minister

⁴ This title is totally incorrect See reign of Shams ud-Dīn, I-yal-timīsh, Section XXI

the Almighty be upon them! This fact is recorded in the narrative to show the admirable faith of that pious ruler

In short, he was a great monarch and his dominions assumed great amplitude and expansion and comprised the whole of the country of Tūkhārīstān and its dependencies together with other territories, namely in the east⁴ as far as the frontier of Kashmīr and in the west as far as the boundary of Tirmid and Balkh north as far as the bounds of Kashghar and south as far as Ghūr and Ghaznistān in the whole of which the *Khutbah* was read for him and the money impressed with his name⁵ The whole of the Maliks and Amīrs of each of the three kingdoms namely Ghūr Ghaznīn and Bāmfān after [the decease of] both the Sultāns [Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn and Mu'izz ud Dīn] turned their eyes on him and when Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn Muhammad i Sām was martyred the Maliks and Amīrs of Ghaznīn both Ghūrīs and Turks with one consent requested him to come [and assume the sovereignty]⁶ Sultān Bahā ud Dīn Sām accordingly determined to proceed from Bāmfān to Ghaznīn and set out in that direction with a numerous army

⁴ At this period there were powerful sovereigns ruling over Kashmīr and its dependencies, also the Jahāngīrīah rulers of Suwāt, who held sway over a large portion of the mountain districts to the west, and the Sultāns of Pīsh, of whom more anon.

⁵ How much of this tract never yet heard the *Khutbah*?

⁷ Firāhtah's History or rather the translation of Firāhtah's History which supplies the chief materials for the Histories of India, so called, here says [that is the text] — The inclination of the Khwājah, Mu'ayyid-ul Mulk [a title given to Wazīrs], and the Turk Amīr, was towards the sovereignty of Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, Mahmūd and the Ghūrī Amīr, in secret, entertained the idea of the sovereignty of Bahā-ud Dīn, Sām." This is nearly in the words of our author whom he quotes; but DOW. vol. I. pp. 149-50 translates this passage thus:

The Omrahs of Ghor insisting upon Bahā-ud-dīn, the King's cousin, Governor of Bamia, and one of the seven sons of Husain and the Vizier [Chahā ul Malak !], and the officers of the Turkish mercenaries on Mahmūd son of the former Emperor the brother of Mahommed Ghori." BRIGGS, vol. I., page 186, renders it: The chief of Ghoor claimed it for Bahā-ood Deen, the King's cousin, Governor of Bamyān and one of the seven sons of Elz-ood Deen Hoossein; while the Vizier and the officers of the Toorky mercenaries espoused the cause of Mahmūd, &c.

This is faithfully rendering the text, certainly; but it so happens that Bahā ud Dīn, Sām was neither Governor of Bāmfān, nor was he one of Elz-ood Deen Hoossein's [Izz ud Dīn, Husain's] sons, but certainly his grandfather Fakhr ud Dīn, Mas'ūd, was Izz-ud Dīn Al Husain's son.

When he reached the district of Kīdān⁸, he was attacked with diarrhoea, and, only nineteen days after the martyrdom of the victorious Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, died His reign was fourteen years⁹

IV SULTĀN JALĀL-UD-DĪN, 'ALĪ¹, SON OF BAHĀ-UD-DĪN, SĀM, BĀMĪĀNĪ

When the victorious Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, obtained martyrdom, and Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, departed this life on the way [to Ghaznīn], the heirs to the sovereignty, then remaining, were of two branches of the Shansabānīah race—one, the family of the Sultāns of Bāmīān, and the second, the family of the Sultāns of Ghūr When they conveyed the bier of the victorious Sultān from Dam-yak², the Turkish Slaves of the [late] Sultān the great Maliks and Amīrs, took the Sultān's bier, together with vast treasures, and the magazines of military stores, from the Amīrs of Ghūr Those Ghūrīān Amīrs, who were in the army of Hindūstān, were inclined towards the sons of Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, and the Turk Amīrs were inclined to Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, son of [Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn,] Muhammad-i-Sām, the [late] Sultān's nephew³

⁸ It seems somewhat remarkable that Kīdān proved fatal, according to our author, to so many of the Shansabānī chiefs Muḥammad, son of Sūrī, and Bahā ud-Dīn, Sām, son of 'Izz-ud Dīn, Al-Husain, also both died at Kīdān See pages 321 and 343

⁹ He died in Sha'bān, 602 H, and reigned fourteen years He must therefore have succeeded to the throne about the middle of the year 588 H, which was the year in which Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn defeated Rāe Pithorā at Tarā'in

¹ Nearly every copy of the text is incorrect here in giving the name of 'Alā-ud Dīn, Muhammad, instead of his brother's, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, and 'Alā ud-Dīn is *again* mentioned in them as the last of the Shansabī rulers of Ghaznīn, and he never ruled over Tukhārīstān The best Paris copy, however, *contrary to all the others* examined, has *both brothers here* Jahān-Ārā and some others have the same, but, in them, the brothers are not mentioned again, and the dynasty of Tukhārīstān terminates with them Rauzat us-Safā agrees with the above, and mentions 'Alā-ud Dīn among the Ghaznīn rulers, his proper place

² See note⁵, page 486

³ Our author here contradicts the statement made in the preceding page The fact was that all the Amīrs, both Turks and Ghūrīs, seemed desirous that Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, should succeed to the supreme authority, but after his death they became divided, when the choice lay between his son, 'Alā ud Dīn,

The Ghūrīān Amīrs, such as were at Ghaznīn, namely the Sipah Sālār [the Commander of Troops] Kharoshī⁴ Sulīmān, Shīf, and others besides them wrote letters to Ala ud Dīn and Jalāl ud Dīn [sons of Bahā ud Dīn, Sām] and prayed them to come to Ghaznīn and they came thither as will be subsequently recorded please God in the Section on the Sultāns of Ghaznīn.

When Jalāl ud Dīn had seated his brother on the throne of Ghaznīn he returned himself and ascended the throne of Bāmīān. A trustworthy chronicler⁵ related that they [the brothers] divided the treasures at Ghaznīn and that the share of Jalāl ud Dīn amounted to two hundred and fifty camel loads of pure gold and of jewel studded articles of gold and silver which he conveyed along with him to Bāmīān.

A second time he assembled an army against Ghaznīn, and drew together forces from every part of his dominions, consisting of Ghūrīs, Ghuzz and Beghū⁶ and proceeded to Ghaznīn and was taken prisoner⁷ and was subsequently

Muḥammad, and Ghīyāṣ ud Dīn, Maḥmūd, the late Sultān's brother's son; notwithstanding that Bahā ud Dīn, Sām, at the time of his death, had expressed a wish that his two sons should proceed to Ghaznīn, and endeavour by conciliation, to gain over the Wazīr the Turkish slaves, and the Ghūrīān Amīrs, and take possession of Ghaznīn after which Alā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, the eldest was to have Ghaznīn, and Jalāl ud Dīn, Alī, the youngest, Bāmīān. See the reign of the III ruler Sultān Alā-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, farther on. Several authors consider the dynasty to have ended with Bahā ud Dīn, Sām.

⁴ There is some doubt with regard to this probably by name: some have Kharosh, Kharoshnī, Haroshī and Harosh and Harosī and Harosī. The majority of the most generally correct copies are as above. See Section xlii.

⁵ Nameless, of course.

⁶ This name is uncertain. The majority of copies have Beghū, as above; whilst the oldest copy has Beghūr [not 1 Ghūr]; whilst the best Paris copy and the three which generally agree—the I. O. L. copy the Ro. As. Soc. MS. and the Bodleian copy—have Sakrār [سکرار]. There is a tribe of the Ghuzz mentioned at page 377 note⁸ under the name of Sanḡurān. Perhaps Beghū may be another tribe of the Ghuzz also, and the Sanḡurān may also have been included in this levy of troops. See under the reign of I yal-dūz.

⁷ After Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, reached Hīrāt [in Jamādī-ul Awwal, 605 H], he sent agents to Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd [see note⁸ page 400] and, among other matters, interceded for Malīk Izz-ud Dīn, Husain, son of Khar mīl. Maḥmūd accepted the terms offered by Sultān Muḥammad and an accommodation took place between them. This evidently refers to the acknowledgment of Sultān Muḥammad's suzerainty by Maḥmūd, mentioned in the note just referred to. Another author however states, that, after disposing of the affairs of Balkh, Sultān Muḥammad proceeded to Gūzarwīn, which was the ancient fief of Izz ud Dīn, Husain, son of

released, and returned to Bāmīān again. During his absence, his uncle, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn⁸, Mas'ūd, had seized the throne of Bāmīān. Jalāl-ud-Dīn came back with but a few men, and one morning, at dawn, attacked his uncle unawares, took him prisoner, and put him to death, and the Sāhib who had been his father's Wazīr he caused to be flayed alive, and he brought the country [again] under his jurisdiction.

He reigned for a period of seven years, when Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, made a forced march against him from the banks of the river Jadārah, and suddenly fell upon him⁹, and took him prisoner, and the whole of that treasure which he had brought from Ghaznīn, together with the treasures of Bāmīān, Sultān Muhammad appropriated, put Jalāl-ud-Dīn to death, and retired¹.

Khar-mīl [see pages 474, 475], and was then being invested by Abū-'Alī [an officer and probably a kinsman of Sultān Ghiyās-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd], and that this same Abū 'Alī was made the means of communication, in behalf of the son of Khar-mīl, with Maḥmūd.

Be this, however, as it may, when Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, became aware of the accommodation between Maḥmūd and Sultān Muhammad, he demanded of Maḥmūd why he had made friends with the enemy of the Ghūrīs. He received, in reply, the answer, that his, I-yal-dūz's, bad conduct had been the cause of it. When this message was delivered to him, I-yal-dūz released Jalāl-ud Dīn, 'Alī, brother of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, gave him one of his own daughters in marriage, and sent him, with a considerable army, to Bāmīān, where Jalāl-ud-Dīn's uncle, 'Abbās by name, had assumed the sovereignty after the imprisonment of himself and brother. One of I yal-dūz's chiefs, Abī-Dakur [Zakur?] by name, then accompanying him, advised Jalāl-ud Dīn, 'Alī, to face about, and march back against Ghaznīn itself, so that they might put an end to the career of that slave, referring to I-yal dūz, whose servant he was. This Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, declined to do, upon which Abī-Dakur separated from him, and retired to Kābul, which was his fief. Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, continued his march to Bāmīān, the capital of which was Rāsīf [or Rasīf], and recovered the sovereignty from his uncle 'Abbās. See next page, and latter part of note⁶, page 426, and account of the III ruler, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, and I-yal-dūz, IV ruler, farther on.

⁸ One of the oldest copies has Sultān Fakhr-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd, son of Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, but all the others have 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd. See note⁵, page 436. Alfī, Jahān-Ārā, and Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, call him 'Abbās. Rauzat-uṣ Ṣafā, Mas'ūd.

⁹ This is the circumstance referred to at page 267. There the name of the river, in the majority of the best copies, was Jazār [جرار], but it appears that Jadārah [حدارو] or Jadār [حدار] is the correct name. See page 267. Some copies of the text make a great hash of this name, and have حورار—حوارکش—چون—and even حورار.

¹ Rauzat uṣ-Ṣafā says, but follows our author generally, "when Khwārazm Shāh came into Māwar-un-Nahr [the southern part of it], he made a forced

Jalāl ud Dīn was a very great monarch and of great intrepidity alertness, and gallantry an ascetic, devout and continent, so that during the whole of his lifetime no inebriating liquor had ever passed his blessed lips, and the cincture of his garment had never been undone to any unlawfulness. Manliness he possessed to that degree, that no prince of the Shansabānīān race came up to him in vigour in valour and in arms. He was wont in battle, to discharge two arrows at one aim and neither of his arrows would miss the mark and neither animal of the chase nor antagonist ever rose again from the wound of his arrow. At the time when the Turks of Ghaznīn followed in pursuit of him at the Hazār Darakhtān³ [place of the Thousand Trees] of Ghaznīn he had struck the trunk of a tree with an arrow and had overturned it [!] and every Turkish warrior who reached the tree would make obeisance to the arrow and would turn back again and [the tree of] this arrow became [subsequently] a place of pilgrimage.

With all this strength and valour Jalāl ud Dīn was mild² and beneficent but manliness availed nothing against destiny and as his time was come, he died

V. SULTĀN ALĀ UD DĪN WAS ŪD SON OF SULTĀN SHĀHIS UD DĪN MUHAMMAD

At the time that the sons of Sultān Baha ud Dīn Sum namely Alā ud Dīn Muḥammad, and Jalāl ud Dīn Alī were both made prisoners at Ghaznīn Alā ud Dīn

march, and, quite unexpectedly and unawares, appeared before Rāmīn [Rāṣīf?] seized Jalāl-ud Dīn, Alī killed him, gained possession of his treasures, and carried them off. The Afghāns will have to keep a sharp look out now or they may be served in the same fashion, and find a foreign force from *the intermed ate come* pounce suddenly on Rāmīn some fine morning.

² In some modern copies of the text Hazār Darakht. There are several places of this name. It *may* be that on the route between Ghaznīn and Gardāiz.

³ The slaying alive of the Waxr for example. See page 437.

⁴ Other authors state that after a nominal reign of seven years, Jalāl-ud Dīn, Alī, fell into the hands of the Khwārazmī, and that he was the last of the race that attained power; but what his subsequent fate was is not stated. Our author says he was put to death by the Khwārazmī, but when or where is not mentioned. See his reign, further on.

Mas'ūd⁵, son of Shams-ud-Dīn, ascended the throne of Bāmīān, and took to wife the daughter of Malīk Shāh of Wakhsh, who had been married to [and left a widow by] his brother, Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām. He conferred the Wazīr-ship upon the Sāhib, the Wazīr of Bāmīān, and assumed sway over the dominions of Tukhārīstān.

When Jalāl-ud-Dīn was released from Ghaznīn, he turned his face towards Bāmīān. In the fortress of Kāwīk⁶ was a person, one of the godly ecclesiastics, a holy man, whom they called Imām Shams-ud-Dīn-i-Arshād [the most upright]. Jalāl-ud-Dīn came to pay him a visit of reverence, to obtain a good omen from his words, and his benediction. This personage was a holy sage, who, after the acquirement of all the knowledge and science pertaining to the [written] law, had withdrawn from the world, and devoted himself to the worship of Almighty God, and who, having turned his face towards the Court of the Most High, had become a worker of miracles and the foreteller of the future.

When Jalāl-ud-Dīn paid him a visit, and sought the assistance of this Imām's blessed spirit, he enjoined him, saying. "Certainly, repossess thyself of the throne of Bāmīān, but take care that thou slayest not thine uncle, for, if thou slayest him, they will also slay thee."

Having performed his visit to the holy man, Jalāl-ud-Dīn retired and went away, and, when he had turned his back, that holy Imām predicted, saying "The hapless Jalāl-ud-Dīn will kill his uncle, and they will kill him also," and, in the end, so it turned out, as that unique one of the world had foretold. Jalāl-ud-Dīn moved onward from that place where he then was, with his followers, and,

⁵ The Rauzat-uṣ-Ṣafā, which appears to have blindly followed our author, here calls this ruler Mas'ūd only, and, of course, agrees with our author's statement respecting his usurpation of the government and his subsequent fate. Other writers, however, including Jahān Arā, Muntakhab ut-Tawārīkh, and Tārīkh-i Alfī, state that the news of the defeat of the two brothers, and their having fallen prisoners into the hands of I-yāl dūz, having suddenly reached Bāmīān, there being no one else to undertake the government, their uncle, 'Abbās, whose mother was a Turkish bond-maid, naturally assumed it, but when they, having been set at liberty, returned in safety, he gave up to them the authority again. See note 1, page 428, and page 433, and note 7.

⁶ The name of a pass and fortress, now in ruins, in the range of Hindū-kush, called Kawak by modern travellers. Some of the copies of the text have كاريك and كاريك.

at the dawn of the morning fell upon his uncle, took him prisoner and put him to death and flayed alive the Sahib his Wazir as has been previously recorded⁷

⁷ Our author has not yet finished his account of Jalāl-ud Dīn, Alī he merely leaves it for another dynasty and relates his farther proceedings, in the account of his brother Alī ud Dīn, Muḥammad, which see.

SECTION XIX

ACCOUNT OF THE SULTĀNS OF GHAZNĪN OF THE SHANSAB ĀNĪAH DYNASTY

THE frail and humble author [of these pages], Minhāj-i-Sarāj-i-Dīn-i-Minhāj¹—the Almighty shield his deformity!¹—thus states, that this Section is confined to the mention of the Shansabānī Sultāns from whose majesty the throne of the court of Ghaznīn acquired splendour and magnificence, and from whose sovereignty the countries of Hind and Khurāsān became glorious, the first of whom, of the Shansabī race, was Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, and, after that, Sultān' Alā-ud-Dīn, Al-Ḥusain took Ghaznīn, but did not rule there. After that, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Sām, captured it²; and, when he attained martyrdom, he devised that throne to his own slave, Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, and with him that sovereignty terminated. The mercy and pardon of the Almighty be on the whole of them!

I SULTĀN SAIF-UD-DĪN, SŪRĪ, SON OF 'IZZ-UD DĪN, AL- ḤUSAIN.

Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, was a great monarch, and was greatly endowed with valour, vigour, clemency, decision,

¹ A title he sometimes gives himself which will be explained in the Prefatory Remarks. The 'deformity' was not bodily.

² I fear our author had a very bad memory. At page 377, and 449, he says his elder brother, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, took it, and conferred the government of it on Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, as his lieutenant. Here it is contradicted, and the copies of the text agree as to this name. Here too he says that Mu'izz-ud-Dīn "devised the throne of Ghaznīn to his slave, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, and, in his account of the latter that he desired to bequeath it to him. The idiom of the text here again differs, but only the idiom, in the two different sets of copies.

justice, beneficence and graceful presence and kingly grandeur. He was the first person of this race to whom they accorded the title of Sultān.³

When the news of the misfortune which had befallen his elder brother the Malīk ul Jibāl⁴ was brought to him [Saif ud Dīn Sūrf] hearing he set about taking revenge upon Sultān Bahrām Shāh and caused a numerous army to be got in readiness from the different tracts of Ghūr and set out towards Ghaznīn overthrew Bahrām Shāh and took Ghaznīn. Bahrām Shāh fled from before him and retired

³ This personage should have been mentioned first after the death of his father whose successor he was, and when the dominions were divided and separate petty dynasties formed. Who they were who accorded him the title of Sultān the chronicler does not say.

⁴ Kuṭb-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, Malīk ul-Jibāl. Jibāl signifies mountains: "Jibāl" nothing. At page 339 our author states that Saif-ud Dīn, Sūrf, in succession to his father ascended the throne of Ghūr and divided the territory among his brothers.

All says that Bahrām Shāh put Kuṭb-ud Dīn, Ghūr the Malīk-ul Jibāl, to death in 536 of the Rihlat [547 H.], on which *All-ud Dīn Al Husayn* [Guzdah and Khullāṣat ul Akhlār and Habīb-us-Siyar also agree] advanced against Ghaznīn for the purpose of avenging him. Bahrām Shāh fled to Karmān, situated in a strong country surrounded by hills, where cavalry could not act, and made it his residence. *All-ud Dīn*, having gained possession of Ghaznīn, left his brother Saif ud Dīn, Sūrf, there and returned himself to Ghūr. Sūrf placing dependence on the Amīr and troops of Ghaznīn to support him, remained there with but a few of the Ghūrīn troops. When winter arrived, Bahrām Shāh advanced from Karmān with an army of Afghāns and Khaljīs, which he had raised, on which the Amīr seized Sūrf. This took place in Muḥarram 537 of the Rihlat [548 H.], but *Guzdah* and *Jāmi' ut Tawārīkh* say in 544 H. and both *Guzdah*, *Habīb-us-Siyar* and *Fanūkāh* state, that Bahrām Shāh was dead before All-ud Dīn [who is said to have been known as ARAJ or the lame from birth] reached Ghaznīn the second time.

Since writing note ² page 347 I find that in 543 H. some time after Sultān Sanjar's defeat by the Karā Khijā is [authors disagree as to the date of his overthrow. See note ² page 154], and when he had retired into Irāk, Sultān Bahrām Shāh, his sister's son, sent him a despatch intimating his recovery of Ghaznīn, and the death of *Sām* and *Sūrf*, the Ghūrīs [namely Bahā-ud Dīn, Sām, and Saif ud Dīn, Sūrf. See pages 340—343.] who had previously acquired power over that territory on which Fakhr-ud Dīn, Khālid, Fūshanjī a poet of the Court of Sanjar composed the following lines:—

They who in thy service falsehood brought,
The capital stock of their heads in jeopardy placed.
Far remote from thee, Sām's head, in frenzy sank,
And now the head of Sūrf they've to Irāk brought.

This tends to confirm the date mentioned by *Guzdah* and others, and to show that the Ghūrīs had been guilty of hypocrisy as many authors state, towards Bahrām Shāh, as well as Sultān Sanjar. See page 343.

towards Hind, and Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, ascended the throne of Ghaznīn, and made over the dominions of Ghūr to his brother, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, the father of [the Sultāns] Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn

Having brought Ghaznīn under his sway, the whole of the Amīrs ⁵ and soldiery, the notables and great men of Ghaznīn and of the adjacent parts submitted to him, and he bestowed upon those classes ample gifts and favours, so much so, that the soldiery and Amīrs of Bahrām Shāh became overwhelmed in the benefits he bestowed upon them

When the winter season came round, he commanded that the forces of Ghūr should have permission granted them to return to their own country, and entertained the followers, soldiery, and petty officials of Bahrām Shāh in his own service, and placed confidence in them. The Sultān and his Wazīr, Sayyid Majd-ud-Dīn, Mūsawī, along with a small number of persons from among his old retainers, were all that remained with him, and the rest [both] at the court, and [stationed] in the Ghaznīn territory, were all the soldiery of Ghaznīn

When storms of snow and excessive cold set in, and the roads and passes of Ghūr became closed from the excessive snow, and the people of Ghaznīn became aware that it was impossible that troops or succour could reach Ghaznīn from the side of Ghūr, they despatched letters, secretly, to the presence of Bahrām Shāh, saying, "throughout the entire city and parts around, only a small number of persons have remained with Sultān Sūrī of the forces of Ghūr, the whole of the remainder are the servants of the Mahmūdī dynasty. It behoveth [the Sultān] not to let the opportunity slip through his hands, and he should repair to Ghaznīn with all possible haste." In accordance with those letters and solicitations, Bahrām Shāh, from the side of Hindūstān, advanced unexpectedly and reached Ghaznīn, and made a night attack upon Sultān Sūrī. He came out of Ghaznīn with his own particular followers who were from Ghūr, and along with his Wazīr, Sayyid Majd-ud-Dīn, Mūsawī, took the road to Ghūr ⁶

⁵ Some copies have, *ri'ayā*,—the people, the peasantry, &c.

⁶ It would have been just as difficult for him to reach Ghūr from Ghaznīn, as it was impracticable for troops from Ghūr joining him at Ghaznīn

Bahrām Shāh's horsemen set out in pursuit of him until they discovered him in the precincts of Sang i Surākh⁷ [the Perforated Rock or Stone]. Sultān Sūrl with the few followers that were along with him joined battle with Bahrām Shāh's cavalry and fought and opposed them as long as it was possible so to do, and when compelled to fight on foot, they took shelter on the hill [side]. It was impossible to surround the Sultān, his Wazīr and his own followers whilst an arrow remained in their quivers. When not an arrow remained in their quivers, Bahrām Shāh's troops, by [entering into] stipulation and pledging the right hand seized them and secured them⁸.

When they reached the gate [one of the gates?] of the city [of Ghaznīn] two camels⁹ were brought and Sultān

⁷ There are three or four places bearing this name, the correctness of which there is no doubt of. It is the name of a *kotal* or pass near the Helmand river about N N W. of Ghaznīn, on the route from that city and also from Kābul into Ghūr; but *Sang-i-Surkh a strong fort in Ghor probably near the Helmand river* "is as impossible as the mountains of Faj Hanisūr and the Rāslat mountains."

⁸ If a little liberty were taken with the text, then it might be by promise [of safety], and their [Bahrām's officers] pledging their right hands, they were captured and secured," &c.; but, seeing that they were at the mercy of Bahrām's troops, I do not see what stipulations were necessary. Our author as usual, wishes to soften it down.

⁹ According to others, he was not so much honoured as to be placed on a camel, but was seated, with his face blackened on an emaciated bullock, and paraded through the capital. From statements noticed in Dow's and Briggs' translations of FIRĪSTAH'S History to which all modern compilers of Histories of India resort, as authorities not to be doubted but which statements, I was convinced, could not be correct I have taken the trouble to examine Firīstah's text more particularly because that writer quotes our author as one of his principal authorities and often quotes him verbatim. I have also used in this examination the *lithographed text* which Briggs himself edited, or rather which was edited under his superintendence; and, as I expected, particularly in the passages now to be pointed out, I have found Firīstah generally correct, and his translators wholly wrong. I am not the first, however who has noticed them, and I beg leave to observe that I have no desire whatever to take, from Dow or Briggs, any credit that may be due to them, although I dare say there are some who will view what I have done in quite another light; but if *truth* in history be desirable, and correct translations of native historians wanted it is time that these grave errors were pointed out and corrected, however distasteful it may be to those who have written their histories, fancying these versions reliable and disgusting to those who, not even knowing a letter of any Oriental alphabet themselves, have presumed to declare such Histories compiled from such incorrect translations, *works of undoubted authority*. To expose and correct such errors is a duty when it is taken into consideration that such incorrect statements, which are not con-

Sūrī was seated upon one, and his Wazīr, Sayyid Majd-ud-Dīn, Mūsawī, was placed on the other, and they were both

tained in the original work, have been, and are still being taught in our colleges and schools. A careful writer like ELPHINSTONE, by the translations above referred to, has been betrayed into terrible errors, and others have repeated and re-echoed them down to the present day.

To those conversant with the Persian language and who can read for themselves, I say do not fail to see for yourselves, for the lithographed text of FIRIṢHTAH is as easy as possible. It does not matter if, in translating, the *literal* words are not given, but FACTS must not be distorted, or made to appear what they are not.

DOW

"He [*Byram*, which is the name he gives to Bahrām] soon after publicly executed *Mahommed* Prince of *Ghor*, who was son-in-law to the rebel *Balin*.

Seif ul dien, sur-named *Sourī*, Prince of *Ghor*, brother to the deceased, raised a great army to revenge his death.

The Prince of *Ghor*, without further opposition, entered the capital, where he established himself, *by the consent of the people*, sending *Alla*, his brother, to rule his native principality of *Ghor*.

It was now winter, and most of the followers of the Prince of *Ghor* had returned, upon leave, to their families, when *Byram*, unexpectedly, appeared before *Ghizni*, with a great army. *Seif ul dien* being then in no condition to engage him with his own troops, and having little dependence upon these of *Ghizni*, was preparing to retreat to *Ghor*, when the *Ghizni*ans entreated him to engage *Byram*, and that they would exert themselves to the utmost in his service. This was only a trick for an opportunity to put their design in execution. As the unfortunate prince was advancing to engage *Byram* he was surrounded by the troops of *Ghizni*, and taken prisoner, while *Byram* in person put the forces of *Ghor* to flight. The unhappy captive was, inhumanly ordered to have his forehead made black, and then to be put astride a sorry bullock, with his face turned towards the tail.

When this news was carried to the

BRIGGS

"He [*Benam*] soon after publicly executed *Kootb-ood-Dien Mahommed Ghoorly* AFFGHAN [*this last word is not contained in Firish-tah at all*, and is the translator's own. MALCOLM too, Persia Vol 1, note*, page 344, quotes PRICE—Vol 11 page 309—as an authority for "*Syfudeen Sourī*" [*Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī*?] being "*an Affghan prince of Ghour*." I felt convinced that Price would never have said so, and, on reference to the page, find he makes *no such statement*. It must be BRIGGS to whom Malcolm referred], to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. *Seif ood-Deen-Soory*, Prince of *Ghoor*, brother of the deceased, raised a great army to revenge his death.

Seif-ood-Deen Ghoorly, without further opposition, entered *Ghizny*, where, having established himself *with the consent of the people*, he sent his brother, *Alla-ood-Deen Soor* (*sic*) to rule his native principality of *Ghoor*.

It was now winter, and most of the followers of the Prince of *Ghoor* had returned to their families, when Sooltan *Beiram* unexpectedly appeared before *Ghizny* with a considerable army. *Seif-ood-Deen* being in no condition to oppose him with his own troops, and placing little reliance on those of *Ghizny*, was preparing to retreat to *Ghoor*, when the *Ghiznevides* entreated him to engage *Beiram*, promising to exert themselves to the utmost. This was done only to enable them to put their design of

publicly exposed about the streets of Ghaznīn and, from the house tops dust ashes, and excrement were launched

ears of his brother *Alla* he burnt with rage, and, resolving upon revenge with all his united powers, invaded *Ghazny*—Vol. I. pages 124-5.

seizing him into execution. The *Ghazny* Prince advanced, but was instantly surrounded by the troops of *Ghazny* and taken prisoner *while Bāram in person put the forces of Ghazny to flight*. The unhappy captive had his *forehead* blackened, and was seated astride on a bullock *with his face towards the tail*.

When this news reached the ears of his brother *Ala-ud-Din* he burnt with fury and, having determined to take revenge, invaded *Ghazny*—Vol. I. pages 151-2.

But what says FRIUGHTAN?— In the latter part of his [Bāhrām] sovereignty *Kusb-ud Dīn*, Muḥammad, Ghūrī Sūrī [this is incorrect; he was not named Sūrī, Salf-ud Dīn was so named. I also beg to remark that this is the name of a man, *not of a race or tribe*], who was his son in law was put to death at Ghaznīn by command of Bāhrām Shāh. Salf-ud Dīn, Sūrī in order to avenge his brother's blood, set out towards Ghaznīn.

Salf-ud Dīn, having entered Ghaznīn and become possessed of it, and, placing faith in the *Ghaznawīs*, was there located. He sent back his brother *Alī-ud Dīn*, along with the whole of the old Amīrs, to Ghūr; and notwithstanding that Salf-ud Dīn, Sūrī, used to treat the people of Ghaznīn with lenience, and that the *Ghūrīs* did not dare to oppress them, the *Ghaznawīs* wished for Bāhrām Shāh; and, although they used, outwardly to show amity towards Salf-ud Dīn Sūrī, secretly they used to carry on a correspondence with Bāhrām Shāh, until the winter set in, and the roads into Ghūr were closed by snow and people were unable to pass to and fro. At this time Bāhrām Shāh unexpectedly reached Ghaznīn with a large army of *Afghāns* [he does not say they were Sūrīs or Ghūrīs], *Khālī*, and other dwellers in the wilds. At this time when not more than ten leagues intervened between them, Salf-ud Dīn Sūrī, having received information of it held consultation with the *Ghaznawīs*—who had been talking of their friendship and attachment—as to fighting, or retreating towards Ghūr. They making hypocrisy their garment, did not give him just counsel, and excited and stimulated him to fight. Salf-ud Dīn, Sūrī, placing faith in the counsel given by them, issued from the city with a body of the men of Ghaznīn, and a few of the men of Ghūr and marshalled his ranks opposite [those of] Bāhrām Shāh. As yet the preparations for battle were not completed, when the *Ghaznawīs* seized Salf-ud Dīn, Sūrī, and, in high spirits, delivered him over to Bāhrām Shāh. He commanded that the *face* of Salf-ud Dīn, Sūrī, should be blackened; and, having placed him on an emaciated and weak bullock, which put one foot before the other with a hundred thousand shakings, they paraded him throughout the whole city [There is not a word about *with his face to the tail*—which is an Indian *būḥār* term.]

When this terror striking news came to the hearing of *Alī-ud Dīn*, the fervour of his nature burst out and with the determination of avenging his brother with a furious and relentless army he set out towards Ghaznīn. This is a literal translation of Frightan's words.

Then follow in the two translations, things respecting *Alī-ud Dīn* and his

upon their sacred heads until they reached the head of the

doings, still more absurd and incorrect, which had better have been noticed in the account of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, but, at that time, I had not the least conception that Briggs and Dow were so much alike, and had not compared their statements with the original. Both translators leave out FIRIṢHTAH's statement, that, "before the arrival of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh had died, and his son, Khusrāu Shāh, had succeeded to the throne, and was made captive by means of treachery," and they merely give what FIRIṢHTAH says was the common tradition that Bahrām encountered 'Alā-ud-Dīn, as our author states "Alla" is supposed by the translators to have replied to "*a letter*" written by Bahrām Shāh, in these terms —

DOW

"Alla replied, '*That his threats were as impotent as his arms*. That it was no new thing for kings to make war upon their neighbours, but that barbarity like his was unknown to the brave, and what he had never heard to have been exercised upon princes. That he might be assured that God had forsaken *Byram*, and ordained Alla to be the instrument of that just vengeance which was denounced against him for putting to death the representative of *the long-independent and very ancient family of Ghor*.'"—Page 126

BRIGGS

"Alla-ood-Deen replied, '*That his threats were as impotent as his arms*, that it was no new thing for kings to make war on their neighbours, but that barbarity like his was unknown to the brave, and such as he had never heard of being exercised towards princes, that he might be assured that God had forsaken him, and had ordained that he (*Alla ood Deen*) should be the instrument of that just revenge denounced against him for putting to death the representative of *the independent and very ancient family of Ghoor*.'"—Page 152

There is nothing of this kind in the original. FIRIṢHTAH says "Bahrām Shāh despatched an *emissary* with a *message*. 'Alā-ud-Dīn replied, 'Thus act which Bahrām Shāh has perpetrated is a sign of the wane of the dominion of the Ghaznawīs, because, although sovereigns are used to lead armies against the dominions of each other, and, having overcome each other, are in the habit of depriving each other of their precious lives, still not with this disgrace and ignominy, and it is certain that heaven will take vengeance upon thee as a retribution and exemplary punishment, and will give me triumph over thee!' There is nothing more than this in the original. Compare these passages in PRICE'S *Mahomedan History*, vol. II, pages 309—311. He translates it from FIRIṢHTAH correctly although he does not profess to do so literally.

One more specimen here and I have done with this reign —

DOW

"At first the troops of *Ghuzni*, by their superior numbers, bore down those of *Ghor*, till Alla, seeing his affairs almost desperate, called out to two gigantic brothers, whose name was *Chirmul*, the greater and the less, whom he saw in the front, *like two rocks bearing against the torrent*. *Byram* fled, with the scattered remains of his army, towards *Hindustan*, but he was overwhelmed with his mis-

BRIGGS

"At first the troops of *Ghuzni*, by their superior numbers, bore down those of *Ghoor*, till Alla-ood-Deen, seeing his affairs desperate, called out to two gigantic brothers, denominated the greater or lesser *Khurmil* [In a note, he says, he doubts whether this word should not be *Firmul*, and says there is a tribe so called '!!! Elliot INDIA, page 157, note, writes their name *Sufil*, and says Briggs [who

Pul i Yak Tāk¹ [the One arch Bridge] of the city. When they reached that place Sulṭān Sūrī, and his Wazīr Sayyid Majd ud Dīn Mūsawī were gibbeted, and they were both hung from the bridge. Such was the cruelty and ignominy with which they treated that handsome, just, intrepid and laudable monarch. The Almighty bestowed victory upon Sulṭān Ala ud Dīn Husain Jahān soz, the brother of Sulṭān Sūrī so that he took revenge for this barbarous deed and this dishonour as has been previously recorded²

fortunes, and sunk under the hand of death, in the year of a hundred and forty-seven after a reign of thirty-five years."—Page 127

read it correctly but spoilt it after] is wrong" !! See pages 350 and 351, whom he saw in the front *standing like two rocks and bearing the brunt of the attack, to support him*

Bahram fled with the scattered remains of his army toward Hindustan but overwhelmed with his misfortunes, sunk under the hand of death in the year A.H. 547 after a reign of thirty five years."

The above is copied by MAURICE and by ELPHINSTONE, although not quite in the same words; and is re-echoed by Marshman in his HISTORY OF INDIA written at the request of the University of Calcutta "and Meadows Taylor in the STUDENT'S MANUAL OF INDIAN HISTORY who improves it, by inserting in the margin of page 89— Ghazny plundered by Alla ood Deen Seljuk !!! FIRISHTAH's account is as follows:—

When the two armies came in contact, and the noise of the clashing of swords, and the whiz of arrows reached the vengeance-pursuing heavens, Khar mīl the greater [older], and Khar mīl the lesser [younger], entered the field like unto two rampant elephants. Khar mīl the greater with a poniard ripped up the belly of a famous elephant, &c. [There is not a word about rocks, "torrents," or anything approaching it.] Bahram Shāh, being with out heart or strength in every way fled towards the country of Hind, and in a very short time, through grief and affliction at the loss of his son, and other matters, fell sick and was removed from this hostel of mortality to the gardens of eternity. According to the authentic account, his death took place in 547 H. after thirty five years reign."

Firishṭah himself is not an author on whom implicit reliance can be placed even though he quotes from the works of others, for he often *mis-quotes* them. This is particularly apparent from his account of these events under the reign of Bahram Shāh, and that of the same events in the chapter on the Ghūrīs, which is very different, and utterly contradictory in many things, of his previous statements given above.

¹ See page 355, and note³

² Everything is barbarous, cruel, savage, and the like that others do to Ghūrīs; but inducing a sovereign to come out of and abandon his capital and surrender after pledging to him the most solemn oaths, and then imprisoning him, and afterwards murdering him, and the rest of his race; inducing a noble to turn his back before slitting him in a cowardly manner; inviting his brother to

II. SULTĀN-UL A'ZAM³, MU'IZZ-UD-DUNYA WA UD-DĪN,
ABŪ-L-MUZAFFAR, MUHAMMAD, SON OF BAHĀ-UD DĪN,
SĀM, KASĪM-I-AMĪR-UL-MŪMINĪN

Trustworthy narrators have related after this manner, that, when Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, Jahān-soz, was removed from the habitation of the world, and Sultān Saif-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, his son, ascended the throne of Ghūr, he commanded, that both the Sultāns⁴, Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn⁵, Muhammad, sons

an audience, and having him basely assassinated, slaying a minister alive, digging up the bones of the dead, massacring women and children, and burning a city in a drunken fit, and mixing the blood of Sayyids with earth to make mortar, all these, *on the part* of a Ghūrī, are mildness, amiability, beneficence, greatness, and the like. Fanākātī says no less than 70,000 persons were massacred, on this occasion, in Ghaznīn alone.

³ Some copies of the text, the idiom of which differs considerably here, have Sultān-ī-Ghāzī, and most copies leave out the Kasīm, &c. His titles given at the end of his reign [which see] are altogether different.

Between the putting to death of Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, and the establishment of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn at Ghaznīn as his elder brother and sovereign's lieutenant, a period of no less than twenty six years elapsed, but, as our author gives no dates, the uninitiated reader would imagine that Mu'izz-ud-Dīn succeeded close upon Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī. In reality, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn is the *first* of the Ghūrīan dynasty of Ghaznīn.

⁴ Sultāns subsequently

⁵ This personage is incorrectly styled by the impossible title of *Shahābu d dīn*, *Shahab-ood-Deen*, and even *Shahudin*. Shihāb-ud-Dīn, which is Arabic, was certainly his title *before* his brother succeeded to the sovereignty of Ghūr, and his brother's was Shams ud-Dīn, but soon after the accession of the latter both their titles were changed, as mentioned at page 370. Many authors, either not noticing this fact, or ignorant of it, continued to style the former by his first title of Shihāb-ud-Dīn, and some have reversed the order of things, and appear to have imagined that Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was his first title, which was changed to Shihāb ud-Dīn, but no such title will be found on his coins. I have, myself, been led into the error of occasionally styling him Shihāb ud-Dīn in my notes to the Khwārazmī dynasty, page 255-260, an oversight I now correct. Firishtah calls him sometimes Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, the Ghūrī, and at others Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, the Ghūrī. Dow, in his translation of Firishtah, chose to style him *Mahommed Ghorī*, as though the last word was part of his *proper* name, instead of that of his country, and overlooked the fact of the ی at the end of Ghūrī [غوری], being the yā-i-nisbat, expressing relation or connexion, as Hind and Hindī, Kābul, Kābulī, &c, and so compilers of Histories of India have re-echoed the name of Mahommed Ghorī down to the present day, although some follow Briggs, who sometimes styles him by the impossible titles of *Shahab ood-Deen*, and *Moyne-ood-Deen*, but he too generally follows Dow, and calls him *Mahomed Ghoory*. See also Elliot, INDIA vol 2, page 292.

of Sām who were imprisoned within the fortress of Wajir istān, should be released as has been stated previously in the account of Sulṭān Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn⁶

Sulṭān Ghīyāṣ ud Dīn abode at the court of Flrūz koh in the service of Sulṭān Saif ud Dīn [his cousin] and Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn proceeded to the court of Bāmlān to the presence of his uncle, Malīk Fakhr ud Dīn Mas'ūd i Husain⁷, Bāmlānī

When Sulṭān Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn ascended [the throne of] the dominion of Ghūr after the catastrophe⁸ of Sulṭān Saif ud Dīn Muḥammad and the news of it reached Bāmlān Malīk Fakhr ud Dīn Mas'ūd turned his face towards Mu'izz ud Dīn and said 'Thy brother hath distinguished himself when wilt thou do⁹ the like and bestir thyself?' Mu'izz ud Dīn hung his head in the presence of his uncle and left the audience hall, and set out then and there for the Court of Flrūz koh. When he reached the presence of Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn [his brother] he became Sar i Jāndūr [Chief Armour Bearer] and he continued to serve his brother and served him with assiduity as has been previously recorded

He continued in his brother's service for the period of one year when some cause of umbrage¹ arose in his august mind and he proceeded towards Sijistān to [the Court of] Malīk Shams-ud Dīn, Sijistānī² and there he remained one cold season. Sulṭān Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn despatched a distin

⁶ Gazdāh, and some other works, mention that Alī ud Dīn, Husain, made Harī his capital, and conferred the sovereignty of Ghaznī upon his nephew Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn, as his deputy [The others say his nephews, Ghīyāṣ-ud Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud Dīn], and that he [others they"] succeeded, by treachery in securing the person of Khusrāu Shāh in 555 H.; but from this statement, and what those writers immediately after state, it is evident beyond a doubt, that they have confused Ghīyāṣ with Mu'izz, and Khusrāu Shāh with Khusrāu Malīk his son.

⁷ Eldest son of Izz-ud Dīn, Al Husain, and first of the Ghūrīān rulers of Bāmlān.

⁸ He was mortally wounded and left for dead in the action with the Ghūz by Abū l Abbās-i Shīfī, brother of the noble he had so treacherously shot with an arrow when his back was turned. See page 367

⁹ The words غرامی کرد in Persian, and in the Persian of the East, signify *wilt thou do?* not *thou art doing*

¹ Because his brother Ghīyāṣ ud Dīn had not conferred a separate appanage on him.

² The Malīk-us-Sā'la [the Sanguinary], Shams-ud Dīn Muḥammad who succeeded his father Tāj ud Dīn, Abū l Fatḥ, in 559 H. See page 189.

guished person and brought him back again, and committed to his charge the territory of Ḳaṣr-i-Ḳajūrān and Istīah. After he had brought the whole of the district of Garmsīr under his authority, Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn entrusted to him the city of Tīgīn-ābād, which was one of the largest cities of Garmsīr³. This Tīgīn-ābād is the place about which, and the possession of it by the Sultāns of Ghūr, the downfall of the dynasty of Mahmūd-i-Ghāzī, son of Sabuk-Tīgīn, has been caused, and about which Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Husain, had improvised and sent to Khusrāu Shāh, son of Bahrām Shāh, the quatrain, which is as follows —

“Thy father first laid the foundation of enmity,
Hence the world's people all under oppression fell
Have a care, lest for one Tīgīn-ābād⁴ thou dost not give,
From end to end, the kingdom of Mahmūd's dynasty to the wind ”

The Almighty's mercy be upon the Sultāns of both dynasties !

When Sultān⁵ Mu'izz-ud-Dīn acquired the territory of Tīgīn-ābād, the Ghuzz tribe⁶, and the chieftains of that sept, who, retiring defeated from before the forces of Khutā⁷, had moved towards Ghaznīn, during a period of twelve

³ Dow says, in his translation of Firishtāh “Mahommed Ghori was left by his brother [Yeas ul dien !] when he acceded (*sic*) to the throne of *Ghor*, in command at *Tunganabad*, in the province of *Chorassan*” BRIGGS has “On the accession of *Gheias-ood-Deen* to the throne of *Ghizny* and *Ghor*, he appointed his brother, *Moyiz-ood-Deen Mahomed* [not called “Mahomed Ghooory” here], governor of *Tukeabad*”!! FIRISHTAH, who quotes our author, says “Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, on attaining the sovereignty of Ghūr, left his full brother, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, who is renowned as Shihāb-ud-Dīn, at Tīgīn-ābād, which belongs to the territory of Garmsīr” He was only “renowned as Shihāb ud Dīn” by Firishtah, and a few other comparatively modern writers who, perhaps, knew not of the passage in our author where he mentions the change of title by both brothers. The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir written, or, at least, begun before the Sultān's death, does not mention the word Shihāb any more than our author.

⁴ The citadel of this place is situated on the Koh-i-Sher, and is sometimes called the fortress of Koh-i-Sher, and is mentioned by Baihaḳī, but, in the MS copies of Baihaḳī, is called Aytīn-ābād. This remark above would indicate that Khusrāu Shāh, not Bahrām, was 'Alā-ud-Dīn's antagonist. See note 2, page 347.

⁵ Not Sultān then but Malik. The title was conferred after this.

⁶ The word used signifies an army [not “armies”], but, as all the able men of the tribe carried arms, I have not used the word in its literal sense.

⁷ Before the Kārlughīah Turk-māns. See note 5, para. 2, page 374.

Sankurān tribe³ broke out into rebellion, and committed great violence, until, in the year 572 H, he marched an

³ Faṣīḥ-i is the only work, among those previously quoted, which mentions this affair. Therein it is stated that the Sankurān were a tribe of the Ghuzz. They are referred to in the second paragraph of the note at the foot of page 290. This name, in some copies of the text, is written Sankuriān and Suḥān, and, in one of the oldest copies, Shanfūzān. Shalūzān appears to be the present name of the *locale* of this tribe, which is also mentioned in the history of Tīmūr. See note ¹, page 498. Some call it Shanūzān.

facts, and these mis statements, to which I draw attention, have been re-echoed by all the Indian History writers

Dow, vol 1 page 136

BRIGGS, vol 1 page 169

"The prince of that place [*Adja*, this is intended to represent Ūchchah] shut himself up in a strong fort. *Mahommed* began to besiege the place, but, finding it would be a difficult task to reduce it, *he sent a private message to the Rajah's wife*, promising to marry her if she would make away with her husband.

"The base woman returned for answer that she was rather too old herself to think of matrimony, but that she had a beautiful young daughter, whom, if he would promise to espouse, and leave her in *free possession of the country* and its wealth, she would, in a few days, remove the Rajah. *Mahommed basely accepted* of

the proposal, and the wicked woman accordingly, in a few days, found opportunity to assassinate her husband, and *Ghori* the gates to the enemy says *he confirmed his promise* by Ghūr, let daughter upon acknowledgment of Tigin-āle faith, but made no

"renowned as from what respected modern writers instead of trusting mentions the *chah* he sent her off for, at least, begun *betrayal* of Shihāb any more than our author

⁴ The citadel of this place is called the fortress of Koh-i-Shēr, in copies of Bahakī, is called Aytikīn that Khusrau Shāh, not Bahram, was

page 347

⁵ Not Sulṭān then but Malik. The there was conferred after this

⁶ The word used signifies an army [not "armies"], but, as all the able men of the tribe carried arms, I have not used the word in its literal sense.

⁷ Before the Kārughīah Turk-māns. See note ⁵, para. 2, page 374

"The Raja was besieged in his fort (of *Oocha*), but *Mahomed Ghoozy*, finding it would be difficult to reduce the place, sent a private message to the Raja's wife, promising to marry her if she would deliver up her husband.

"The base woman returned for answer that she was rather too old herself to think of matrimony, but that she had a beautiful and young daughter, whom, if he would promise to espouse, and leave her in *free possession of her wealth*, she would, in a few days, remove the Raja. *Mahomed Ghoozy accepted* the proposal, and this Princess, in a few days, found means to assassinate her husband, and open the gates to the enemy.

"Mahomed only partly performed his promise, by marrying the daughter, upon her embracing the true faith [he could not marry her legally unless she did so], but he made no scruple to depart from his engagements with the mother, for, instead of trusting her with the country, he sent her to *Ghizny*, where she afterwards died of sorrow and disappointment. Nor did the daughter long survive, for in the space of two years she also fell a victim to grief."

antagonist. See note ⁷,

army against them, and fell upon that people and put the greater number of them to the sword. They have related that most of the Sankurān tribe were manifestly confessors of the Kur'ān creed* who on this occasion obtained martyrdom, but, as they had stirred up rebellion they were put to death, as a matter of exigency, according to sovereign prerogative.

In the following year* after this event Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn marched an army towards Nahrwālah by way of Uchchah and Multān. The Rāj of Nahrwālah Bhīm Dīw* was young in years but he had numerous forces and many elephants and when a battle took place, the army of Islām was defeated and put to the rout, and the Sulṭān

wife of the Rājā, who was despoiled of her husband and coaxed her and promised, saying: If by your endeavours, this city shall be taken, having contracted marriage with you, I will make you the Malika-i Jahān [Queen of the Universe, i.e. his consort; but there is not a word about making away with, or delivering up her husband;] the offer is her own. The Rājā's wife, frightened of or at the power and grandeur of the Sulṭān, and knowing that he would be victorious [over her husband and capture the place], sent a reply saying: No worthiness remains to me but I have a daughter possessed of beauty to perfection, and grace. If the Malik consents, he may take her into the bonds of marriage; but, after taking the city if he will not evince any stance towards my own peculiar property and efforts [not a word about entrusting the country to her] I will remove the Rājā. The Sulṭān agreed and in a short time that woman caused her husband to be put to death and delivered up the city. Sulṭān Shihāb-ud Dīn, having fulfilled his promise, made the Rājā's daughter a Musalmān according to the rites of the sublime law of Muḥammad contracted marriage with her and both of them, mother and daughter were sent to Ghaznī, that they might learn the duties respecting fasting and prayer and to read the sacred pages [the Kur'ān]. Thwarted for whom her daughter held in abhorrence on account of her abominable act, and placed no faith in, shortly after died; and the daughter herself, after two years, from not having obtained the enjoyment of the Sulṭān's society the marriage was never consummated, through grief and mortification followed her mother.

The Rājā above referred to, according to the Maḥṭāḥ Jahān Numā, was chief of the Bhaḡl tribe, which previously held a large part of Sind. The same work states that Uchchah was taken by assault. The name is differently written by different authors—*اچھ* and *اچھ*—while some have *اچھ* and *اچھ*. Compare *Al-Bīḡān al-Mīḡān* and see translation in Elliot's INDIA, vol. I. page 61 and page 154.

* If so, it is somewhat strange that such an orthodox champion of the faith should have martyred them.

* "The following" year after 572 H. is 573 H.; but, just under our author says 574 H. which is the year which most authors mention, but Faḡīḥ has 575 H.

* This is the correct name confirmed by several other writers but some copies of the text differ. One has *دیر*—another *دیر*—and three *دیر*. The Raḡṣat-ut Tāhīrīn styles him Bhaḡl [بھگل] Dīw.

i-Ghāzī returned again without having accomplished his designs. This event took place in the year 574 H.⁷

In the year 575 H, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn led an army to Furshor⁸, and subdued it, and, in another two years subsequent to that, he marched an army towards Lohor. As the affairs of the Mahmūdī empire had now approached their termination, and the administration of that government had grown weak, Khusrau Malik, by way of compromise, despatched one of his sons, and one elephant⁹, to the presence of the Sultān-i-Ghāzī. This circumstance happened in the year 577 H.¹

The following year, 578 H, the Sultān led an army towards Dīwal² [or Dībal] and possessed himself of the

⁷ Our author slurs over this affair because it was a reverse, but it was not dishonour. Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's forces were completely worn out with their long march, the latter portion of it through the sandy desert, and suffering from thirst and want of forage for their cattle. The forces of Bhīm-Dīw were numerous, fresh, and well supplied. Numbers of the Musalmān forces perished in the obstinate battle which took place, and the retreat was effected with great difficulty.

⁸ Previously spelt Purshor and Burshor, and in some copies of the text here Burshor likewise—the letters *p* and *f*, and *b* and *w* are interchangeable. In the passage at page 76, where mention is made of the idol temple which fell on the night of Mahmūd's birth, the place supposed to be Peshāwar is written in every copy of the text with an extra letter. Nearly every author I have quoted mentions that, in ancient books, this place was known as Bagrām. See my account of it in *Journal of Bombay Geographical Society*, vol. x.

⁹ Our author should have added, "a renowned elephant, and the finest that Khusrau Malik possessed." His son is called Malik Shāh by some writers, including Finshah; ^{one of his translators turns it into} Mullik.

¹ As to this date there is considerable discrepancy. Of the different works previously quoted, the majority state that the first expedition against Lāhor took place in 577 H, as our author has it, but two others mention 576 as the year, and three others that it took place in 575. Budā'ūnī says 580 H, but he has omitted the first expedition, and mistaken the second for it. I do not quote Bazāwī or Guzīdah, for they are both at sea with respect to the two last Mahmūdī sovereigns, and make ^{one of the} one of them.

² In the same manner, there is much discrepancy with regard to the invasion of Dīwal. Five authors give 577 H as the year, one 578, one 576, one 575, and Budā'ūnī 581. Of these, some say the expedition against Purshor and Dīwal took place in the same year, others that it took place the year after Purshor was annexed, and the year *before* the first expedition against Lāhor, whilst others state that Dīwal was taken the year *after*, and some omit all mention of it. Aḥmad, son of Muḥammad, Kazwīnī, the author of the Jahān-Ārā, which I have often quoted, on his way to visit Hindūstān, died at this place in 975 H—1567 A.D. It is not the same place as Thathah, but in the Thathah province between Thathah and Karāchī. See note ⁵, p. 295.

whole of that territory [lying] on the sea-coast and acquired much wealth and returned.

In the year 581 II he [again] led an army towards Iohor³ and ravaged and pillaged the whole of the districts of that territory and, on his return homewards directed that the Hagar [fortress] of Sial kot should be restored⁴ Husain son of Jhar mil was installed therein and

³ The name of this city—which is a very ancient one—is also written Lāh nor [لہنور], as well as Lohi war [لہوار].

The Tabak-i Akbari, Miftāḥ-Jahān Nāmā and Firishtah say that this second expedition took place in 580 II and the Khulṣat-t Tawārikh says it was in 579 but the others agree with our author as above. The astonishing thing, however is, that our author himself in his account of Khusrān Malik's reign, at page 115, which see, only mentions *five* expeditions to Lāhor—one in 577 II and the other when it was taken in 583 I.

⁴ Most authors, including Firishtah, make a great error in asserting that Mu'izz ud Dīn *found* the fortress of Sial kot. Such is not the case and some of the authors I have been quoting very correctly state that it is a very ancient place, founded by one of the early Hindū rulers. Mu'izz ud Dīn found it in a dilapidated condition on the occasion of his retirement from the Panjāb, and unsuccessful attempt to take Lāhor; and, considering its situation a good one for his purposes, he put it in a state of efficiency and garrisoned it at the suggestion of the Rājah of Jamūn. I extract this statement from a History of the Rājahs of Jamūn [the *W* is nasal], which the author states to be composed from Hindū annals; and in no other writer have I seen the same details, although another confirms a portion of it, which I shall subsequently refer to.

"In the year 1131 of Bīkrāmāditya, Rājah Jakr [or Chakr] Dīw succeeded his father as ruler of Jamūn; and in the middle of his reign, in 535 II Khusrān Malik, the descendant of Mahmūd, Gharnawī abandoned Gharnīn, and assumed the throne of Lāh-nor. The Jamūn Rājahs continued to entertain their natural hatred towards his dynasty but without effect; and Khusrān Malik, by degrees, brought under his rule the northern parts of the Panjāb, as far as the foot of the mountains [the Alpine Panjāb]. The tribe of Khokhar who dwell round about Manglīn [Makhīlāh?], at the foot of the hills, who were subject to the Jamūn wāl [the Jamūn dynasty], having received encouragement from the Lāh-nor ruler and sure of his support, refused any longer to pay tax and tribute to Jamūn, and threw off its yoke.

At this time, the year 579 II. Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud Dīn, the Ghūrī, who had taken possession of Gharnīn, raised the standard of conquest; and Rājah Jakr [Chakr] Dīw despatched his full brother Rām Dīw with presents to the Sulṭān's presence, representing to him the state of affairs, and inciting him to invade Khusrān's territory assuring him that, on his appearance, the territory of Lāh nor would pass from his grasp. The Sulṭān, who received the embassy with favour replied in writing to the Rājah, that his Mīān jī [agent] had made known the Rājah's object, and that the time was at hand for the appearance of his standards in that part; and in that same year the Sulṭān made a raid on, and possessed himself of the Pūrhōr territory and Multān, and invested Lāh nor which Khusrān Malik defended.

The Sulṭān, finding he could not gain possession of it easily devastated and ravaged the country about Lāh nor and retired by the northern part of it.

the Sultān again retired. After his departure, Khusrau

Panjāb, and, at the suggestion and representation of the Rājah of Jamūn, repaired anew the fort of Sīāl-kot [Sīāl is the name of a tribe of Jats, since displaced, and dwelling much farther south, at and around Jang-i-Sīāl], which was then in a ruinous and dilapidated state, and left there Husain-i-Khar-mīl [turned into *Hussein Churmīl* by Dow, and *Hoossein Firmully* by BRIGGS] as governor, with a garrison. The Mīān-jī, of Jamūn, was then dismissed, with a request to inform the Rājah that next year his wishes would be fulfilled.

“Khusrau Malik, after the Sultān's departure, aided by the tribe of Khokhar, invested Sīāl-kot, but, as Rājah Jakr [Chakr] Dīw, assisted and supported the defenders, Khusrau Malik was unable to take it. At this period the Rājah, who had attained to nearly his eightieth year, died, and was succeeded by his son, Rājah Bij, who is also called Bijryī [बिजरी] Dīw, in 1221 of Bikramaditya, and in that year, which corresponds with 582 H, the Sultān [Mu'izz-ud-Dīn] crossed the Sind at the Nilāb ferry, where the Rājah's Mīān-jī went to receive him, and on the banks of the Bihat [the Jhilam] the Rājah's son, Nar-singh Dīw, joined him with a considerable force. He was presented to the Sultān through Husain-i-Khar mīl, and received with honour. He accompanied the Sultān to Lāh-nor, which was taken, and made over to the charge of Kar-mākḥ [Alī-i-Kar-mākḥ, who is turned into *Ally Kirmany* by BRIGGS], governor of Multān. The Rājah's son and his agent were dismissed with honorary robes, and the town of Sīāl-kot, together with the fort, was entrusted to the care of the Rājah. Khusrau was taken to Ghaznīn, and was subsequently put to death. From the circumstance of the Sultān, in his communications, styling the Rājah's agents by the term Mīān jī, according to the custom of Īrān, instead of Wakīl, the whole family of the Jamūn-wāl [not the present dynasty], considering this title great honour, adopted it, and from it the abridged term Mīān, used by their descendants, is derived.”

Dow, in his translation of Firishtah, states, under the reign of Khusrau Malik [page 129], that “the *Emperor Chusero* [Khusrau would not have known his own name thus written], in alliance with the *Gickers*, besieged the fort of *Salcot*, but, their endeavours proving *unsuccessful*, they were obliged to desist.” BRIGGS, in his version, repeats this in the same words, with the exception of styling Khusrau, *Khoosrow Mullik*, and the Khokhars, *Gukkurs*, and that Khusrau had to abandon the investment, but under the reign of Mu'izz ud-Dīn, Dow [page 137] states “This fort [*Salcot*], as we have before related, was *effectually* besieged by *Chusero*, in the absence of *Mahommed*,” and BRIGGS also [page 176] says “This fort, as we have before related, being *successfully* besieged and taken by *Khoosrow Mullik*,” &c, and thus both translators totally contradict their own previous statements. FIRISHTAH, whom they translate, of course, states, as other writers do, that Khusrau Malik was *unable* to take it. Led away, I imagine, by this statement, and placing reliance on its correctness, ELPHINSTONE has repeated [page 311] this absurdity. He says “Khusru Malik, taking courage from despair, made an alliance with the Gakkars [Dow, *Gickers*, Briggs, *Gukkurs*, Elphinstone, *Gakkars*!], captured one of Shahāb u dīn's strongest forts, and obliged him to call in the aid of stratagem,” &c. Thus a totally incorrect translation of a native historian's words, and a statement respecting which the translators themselves contradict their own previous translation, is handed down from one writer to the other. This is writing history with a vengeance.

The stratagem referred to above is related in Firishtah, which see but it

The Sīpah-Sālār, 'Alī-i-Kar-mākh, who was the Wālī [Governor] of Multān, was located at Lohor, and the father of the author of this work, Maulānā Sarāj-ud-Dīn-i-Minhāj, the Wonder of his Age, and Most Eloquent of 'Ajam, became the Kāzī of the forces of Hindūstān, and, dressed in an honorary robe, conferred upon him by Sultān Muḥammad-ud-Dīn, in the audience hall [or tent] of the camp⁸ established his Court of Judicature. Twelve camels were assigned to convey his tribunal⁹ [on the march]. The mercy of the Almighty be upon him, and upon the orthodox Sultāns of the past, and the Musalmān Maliks of the present!

After these events the Sultān-i-Ghāzī set out on his return to Ghaznīn, taking along with him Khusrāu Malik, and from the court of Ghaznīn sent him to the court of Fīrūz-koh, to the presence of the Sultān-ul-A'zam, Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn. From thence Khusrāu Malik was sent into Gharjistān and imprisoned within the castle of Balarwān, and it was commanded that his son, Bahrām Shāh¹ [name], should be detained within the walls of the fortress of Saif-rūd of Ghūr, and, when the outbreak and sedition of Sultān Shāh², Khwārazm-Shāhī, arose in the year

⁸ Where public business was usually transacted

⁹ For himself and the Muftīs. He did not continue at Bāmīān long then. See pages 431 and 433

¹ This, probably, is the son who had been given up as a hostage to Muḥammad-ud-Dīn Firūzshāh, but on whose authority he does not mention, styles him Malik Shāh. There is not the slightest doubt as to who put them to death, and the text very plainly indicates who did, both here and at page 115. Compare Elliot INDIA, vol. II, note 2, page 295

² Not "Khwārazm Shāh" but his brother. He was not a Sultān; this is part of his title merely. See page 245. The error of calling him Sultān or King of Khwārazm is of common occurrence. Elphinstone, misled by translators or translations, calls him "King of Khārazm." His name was Mahmūd, and his title, Sultān Shāh-i-Jalāl-ud-Dīn. At page 115, our author says Khusrāu Malik and his son, Bahrām Shāh, were put to death when the affair of Sultān Shāh occurred in 598 H, and here says, 587 H, while twice, in his account of Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn's reign [see pages 378 and 379], he distinctly states that the engagement with Sultān Shāh, in which Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, then only Lord of the Stables, was taken prisoner, took place in 588 H [Jahān-Ārā, 588 H]. The year 587 H is that in which the first battle took place with Rāe Pithorā, according to the whole of the authors I have been quoting, as well as several others, including our author himself, and the second battle, in which Rāe Pithorā was defeated and [according to Musalmān accounts] slain, took place beyond a doubt [see page 468], in 588 H. There is no doubt whatever as to the dates our author gives, for they are as plainly written as it

587 II they martyred **Khusrau Malik** and his son [**Bahrām Shāh**] The mercy of the Almighty be upon them all !

Subsequent to these events, the Sultān i Ghāzī caused the forces of Islām to be organized, and advanced against the fortress of **Tabarhindah**³ and took that stronghold, and

is possible to write, and all the copies of the text collated agree; but *neither of these three dates can be correct*. The campaign against Sultān Shāh, Khwārazmī, which lasted over six months, took place in 586 II or early in 587 II. and in 589 II. he died. What tends to prove this to be correct even from our author's own statements, is the fact, that, between the acquirement of Lāhor and the first battle of Tarā'īn, *no operations* were undertaken east of the Indus by Mu'izz ud Dīn, because occupied elsewhere. See also next page where it is said that the Kāzī of Tūlak was to hold **Tabarhindah** for the period of *eight months*, thus showing that the Sultān intended to come again the next cold season and relieve it. The Kāzī however held out for five months longer and the Sultān not having arrived, was obliged to capitulate. Here is further proof. **Alī** and **Jāmi-ut Tawārīkh** say Sultān sent a message to Ghīyās ud Dīn (after Sultān Shāh revolted against his father's authority. See also page 246 and note *), after he had gained possession of several places in **Kharān** with the aid of the **harā Khujā** is that the Ghīyās-ud Dīn, should give up to him the places belonging to his Sultān Shāh's father otherwise to prepare for hostilities. Ghīyās-ud Dīn summoned his brother Mu'izz ud Dīn, from Hind to join him. Some writers affirm that up to this time the latter was styled **Malik** only and that after that campaign the title of Sultān was conferred upon him, as well as on his cousin, **Shams-ud Dīn** of **Bāmān**, from which period, and not before, the name and title will be found on his coins. In the neighbourhood of the **Murgh-ab**, in the valley of **Marw-ar Rūi**, the two brothers, Ghīyās-ud Dīn, and Mu'izz-ud Dīn, **Shams-ud Dīn** of **Bāmān**, and **Tāj-ud Dīn**, ruler of **Sijstān**, being also present, after several months, encountered Sultān Shāh, who was defeated, and reached **Marw** with only forty followers. This is said to have taken place in 586 II. Sultān **Takīsh Khwārazm Shāh**, hearing of this reverse his rebellious brother had sustained, advanced from **Khwārazm** against him by forced marches and Sultān Shāh again sought protection from the **Ghūrīs**, who, some time after aided him with a numerous force, and despatched him towards **Khwārazm**. This was in 588 II, for his brother **Takīsh** having marched into **Irāk** at the request of **Kutlugh Ināna** [see page 167 note *] in that year Sultān Shāh made a dash against **Khwārazm**, the capital of his brother.

Alī further states, but it is somewhat contrary to other accounts, that, on the way Sultān Shāh was taken ill, and died at the end of **Ramāzān**, 589 II. When the news of this event reached Ghīyās-ud Dīn, he despatched orders for his troops to march back again.

Another reason why I consider 586 II correct is, that all authors of any authority as well as our author himself say that the second battle of **Tarā'īn** took place in 588 II. after which **Kutb-ud Dīn**, **Ibak**, was left to carry on operations in **Hindūstān** and, if the campaign against Sultān Shāh took place in that year and the two armies were six months in sight of each other **Kutb-ud Dīn**, **Ibak**, could not have been present there to be taken prisoner and be **kūhlīn** in **Hindūstān** at the same time. See page 515.

³ All the copies of the text collated, both here, and elsewhere in the work well as many other authors, say **Tabarhindah** [or **Tabarhinwāh**]. The

made it over [to the charge of] Malik Ziyā-ud-Dīn, the Kāzī Muḥammad-ī-'Abd-us-Sallām, Nisāwī, Tūlakī⁴ This Kāzī, Ziyā-ud-Dīn, was the son of the uncle of the maternal grandfather of the writer of this History, [namely] Kāzī Majd-ud-Dīn, Tūlakī At his [Kāzī Ziyā-ud-Dīn's]⁵ request, they selected twelve hundred horse from the forces of Hindūstān and of Ghaznīn, all men of Tūlak, and the whole of them were ordered to join his Khayl [band or division], and were located within that fortress, under the stipulation that they should hold it for the period of eight months, until the Sultān-ī- Ghāzī should return again from Ghaznīn, but the Rāe Kolah⁶ Pithorā, however, had arrived

printed text has Sirhind, and many authors of comparatively modern date, including the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī, Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā, and Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh, also have Sirhind The Tārīkh-i-Alfī, and Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh say Tarhindah, Budā'ūnī also has the same in one copy, and Tarhindah [the Persian might have been left out by the copyist] in another, and, in another place, it was Jai pāl's capital The Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh-i-Hind says Tabarhindah, known by the name of Bithandah Firishtah has Pathindah [پتندہ] in the latest lithographed copy of the Persian text which was so carefully collated, is said, with several copies of the original, by BRIGGS himself, and Bathindah [بٹندہ] in other MS copies I have examined, but, in his translation BRIGGS has Bituhnda, and Dow calls it "The capital of Tiberhind" I may mention that Bathindah, which is the place Briggs probably means, is some hundred miles west of Thānī-sar See also note², page 76, next to last para.

⁴ That is to say, he or his family came originally from Nisā, and here was Kāzī of Tūlak, which was a considerable place mentioned by our author in several places We might as well say *Chief Justice Supreme Court*, as "Kāzī Tolak" Instead of Nisāwī, some copies of the text have Būshārīn and Būshāī, but the majority of the best copies have Nisāwī BRIGGS turns him into "*Mullik Zee-a-ood-Deen Toozuky*," and Dow into "*Malleck Zee*"!

⁵ Compare Elliot INDIA, vol. II page 295

⁶ The right word may be Golah, as both would be written گولہ In Sanskrit गोलक—*golak* signifies the offspring by illegitimate connexion with a widow, but we hear nothing of such a connexion on the part of Prithī Rāj's father TOD, in his usual highly imaginative way, however, considers *Golah* [Golah] to mean a slave —"In Persian *Gholam*, literally 'a slave,' evidently a word of the same origin as the Hindu *gola*" In another place, he asserts that Golah refers to the *natural brother* of Prithī Rāj Vol. I page 179 Had Prithī Rāj been a *golak*, I do not think he would have been eligible to succeed his grandfather The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, referring to the second battle between the Hindūs and Muḥammadans, calls Kolah [or the Kolah] the *son* of the Rāe of Ajmīr, and all authors with whom I am acquainted state, that Kolah or Golah, the son of Pithorā or Prithī Rāj, after his father was put to death, was made tributary ruler of Ajmīr by Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, as do all the authors I have been quoting, and no other writer that I know of pretends that Pithorā was a *natural* son of his father or adds Kolah or Golah to his name Our author has apparently confused the two names, and this seems the more likely, because he

near at hand and the Sultān marched to Tarā'in⁷ to meet him. The whole of the Rānās⁸ of Hind were along with the Rāe Kolah.

When the ranks were duly marshalled the Sultān seized a lance and attacked the elephant on which Gobind Rāe⁹

has not said a single word about Pithorā's son having been set up by the Muslim mīns, although they had to support him subsequently by force of arms.

⁷ This name is plainly and correctly written, in the different copies of our author's text, and all the authors I have quoted previously as well as many others, call this place by the same name. Compilers of Histories of India, led astray by the *translations* of Firishṭah [not by Firishṭah himself] which supplied them with their materials, have turned this name into *Asaquin*. Dow has *Sirauri* upon the banks of the Sirauty "and Briggs, *Aurain* now called *Tiroury* on the banks of the *Soorauty*" ELPHINSTONE, following Briggs, no doubt, calls it *Tiroury* between *Tandiar* and *Carndi*" and Dawson [Elliot : INDIA, vol. II. page 295], in the translation of this passage of our author's text evidently trusting to Briggs's translation rather than to the original text is led to believe our author wrong; but acknowledges, in a foot note, that "the text [our author's] has *Tardān*," and adds "but Firishṭah gives the name as *Nārān*, and says it was afterwards called *Tiraur*. He places it on the banks of the *Sarauti* fourteen miles from *Thānīar* and eighty from *Dehli*." Now all this is incorrect as far as Firishṭah is concerned, even to the lithographed text of Briggs's *own revision* for the former has *Tarā'in* [تراین] like other authors, not *Nārān* [ناران]. Mirzā Mughal Beg, who, about eighty years since made a personal survey of these parts, and the territories further west, says that "on the *Shāh Kāh* [Royal Route] from *Hamāl* to *Thānī-sar* is *Aḡm-ābād* | *Taliwār* [تلیوار], where there is a large and lofty *Rabāt* of great strength and solidity which can be seen for miles round. Seven miles from this place, to the north, is *Amin ghar* a large village with a large and lofty *Rabāt* likewise. About two miles from the village of *Chatang* is a small river filled in the rainy season only running from right to left, which joins the river *Surauti*. Six miles from *Amin ghar* still going northerly is the city of *Thānī-sar*."

This is within a mile or two of the distance given by many other writers as well as Firishṭah. There are several places called *Talwār* and one, on the road from *Dir* to *Bhāgnir* called *Talwār* [تلیوار], but no other *Taliwār*. For an account of the engagement, as given in the *Jamūn History* see next page.

⁸ In some copies *Rāes*; other writers say a number of *Rājput* princes.

⁹ Thus styled [گوبند] and also *Gobindah* [گوبند] in the oldest copies of the text. Some have *گوبد* and *گوبد* both of which modes of writing the name confirm the correctness of the above, which is a common Hindū name; but some more modern copies of the text have *گوبد*, *Khānd* [گوبند], and *Khāndi* [گوبندی]. Most other authors, including Firishṭah have this latter name also; but the *Hindū* bard, *Chand* calls him *Rāe Gobind*, like our author in the oldest copies. He led the van of the *Hindūs* on an elephant. Translators of Firishṭah make him commander of the whole but *Rāe Pithorā* was himself an experienced leader; the other led the van. Tod (vol. I. p. 119) says *Chand Raz*, which the historians of "*Shahdād*" style "*Chanddāl was not brother of Pithwirdjā*"¹¹ He states that he was of the *Dahima* race of *Rājput*, one of three brothers, the eldest of whom, *Kaimas* was lord of *Blam* [بلام], and minister of *Pithwirdjā* the second was

Rāe [Rājah] of Dihlī, was mounted, and on which elephant he moved about in front of the battle. The Sultān-i-Ghāzī, who was the Haidar of the time, and a second Rustam, charged and struck Gobind Rāe on the mouth with his lance with such effect that two of that accursed one's teeth fell into his mouth. He launched a javelin at the Sultān of Islām and struck him in the upper part of the arm and inflicted a very severe wound¹. The Sultān turned his charger's head round and receded, and from the agony of the wound he was unable to continue on horseback any longer. Defeat befell the army of Islām so that it was irretrievably routed, and the Sultān was very nearly falling from his horse. Seeing which, a lion [hearted] warrior, a Khalj² stripling, recognized the Sultān, and sprang up behind him, and, supporting him in his arms, urged the horse with his voice, and brought him out of the field of battle³.

"Poondir, who commanded the frontier at Lahore" [the utter absurdity of this assertion I have already shown, I think, in note¹, page 466], and the third brother, Chaond Rae, was the principal leader in the last battle in which Pirt'hwirājā fell. All the Muḥammadan historians and three Hindū chroniclers agree in the statement that this person, styled Gobind by some, and Khāndī by others, was Pithorā's *brother*, and that he was present in both battles, and was killed in the last.

¹ These are the author's exact words: there is nothing in the text about "on the other hand, returned the *blow*, &c." The سیل or شل signifies not a *blow* here, but a small spear or javelin, an Indian weapon, the point of which is sometimes barbed, and sometimes made with three barbs. From five to ten were taken in the hand [the left] at once, and launched at an enemy singly with the right.

² Not a Ghazī Afghān, I beg leave to notice, but a Turk.

³ Various are the different accounts given by authors respecting the incidents of this battle, and very erroneous and incorrect are the versions translated from Firishṭah which, as *authentic statements are to be desired in all matters of history*, ought to be corrected, and more particularly respecting this important period of Indian history.

The History of the Rājahs of Jamūn states that "Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, in 587 H., determined to undertake an expedition against the fortress of Tabarhind, which was the strongest place belonging to the great Rājahs of Hind. Rāe Pithorā, the Chohān, sovereign [Farmān-rawā] of Hindūstān, and eighth in descent from Bal-Diḡ, Chohān, advanced to give battle to the Sultān. They met at Tarā'in-ghar, fourteen miles from Thānī-sar. During the engagement, Rāe Khānī [*see in MS*] Rāe, ruler of Dihlī on the part of his brother, from the back of an elephant on which he was mounted, with a *long spear* wounded the Sultān in the upper part of the arm. He would have fallen from his horse from the agony of the wound, had not some of his slaves come to him at the moment, and borne him out of the fight. The Sultān, having sustained this defeat, retired towards Ghaznīn, and, near the banks of the Rāwī, a deputation from the Rājah of Jamūn presented themselves."

On the Musalmān forces not seeing the Sulṭān lamentation broke from them, until they reached a place where

Another history written by a Hindū, says کجی [Kajī] Rāe commanded his brother's army and that, after the Sulṭān had wounded him in the mouth, he wounded the Sulṭān in the head with his spear and the Sulṭān received another wound in the side [by whom inflicted is not said], and *he fell from his horse*, when a Khālī youth took him *on his own horse* and, placing him before him, carried him safely out of the fight. Bad'ūnī also says the Sulṭān fell from his horse and agrees with the above in the last clause of the sentence.

Other authors, including the *Tabaḳāt-i Akbarī* and *Taḡharat-ul Mulūk*, state that Khānī Rāe commanded the van, and was leading on the enemy when the Sulṭān attacked him. They state that the Khālī youth was on foot at the time, and, seeing the state of the Sulṭān, he sprang up behind him, and carried him out of the *mêlée* to his own camp, whither his own troops had retired; and that the panic and anxiety which had arisen on his being found that the Sulṭān had not come out of the fight with the rest of his army subsided.

One of the oldest copies of our author's text here differs from the others collated to a considerable degree. It says that the Khālī youth recognized the Sulṭān [in the mêlée and confusion], joined him, and *rested* him on the horse's back [thus implying that he had fallen or had to dismount], cried out with his voice to urge the horse and brought the Sulṭān out of the battle. This is the literal translation of the passage in that copy and, in it, there is no mention of the youth having mounted the horse also.

The Sulṭān remained at Lāhor until his wound was healed before he returned to Ghaznī.

But what say FIRISITAH and his translators on this subject?

Now vol. I, page 138-9.

✓ In the year 587 he [Mahommed] marched again towards Hindustan, and, proceeding to Ajmere took the capital of Tiberkind, where he left Malluk Zia with above a thousand chosen horse and some foot, to garrison the place. He himself was upon his way back, when he heard that Pittu Ra, the prince of Ajmere with his brother Candi Ra king of Delhi in alliance with some other Indian princes, were marching towards Tiberkind with two hundred thousand horse, and three thousand elephants. Mahommed determined to return to the relief of the garrison. He met the enemy at the village of Sirauri, upon the banks of the Sirautti, fourteen miles from Tannavar and eighty from Delhi and gave them battle. Upon the first onset his right and left wings retired, being outflanked by the enemy to Sulṭān's rear his

] BRIGGS, vol. I. p. 171-173.

In the year 587 he [Mahomed Ghorey] marched again to Hindustan, and proceeding towards Ajmere he took the town of Bithkunda where he left Mallik Zia and Dera Toranky with above a thousand chosen horse and some foot to form a garrison. While on his return, he heard that Pittu Ra Raja of Ajmere with his brother Chand Ra the Raja of Delhi in alliance with other Indian princes, were marching towards Bithkunda with 200,000 horse, and 3000 elephants. Mahomed Ghorey marched to the relief of his garrison; but passing beyond Bithkunda he encountered the enemy at the village of Arain now called Thowry on the banks of the Sooratty fourteen miles from Thani sar and seventy from Delhi. At the first onset his right and left wings, being outflanked, fell back, till, joining in the rear his army formed a

the defeated army was safe from pursuit by the infidels

army was formed into a circle Ma-hommed, who was in person in the center (*sic*) of the line, when first formed, was told that his right and left wings were defeated, and advised to provide for his own safety *Enraged at this counsel, he smote the imprudent adviser, and rushed on towards the enemy, among whom he commenced, with a few followers, a great slaughter* The eyes of Candi Ra, king of Delhi, fell upon him *He drove the elephant, upon which he was mounted, directly against him Mahommed, rising from his horse, threw his lance with such force at the elephant, that he drove out three of his back teeth* [the elephant's !] In the meantime the King of Delhi, from above, pierced the Sultan through the right arm, and had almost thrown him to the ground, when *some of his chiefs* advanced to his rescue This gave an opportunity, to one of his faithful servants, to leap behind him as he was sinking from his horse, and, supporting him in his arms, he carried him from the field, which, by this time, was deserted almost by his whole army The enemy *pursued them near forty miles* "

circle. *Mahomed Ghoory* was in person in the centre of his line, and, being informed that both wings were defeated, was advised to provide for his own safety *Enraged at this counsel, HE CUT DOWN THE MESSENGER, and, rushing on towards the enemy, with a few followers, committed terrible slaughter* The eyes of Chawand Rae falling on him, *he drove his elephant directly against Mahomed Ghoory, who, perceiving his intention, charged and delivered his lance full into the Raja's mouth, by which many of his teeth were knocked out* In the meantime, the Raja of Delhi pierced the king through the right arm, with an ARROW [! !] He had almost fallen, when *some of his chiefs* advanced to his rescue This effort to save him gave an opportunity to one of his faithful servants to leap up behind *Mahomed Ghoory*, who, faint from loss of blood, had nearly fallen from his horse, but was carried *triumphantly* off the field, although almost wholly deserted by his army, *which was pursued by the enemy nearly forty miles,* " &c

MAURICE, MURRAY, ELPHINSTONE, MARSHMAN, and MEADOWS TAYLOR, and probably others, such as MILL and THORNTON, take their accounts from the above versions of DOW and BRIGGS Marshman adds, "*He was pursued for forty miles by the victorious Hindoos, and was happy to escape across the Indus,*" perhaps unaware that he remained at Lāhor till his wound was healed [as Dow states] and that there was *no pursuit at all*

FIRISHTAH, from the revised text of BRIGGS has as follows —

"In 587 H, he [Shihāb ud-Dīn] determined to enter Hindūstān, and he took the fort of *Pathindah* [پٹنڈہ], but the MSS I have examined have *Bathindah* [بٹنڈہ], which, in that day, had become the capital of Rājahs of great dignity, out of the hands of the men of the Rājah of Ajmīr He left Malik Ziyā-ud-Dīn, Tūlakī, in that fortress, with 1200 horsemen; each and every one of whom was selected and a picked man, and was desirous of returning Suddenly, information reached him, that Pitho Rāe, Wālī [a ruler, a prince, the governor of a province] of Ajmīr, in concert with his brother, Khāndī Rāe, Wālī of Dihlī, and bringing along with them several Rājput Rājahs, were advancing, by regular marches, with an army of 200,000 horse, and 3000 elephants, with the determination of retaking the fort of Pathindah [Bathindah?] Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, abandoning, and, near the of returning [to Ghaznī], advanced to meet them, and presented themselves "

Suddenly the Sulṭān arrived. A number of Amīrs⁴

district, village] of Tarīḡīn, on the banks of the Surṣat, seven *kuroḥ* [a distance of rather less than fourteen miles] from Thānī-sar now known as Tarīwārī [but in several MSS. of Firīḡhtah, which I have seen, it is تاروی not تاروی], and forty *kuroḥ* from Dihlī an encounter and conflict took place. The right and left wings of Sulṭān Shihāb-ud Dīn having broke and faced about [it does not say that they were actually broken by the Hindūs, and it appears to mean that they declined the onset, or recoiled], and not a great number remained in the centre either [There is not a word about his army forming a circle]. At this juncture one of the Sulṭān's confidential attendants represented [saying] the Amīrs of the right and left [wings] who were nourished by the beneficence and favours of your Court [or dynasty] not keeping their ground resolutely have taken to flight and the Afghān [Firīḡhtah does not appear to have had authority for introducing Afghāns here, from the statements of the contemporary writers of these times] and Khālī Amīrs, who were the commanders of the advance who continually boasted of their valour and prowess, are not to be found [seen] and should you promptly [I give the exact words, except adopting the second person plural for the third] turn the reins of retrocession towards Lāhor it seems expedient [so to do].” *This speech not agreeing with the Sulṭān's temperament he drew his sword from its sheath, and with the troops [remaining] of the centre charged the enemy's forces and commenced the conflict.* [Firīḡhtah then quotes some lines to the effect that both friend and foe lauded his prowess.] Suddenly the eye of Khāndī Rāe, the Sipāh Sālār [commander of the army] of Dihlī falling on the Sulṭān, he urged the mountain like elephant on which he was mounted towards the Sulṭān, who at once seized his spear and made towards him, and smote him in the mouth with such effect that many of his teeth fell out [تافت]. Khāndī Rāe likewise [Le. — which Briggs has read for — *errew*] showed the greatest audacity and agility and, from the top of his elephant, inflicted such a wound [with what weapon not said] on the upper part of the arm [بر] of the Sulṭān that he was nearly falling from his horse. A Khālī youth on foot [there is not a word about his chiefs coming to his rescue] discovered it, jumped up behind him on the horse and, taking the Sulṭān in his arms, bore him out of the battle-field, and conveyed him to the forces of the runaway nobles which were twenty *kuroḥ* off; and the tumult and disquiet which had arisen, consequent on the defeat of the army of Islām and not finding the Sulṭān, subsided.” *There is not a word about the result.*

According to the Zain-ul Maʿālīr quoted by Firīḡhtah immediately after the above, Sulṭān Muḥammad Dīn, having become faint from the effects of the wound, fell from his horse. This not being noticed [in the *maʿālīr*], no one came to his aid. Night intervened, and, when one watch of the night had passed, a party of his Turkish slaves came to seek him, and went into the battle field and began searching among the slain. The Sulṭān [who appears to have revived], recognising the voices of his faithful slaves, acquainted them with his situation. His slaves gave thanks for his safety and, taking him on their shoulders, in turns, proceeded along throughout the night and by day-dawn reached their own people.

This battle is said to have taken place in the fifteenth year of the reign of Rāe Pithorā and the Hindū writers state that this was the *ayyath* time the Sulṭān had invaded and, in all of which he had been defeated!

⁴ The Malik ul *ayyath*. Zayn-ud Dīn [subsequently Aḥmad Dīn], Muḥammad, the Sulṭān's altho' husband was present in this battle. See page 393.

Ghūrī youths, and other distinguished men, had noticed the Sultān, along with that lion-like Khaljī, had recognized him, and had gathered round him, and broke spears and made a litter and a stretcher, and had borne him to that halting-place. The people [now] became composed, and once more, through [the safety of] his life, the true faith acquired vigour, and the dispersed army, on the strength of the safety of the life of that Sultān-i-Ghāzī, again came together⁵, and retired, and turned their faces towards the Musalmān dominions.

The Kāzī of Tūlak⁶ was left [in charge of] the fortress of Tabarlindah, and Rāe Pithorā appeared before the walls of that stronghold, and fighting commenced. For a period of thirteen months and a little over the place was defended. The following year the Sultān-i-Ghāzī assembled the troops of Islām, and commenced his march towards Hindūstān, to avenge the [disaster of the] previous year⁷.

⁵ The idiom varies considerably here in nearly every copy. Some have—“On the strength of the safety of that Bādshāh-i-Ghāzī, the army came together again [or rallied],” &c.

⁶ The same as mentioned at page 458.

⁷ I have here also to notice, and enter my protest against, a statement respecting the character of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, which Firishṭah's translators have incorrectly given, and which neither Firishṭah nor any other author asserts. In this instance the character of this Prince has been unjustly assailed, held up in a wrong light, and things are asserted which *never happened at all*.

Dow, vol. 1. page 139

“*Mahommed* remained a few months with his brother at *Ghor*, who still kept the imperial title, and then, returning to *Ghizni*, spent the ensuing year in indolence and festivity. But, ambition again fermenting in his mind, he recruited a noble army,” &c.

BRIGGS, vol. 1. page 173

“*Mahomed* remained a few months with his brother at *Ghoor*, who still retained the title of King [he never lost the title of Sultān], and then, returning to *Ghizny*, spent the ensuing year in pleasure and festivity. At length, having recruited an army,” &c.

Firishṭah says “Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, having taken leave of his brother [at Firūz koh], proceeded to Ghaznīn, and, with the determination of taking revenge [on Pithorā], having made sleep and rest unlawful to him, each and the words literally], in a short time assembled troops, bravely and was desirous of. This is a specimen of “*pleasure and festivity*,” certainly! With Rāe, Wālī [a

Here is another specimen of the same kind, and it is in concert with his after another is undoubtedly true and correct

Dow, page 140

“When his [*Mahommed's*] victorious peers had advanced as far as *Peshawar*, an old sage of *Ghor*, prostrating

BRIGH an army of 200,000

“When he retaking the *Peshawar*, abandoning, and, near the prostrating him presented themselves.”

The author heard from a trustworthy person a distinguished man of the highland district of Tūlak whom they used to style by the title of Mu'īn ud Dīn Ūshī* who said I was in that army along with the Sulṭān i Ghāzī, and the number of cavalry composing the army of Islām that year was one hundred and twenty thousand arrayed

himself before him, said, O King, we trust to thy conduct and wisdom but as yet thy design has been a subject of much dispute and speculation among us. *Makmal Ghory* replied,

Know old man, that since the time of my defeat in *Hindustan* notwithstanding external appearances, I have never slumbered in ease or waked but in sorrow and anxiety I have therefore determined, with this army to recover my lost honour from those idolaters, or die in the noble attempt " &c.

O King, we trust in thy conduct and wisdom but as yet thy design has been subject of much speculation among us. *Makmal Ghory* replied,

Know old man, that since the time of my defeat in *Hindustan* notwithstanding external appearances, I have never slumbered in ease, or waked but in sorrow and anxiety I have therefore determined, with this army to recover my lost honour from those idolaters, or die in the attempt, &c.

Here, again, ELPHINSTONE has been deceived, and quoting BRIGGS, further disseminates a wrong translation. MARSHMAN says [vol. I. p. 44] that *he* [Shahab] stated this "in one of his letters" but, unfortunately Firsihtah himself says nothing of the kind! His words are — When his [the Sulṭān's] standards the emblems of victory reached the Peshāwar territory one of the Pīrs [a holy man, a saint] of Ghūr who was [sufficiently] bold, bowing his forehead to the ground [only Pīrs are not wont to do so], represented [saying],

It is not understood at all whither the Sulṭān goeth, nor what his object is. Sulṭān Shihāb-ud Dīn replied: O such an one [وَالَيْهِ] I know for certain that, from the time I have been defeated by the Rājās of Hind I have abstained from my wife's bed [I do not give the literal words to this part of the sentence, but it tends to show that he had but one wife and his having but one child appears to prove it], and have not changed the clothes on my body; and, having passed this year in grief, sorrow and sadness, I have not permitted the Amīrs of Ghūr of the Khalj and of Khurāsān, who, notwithstanding the help of the *not* *mode*, abandoned me in the battle and fled to present nor have I seen their faces during this period.

Goodness of God, I am proceeding towards no expectation of the services of those old cradles to this time, have been nourished by The Pīr hearing this statement, kissed the story and success attend the followers at the rather different to the statements above Shihāb, and also of a place near Baghdād.

is no other than the celebrated Mu'īn ud Dīn, who is at Ajmir and so much frequented. The Emperor Rāy Pūrd and the close of Sulṭān Mu'īn ud Dīn's career and stayed to propagate

reached their own place at Ajmir and so much frequented. The Emperor Rāy Pūrd and the close of Sulṭān Mu'īn ud Dīn's career and stayed to propagate The Mark of a faith.

in defensive armour⁹” When the Sultān-i-Ghāzī with such-like organization and such a force arrived near unto Rāe Kolah Pithorā, he had gained possession of the fortress of Tabarhindah by capitulation, and had pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of Tarā’in¹ The Sultān [now] made

⁹ It does not appear to have been steel armour The meaning of the word used is, “a covering, a garment, vestment worn in battle, and also put on horses,”—defensive armour of some sort, some of steel, perhaps, and some of leather This is what Firishtah appears to have turned into “helmets inlaid with jewels, and armour inlaid with silver and gold.”

¹ See note¹, page 459 Hasan Nizāmī, in the Tāj-ul-Ma’āşir, a contemporary writer, who began his work the year before Sultān Mu’izz-ud-Dīn’s assassination, and who *begins with this expedition*, does not mention where this battle took place, but mentions that Sultān Mu’izz-ud-Dīn, on reaching Lāhor, despatched the Sadr-i-Kabīr, Kīwām-ul-Mulk [these are his titles, not his name], Rukn [Rūhu is a mistake]-ud-Dīn, Hamzah, to Ajmīr to offer his ultimatum to Pithorā Rāe, but his inflated style greatly obscures the details Some writers state that two emissaries were sent The Sultān called upon Pithorā Rāe to embrace the Musalmān faith and acknowledge his supremacy The Chohān prince sent an indignant reply, and, having received aid from most of the Rājahs of Hind, with 300,000 horse—Rājpūts, and some Afghāns, one author says—advanced to meet him, and they again met on the former battle-field Pithorā Rāe sent a message to the Sultān, saying, “It is advisable thou shouldst retire to thine own territory, and we will not follow thee.” The Sultān, in order to deceive him, and throw him off his guard, replied “It is by command of my brother, my sovereign, that I come here and endure trouble and pain give me sufficient time that I may despatch an intelligent person to my brother, to represent to him an account of thy power, and that I may obtain his permission to conclude a peace with thee under the terms that Tarhind [Tabarhindah], the Panjāb, and Multān shall be ours, and the rest of the country of Hind thine” The leaders of the infidel forces, from this reply, accounted the army of Islām as of little consequence, and, without any care or concern, fell into the slumber of remissness That same night the Sultān made his preparations for battle, and, after the dawn of the morning, when the Rājpūts had left their camp for the purpose of obeying the calls of nature, and for the purpose of performing their ablutions, he entered the plain with his ranks marshalled. Although the unbelievers were amazed and confounded, still, in the best manner they could, they stood to fight, and sustained a severe overthrow Khāndī Rāe [the Gobind Rāe of our age and Jesudity] completely besides of the Rāes of Hind, were killed, and not recruited [nor], and a great number within the limits of Sursutī, and put to death, having taken Pithorā Rāe was taken prisoner

There are, however, other versions of the story, with the traditionary, bear some measure of truth, and rest unlawful The History of Jamūn, which agrees in some troops, but mentions, states that Pithorā Rāe, having been, certainly, will be well to notice, he part the Rājah Bij, or Bijayī Dīw, hand, and it is proposed to march against him, and chastise him, sed by certain informers of, rose between Pithorā Rāe and Rājah Jai Chandra, in aiding the Musalmāns, At this juncture, hostility details of which are too long for insertion here], respecting ruler of Kinnauy [the 1881, Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, having learned the state of, is daughter In affairs, prepared to avenge his previous defeat, and Bijayī Dīw, Pithorā Rāe’s before Rājah of

disposition of his forces. The centre division of the army the baggage, the standards and banners, his canopy of

Jamūp, despatched his son, Nar-singh Dīw with a body of his forces to join him, and Rājā Jai Chandra of Kinnauj, who had been in communication with the Sultān [Too also says the Princes of Kanauj] and Patun invited Shāhūdīn [Shihāb-ud Dīn?] to aid their designs of humiliating the Chohan [Rāe Pithorā].

The envoy was Chand Poondr *the vassal chief of Lahore, and guardian of that frontier* speedily joined his camp with his available forces" [vol. I, page 256.] Perhaps the writer was unaware that Lāhor had been in the possession of the Gharnawīds for *more than a century* and that Shāhūdīn so called, had only taken it from the last of that dynasty *five or six years before* and since that time his *own* governor had held it. The Sultān came in contact with Rāe Pithorā on that same field of Talīwarī and formed his forces into two divisions. The troops of Jamūp and Kinnauj were to oppose Khāndī Rāe of Dhillī, while the Sultān, with his own forces, encountered Rāe Pithorā. The battle was obstinately maintained, and it is related that Khāndī Rāe fell by the sword of Nar singh Dīw of Jamūp, and the Sultān himself slew several of the enemy. Rāe Pithorā was captured alive and taken to Ghaznī, where he was deprived of his sight. For farther details on this subject, see page 485, note 2.

1115

version of this battle, which is certainly curious. It is, having taken the route by Purgor arrived within the territory of?]. Pitho Rāe and Khāndī [sic] Rāe prepared high Mu'izz ud Dīn made a precipitate retreat. Rāe Pitho suit of him until they had passed beyond Lāhor and had [village or district] called Shihāb-ud Dīn [Shihāb-ud Dīn] came to a stand. His object in retreating had been to from his own territory; and, at the place above mentioned, in which Rāe Pitho was defeated and taken prisoner. An advanced upon Ajmir. He subdued that territory and beneath; after which he made Kusht-ud Dīn, I-bal, governor of Ghaznī. or states the

Pithorā Rāe was killed in the battle, and in safety whilst another says that both

and BRIGGS are equally imaginary with respect

BRIGGS, vol. I, page 177

now read The Moalems, as if they now had only began to be in earnest, committed such havoc, that this prodigious army once shaken, like a great building tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins

by several writers, including MAURICE, and MEADOWS TAYLOR says [The Student's

Like a great building, writes Ferishtah, ignominiously. Ferishtah never wrote anything of the kind. Referring to the final and the battle-field was drenched with three year old horse, he threw the ranks of

1115], page 22, only by the Moalems writers," &c. He is Nizāmī, in the Tāj-ut-taujīh, in the following month, 588 H.

After this he marched towards the text of the author Minhāj-i A'yan contradicts his story of Rāe Pithorā. Ferishtah, on the other hand, says that he endeavours to show that the Sultān against

state, and the elephants, were left several miles in the rear. He marshalled his ranks, and was advancing leisurely. The light-armed and unincumbered horsemen he had directed should be divided into four divisions, and had appointed them to act against the infidels on four sides; and the Sultān had commanded, saying "It is necessary that, on the right and left, and front and rear, 10,000 mounted archers should keep the infidel host in play, and, when their elephants, horsemen, and foot advance to the attack, you are to face about and keep the distance of a horse's course in front of them." The Musalmān troops acted according to these instructions, and, having exhausted and wearied the unbelievers, Almighty God gave the victory to Islām, and the infidel host was overthrown.

Rāe Pithorā, who was riding an elephant, dismounted and got upon a horse and fled [from the field], until, in the neighbourhood of [the] Sursutī³, he was taken prisoner, and they despatched him to hell, and Gobind Rāe of Dihlī was slain in the engagement. The Sultān recognized his head through those two teeth which had been broken. The seat of government, Ajmīr, with the whole of the Siwālīkh⁴ [territory], such as Hānsī, Sursutī, and other

the enemy into commotion. At this crisis Khar-mīl [Izz-ud-Dīn, Husan, son of Khar mīl] and other Amīrs, from different directions, charged, and overthrew the Hindū troops. This is all he then mentions the fall of Khāndī Rāe and other chiefs.

² The object was to harass, and to induce them to break their order. Sultān's tactics, from our author's description, are very clear. One writer, however, throws a little doubt on the morning, and from that it appears that the Sultān, leaving the calls of nature to his army—about half his entire force—some miles in the rear, ordered the plain with his ranks other *matériel*, divided the remainder into five divisions, and sustained a complete rout. 10,000 light-armed horse—mounted archers—and sustained a complete rout. and left, and front and rear, and retire, prayer, the Sultān, considering that the enemy, having taken Rāe was taken prisoner with the remainder—his fifth division, the first with the complete rout.

³ The ancient Saraswatī. Probably our author, Sursutī the word is سُرسُوتی. Ibn-i-Batūṭa, and it is Akbar's time Sursutī was one of the Maḥals.

⁴ Like some other historians, our author, in aiding the Musalmā south of the Himālayah, between [insertion here], respecting At this juncture, host far south as Hānsī, by the name of [insertion here], is daughter including the author of his previous defeat, and Bijayī Dīn, Pithorā.

tracts, were subjugated. These which he took, the dates of victory was achieved, in the year 580 A.D. God, be subsequently placed Malik Kūṭb-ud Dīn Iḥṣān in his victories and returned home again.

Malik
and took
here

GHAZNĪN 469

place, and this
and the Sultān
fort of Kuhrām?

arām to Mirath,
following year
this same

Our
been set up say
Tāj-ul Maʿālikh
the Sultān Ig-awr
periods of the

not noticed, our
campaign against

ul
page

Kūṭb-thoḥ having
mentioned in the
Dihl together with
Tāj-ud the short
Sark

Ellis, page 22,
Schil by the Moslems,
hostilities, &c. He is
Nizāmī, in the Tāj-
but, in the following
month, 588 H.

maḥ. After this he
marched towards
read the text of the
author Minhāj-i
vidently translated
Ellis contradicts his
view of Rāe Pithorā
rather on, says that
Ellis endeavours
in the year 588 H.
the Sultān against
been overthrown in
Kuhrām, from which,

ud Dīn, Muḥammad,
ed from his life in the city of
s, and in the n, Muḥammad
ital city, Dihlī and Sarakhs, of
reforming the

the Ganges to Kashmir
n—under the name of Kāḥn Muḥammad
ient name of the territory oh is correct.
ed to Ghaznīn along the sūl Maḥgir
marched on
this date; but, as already a large sum
the year in which the c for a time and
page 456. nkr the present
er his reign, next Section, says in 592 H.
not Kuhrām.

ention of the son of Rāe P
nd tributary ruler as mer Elliot, INDIA,
es; and hence his name, most of the
se coins issued by him denoted the Indus.
as good care

PATIL KINGS OF D. He appears
to the capture of R. 40s, and abandoned
tion of the death of his
with the best force at Tūs, and parts
authorities. Has nirs of Ghūr and of the
does no date at. He began carrying his
[which is the Khwārazmī nobles captive,
edn" to tell. Se pushed on as far as Trāḥ
and, after l. The latter sent his son to
219] I hēlf and, on the return of the
to quite cor, jah sent his son to him also.
f ELLIOT this success, turned his face
nd imperia a force from Khwārazm had
here that advanced to meet it by way of
In contact, good fortune smiled upon the
Muḥammad I Khar nak's troops were twice
ed them, and overthrew them. Muḥam-
ntrivances, succeeded in throwing himself
followed, made breaches in the walls, and
fury likewise, one of the Amīr—Am
c Khān, of Hīrāt, the Amīn-i-Hājib
struck off his head, and despatched h,
atly disapproved of this act, but it h
ent and anxiety for Muḥammad I Khar
apions, and the pillar of his army to
h of his arm, that the Sultān free the
and the elephant, and he could o
three-year old horse with his hand were

mourning ceremonies for his brother, he came to Bādghais of Hirāt. Having performed the mourning rites, he nominated different Maliks to the several fiefs of the kingdom of Ghūr⁶. He gave the city of Bust, and the districts of Farāh and Isfīzār to his late brother's son, Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, son of Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, and to Malik Ziyā-ud-Dīn⁷, the Pearl of Ghūr, who was uncle's son of both the Sultāns, and the son-in-law of Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, the territory of Ghūr and Garmsīr, namely, the throne of Fīrūz-koh, and the town and territory of Dāwar⁸, and also presented him with two elephants. To Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Alb-[Arsalān]-i-Ghāzī, son of Kazil Arsalān, Saljūkī, who was the son of a sister⁹ of the two Sultāns, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn gave the city of Hirat [and its dependencies], after which

is the person styled *Mahomed Zeeruk, Prince of Muro*, by Briggs, and *Zireek, Prince of Murve*, by Dow. In the revised text of Firishṭāh, his name is turned into خیربیک [Khair Beg]!

It was after this defeat of Muhammad-i-Khar-nak that Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, was urged by his ministers and nobles to advance against Hirāt, as the sons [son and son-in-law] of the late Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, were quarrelling about the inheritance, and their nobles were inclined to join his service. Consequently, in Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 600 H, the Sultān marched towards Hirāt for the second time, and Alb-i-Ghāzī, the sister's son of the two Sultān brothers, surrendered that stronghold to him, as already related in note², page 257. Muhammad-i-Khar-nak must be the same person as is referred to at page 344, the son of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī, son of Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Khar-nak [son of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Al-Husain], the uncle of the Sultāns Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and the former's full name would be Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad 'Alī-i-Khar-nak, and he was *second* cousin of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn and his brother.

My note², page 257, will show why and with what object the Sultān was between Tūs and Sarakhs, where he heard of his brother's death.

⁶ He divided the ancestral dominions amongst the family of Sām. His brother had died in the fifth month of 599 H, and, from this date only, authors state, "he assumed the title of Sultān," but this must mean, that from that date he assumed the title of Sultān-ul A'ẓam—the *greatest* Sultān—which had been his brother and sovereign's title, his own, previous to his brother's death, being only Sultān-ul-Mu'azzam—the *great* Sultān—as shown by his coins.

⁷ This is the Malik-ul-Hājī, who, after he received the investiture of Ghūr and Fīrūz-koh, received the title of Sultān 'Ala-ud-Dīn. See pages 391, 397,

⁸ 1417.

⁹ Sursu. Here, too, the idiom differs in the copies of the text in the same manner Akbar previously alluded to.

⁴ One sister, the elder, married Shams-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, of Bāmīān, south of her married Alb-Arsalān-i-Ghāzī, son of Kazil Arsalān, Saljūkī, and the far south as the mother of Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī, but the father is not mentioned including 342, and note², page 425.

he returned again to Ghaznīn and brought along with him to that city some of the Amīrs and Malīks of Ghūr to serve under him and commenced his preparations for an expedition against Khwārazm.¹

In the year 601 H., he marched his forces into the Khwārazm territory, and Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, fell back discomfited² before the Ghaznīn forces and

¹ This expedition was undertaken to recover what had been lost, and avenge the defeat and death of Muḥammad I Khar nak. See note² page 257

² Sulṭān Muḥammad's "falling back discomfited" appears from the sequel. The Sulṭān's object was to defend his capital. No action whatever took place between them until the Ghūrīs appeared in the neighbourhood of the city and took up a position east of the Shatt mentioned under

Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, having become aware of Mu'izz-ud Dīn's designs of carrying war into his enemy's country and his vast preparations, hastened back from Khurāsān, by way of the desert, to Khwārazm; and his people prepared to give the Ghūrīs a warm reception. The Sulṭān asked for aid from Khurāsān, both in shape of horse and foot, and Gūr Khān of Kārī Khitā was also asked for assistance. Sulṭān Muḥammad's camp was fixed on the western bank of the Shatt i Nūdawār or Nūdawār [بودار]—our author's Kārī-Sū, no doubt, but another work says the bank of the Nūr—and, in a short space of time, 70,000 men assembled. The Ghūrīn forces were vast in numbers, and contained so many elephants, says Yāfa ī,

that, had they desired, they might have drained the Jihūn." But, setting aside all exaggeration, the number is said to have been 140,000 men, and about 300 or 400 great elephants. The Jāmi'ut Tawārīkh, which constantly copies Yāfa ī, says 70,000 warriors, and elephants [besides followers?]. Arrived on the banks of the Jihūn, Mu'izz-ud Dīn, Ghūrī took up a position on the east side of the Shatt, and pitched his camp and gave orders to search for a ferry in order to cross over next day and attack the Khwārazmī forces.

Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud Dīn was engaged in arranging his elephants, and making his preparations for crossing next morning at dawn, when news, suddenly and unexpectedly reached him that Sulṭān Muḥammad had arrived, and along with him Sulṭān Uḡmān of Samarkand [his son in-law subsequently] and that the Khitā ī forces were pushing on. Mu'izz-ud Dīn, finding that he was much in the same position as the Lords of the Elephant—"Hast thou not beheld how the Lord of Lords dealt with the Lords of the Elephant? Did He not make their evil design the means of drawing them into error and sent against them flocks of birds, which cast upon them lumps of burnt clay which rendered the perfidious like unto the corn that has been reaped?" [Kur'ān Chap. c. 5]—and that destruction awaited him if he remained, resolved to retire. He directed that the whole of the heavy material should be burnt during the night, and his army began to retire along the banks of the Jihūn, but they were pursued by the Khwārazmīs next day at dawn, and, at Hazār Asp [afterwards destroyed by the Mughals. Gurīdah and Jāmi ut Tawārīkh call it Hazār-Šāl], the Ghūrīs faced about and came to a stand, and drew up to fight. Sulṭān Muḥammad, with his forces, fell upon the right wing of the Ghūrīs, and overthrew it, and the rest gave way pursued by the Khwārazmīs. In this affair several of the Amīrs of Ghūr and a great number of men were

retired to Khwārazm When the Sultān-i-Ghāzī appeared before the gates of Khwārazm, and carried on hostilities for some days, the people of Khwārazm commenced engaging the Ghūrīs on the bank³ of the aqueduct which had been drawn from the river Jihūn towards the east of the city, and the name of which place and water is Qarā-Sū⁴ [the Black Water], and of the Amīrs of Ghūr several persons were slain and taken prisoners in that engagement.

As the capture of [the city of] Khwārazm was not accomplished on account of the scarcity of the appliances of the Ghaznīn forces, the length of the campaign, and the lack of forage, the Sultān withdrew his troops from the gates of Khwārazm⁵ and retired along the banks of the Jihūn, and towards Balkh The forces of Khitā, and the Malīks and Amīrs of Turkistān had arrived on the banks of the Jihūn, and had possessed themselves of the route of the army of Islām When the Sultān-i-Ghāzī reached Andkhūd⁶, on a Tuesday, at the time of evening prayer⁷, the van of the infidels of Turkistān reached the Sultān's position, and set to to fight. The commander of the van of the army of Islām was the Sālār [chief, leader, &c], Husain-i-Khar-mīl, and he put the infidels to the rout He was one of the Malīks of

taken prisoners After a time the Khwārazmīs gave up the pursuit, and Sultān Muḥammad returned to Khwārazm, where he gave a great banquet, and made great rejoicing

In this action the Ghūrīs lost still more of their war material and elephants, and they continued their retreat towards Andkhūd [Guzīdah says, within the limits of Ṭāl-kān] and, on reaching it, found that the troops of Gūr Khān of Karā-Khitā, under Bāniko of Tarāz, were there posted to bar their retreat, and appeared on all sides of them The Ghūrīs fought with great bravery from dawn to the setting of the sun, and darkness put an end to the fray, in which, according to Yāfa-ī, the Ghūrīs lost 50,000 men Jāmi' ut-Tawārīkh says the Ghūrīs were broken on the first charge of the Khitā-īs See following page for a specimen of our author's exaggeration.

³ Some copies have "on the *latter* side or bank of the aqueduct" !

⁴ The Qarā-Sū is some eight or nine miles from the city—or rather the city here referred to

⁵ Almost as absurd a reason as our Central Asian *oracles* pronounced would render the success of the Russians against the same territory "utterly impossible," a few months ago Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was only five days before the place The preceding note² shows why the Ghūrīs had to retire.

⁶ Not Andkhod See note on this in the account of Qabā jah farther on

⁷ He is particular about the day of the week and time of day, but not the day of the month

Juzarwān^{*} He at once represented to the Sultān i Ghāzī the fact of the success of the Islāmī forces and the repulse [1] of the infidel troops "It is advisable, he said, that the sovereign of Islam should command that the army of Islām should mount at once and pursue the routed infidels, and fall upon them unexpectedly whereby a great victory may be achieved"

The Sultān i Ghāzī replied For years past I have been seeking such an encounter as this I shall not be found to hold back to-morrow at dawn by the guidance of the Most High, we will do battle face to face, and see unto whom Almighty God will bestow the victory I shall at least have acquired the merit of having fought for the faith as by creed enjoined. Malik Izz ud Dīn Husain son of Khar mīl¹ perceiving that the mind of the Sultān i Ghāzī was imbued with this intention, was convinced that the Sultān gave vent to these words by virtue of unbounded reliance in the true faith, and the ardour of piety [for regard had to be given to the fact] on the other hand that the host of the infidels which had come upon them was countless, and all fresh and calm, while the Musalmān army was wearied by the march from Khwārazm and the horses were emaciated and would not be strong enough to withstand the enemy and he withdrew from the service of the Sultān and with the whole of his retinue and followers to the number of five thousand horse, set out, at night, towards Juzarwān² and almost all the troops [also] whose horses were weak and emaciated departed.

^{*} This place has been often mentioned as Juzarwān and as above: *guzar* / are interchangeable.

¹ In the next paragraph our author contradicts this absurd statement.

² The same who after this was Wālī of Fīrīt. His conduct here was in keeping with his doings there. See note ³ page 257

³ One copy only has the *town* of Juzarwān, but it is a comparatively modern copy There was a town, probably as well as a district so called.

This desertion of the Sultān by Izz-ud Dīn, Husain, son of Khar mīl, appears to have given rise to the improbable story related by Firāhtah and some others, and repeated by Briggs in his translation of Firāhtah, but Dow does not give the whole. This story is repeated and re-echoed by Briggs' copyists, and people are led to imagine that Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn's most trusted, most devoted, and loyal slave, whom he delighted to honour and whom he intended as his successor had refused to admit his master and sovereign into Ghaznī, of which he is styled governor after the Sultān's defeat and accommodation with the allied forces of Khitā and Sultān Ugmān. We know that Tāj-ud-Dīn,

In the morning, notwithstanding that only a few horsemen of the centre division and his own slaves remained

I-yāl-düz, held the government of Kaṛmān, but where is it stated that he held Ghaznī at all at that time? It appears that he had not been removed from Kaṛmān up to the period of the Sulṭān's death, and the honour shown to him by Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, only a few months after his return from Khwārazm, when marching against the Khokhars, precludes the possibility of I-yāl-düz's having acted in the way asserted by Firishṭah, and it was only when Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, conferred on him the investiture of Ghaznī, with a deed of manumission, and the title of Sulṭān, that he proceeded thither from his government of Kaṛmān. See page 500, note ³. It is also stated that another of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's chiefs "*went straight*" from the field of battle at Andkhūd to "Mooltan," and seized it. Where Andkhūd? Where Multān? This story, absurd though it seems, appears to have emanated from the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir, and something similar is related in Guzīdah, the Jāmī'ut-Tawārikh, and in Alfī, noticed farther on, but *no mention whatever* is made in these works about closing the gates of Ghaznī by I-yāl-düz [Īladd-gīz, in Guzīdah] or any other person, and it appears to have received great amplification from Firishṭah himself, for the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī, a work of authority, written a few years before, says not one word about anything of the kind. See also note ¹, page 481. The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir has the name of this rebel written in four different ways, in as many copies of the text, namely, Ī-bak-i-Bāk [إيبك باك], Ī-bak-i-Nā-pāk [إيبك ناپاك], and the unintelligible names of [إيبك ناپاك] without points [It is evidently the same name as occurs in Jāmī'ut-Tawārikh—Lik-Tāl [لیک تال] Guzīdah styles him Ī-bak, Bādshāh of Multān!]. Firishṭah says "a Turkī slave—one of the most trusted servants of the kingdom fled from the field of battle with the Khwārazmīs, thinking that the Sulṭān had been killed, and some calamity had befallen the state, and made for Multān with all possible despatch. Arrived there, he stated to the Amīr-i-Dād [chief of justice], Hasan, that he had important matters to communicate to him in private within the Kaṣr, by the royal command, and which it was by no means advisable should become known to others." Having succeeded in getting a private audience, he gave a sign "to a mean Turk" who assassinated the Amīr-i-Dād, who appears to have held the chief authority there under the governor of the province of Lāhor and Multān, Amīr-i-Muḥammad, son of Abī 'Alī. For some time this affair remained secret, and it was thought that Hasan had been imprisoned by the Sulṭān's commands, but, at length, it became noised abroad, far and near, through Hind and Sind. See note ¹, page 481. The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir then passes, at once, to the outbreak of the Kokhars [Khokhars—natives of Khurāsān and Europeans generally leave out the *k* in pronunciation of the Hindi Kokh], while Firishṭah gives a long account of the slave's reduction and punishment. He says, "the Sulṭān, unable to enter Ghaznī, proceeded towards Multān, and countered Ī-bak-i-Nā-pāk [otherwise Yāl-būr, &c.], took him captive, and marched towards Ghaznī with the frontier troops of Hind." At Ghaznī, the Sulṭān, through the intercession of the great men of that city, overlooked the conduct of Īladd-gīz [this is the name Guzīdah and Firishṭah use for his personage, and Yāl-düz, for Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yāl-düz], and, having disposed of that matter, entered into a treaty of peace with Sulṭān Muḥammad, against Khwārazm Shāh, and, after that, made preparations for his expedition against the Khokhars. Firishṭah, like some other more modern writers,

with him the Sultān drew out his ranks and commenced the engagement. The army of the unbelievers, having formed a circle round about the troops of Islām came on, and in despite of the remonstrance his slaves were using that of the army of Islām only a small number of men remained, and that it was advisable to retreat, the Sultān i-Ghāzī still continued to maintain his position until of cavalry and his own personal slaves² only about one hundred horse men remained, who with a few elephants the Turkish slaves, and the Ghūrīān leaders, who were the Sultān's grandees, in front of his charger's head were hurling back the infidels, devoting their lives, and obtaining martyrdom.

Trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that the Sultān i-Ghāzī stood his ground so persistently that his august state canopy, from the wounds of the arrows of the infidel Mughals³ [and the arrows remaining sticking fast] became like unto a porcupine, and he would not turn his head round in any direction, until one of his Turkish slaves whose name was Ayyah⁴, Jūkī came up seized the Sultān's bridle, and dragged him away towards the fortress of And

styles them Ghakars—گاکر—but he could scarcely have been expected to know the difference, and even Elliot, in his Index [page 160, note*], after writing the word properly supposes Gakhar [گاکر] and Khokhar [خوگر] one and the same race, but there is as much difference between them as between an Afghān, and a Khar'l Jāt as those who have served in the Panjāb well know. The *Taba'āt i Akbarī* a work of greater authority than Firāhtāh [whom I do not consider an authority in these matters any more than respecting the presence of *cannoniers* [کانبز] at the battle of Tarā'īn], says nothing of the kind; and, had I yal-dūz, Ī-bak i Nā pāk, Līk Tāl, or any other person, been guilty of the acts mentioned, there is no doubt our author would, at least, have referred to them. He might smooth or slur over a defeat, but not circumstances of this kind. See Alfī's account of the expedition against the Khokhars in note¹ page 481 which I think tends to disprove much of the improbable story under discussion, more particularly when the Tāj-ul Ma'āzīr says not one word about either Īladd-gīz or Yal-dūz, nor about the Sultān's coming to Multān against Ī bak i-Nā pāk, whose name is not again mentioned in the entire volume. The account given by our author farther on in his account of Alī ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, at page 492, and of Tāj ud Dīn, I yal-dūz, page 496, also tends to disprove this story.

¹ This description of troops has already been mentioned in note² page 168.

² The Khīfā is he means.

³ In two of the best copies, Ī bah or Al-bah, and in one good old copy Abīah or Abīyah, but in the oldest the name is plainly written as above. Jūkī in all probability is the name of his tribe. Some other authors style him a Khaly, but it is one and the same thing—Turk and Khaly.

khūd, and conducted him thither, and brought him within the walls of that fortress ⁶

⁶ Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, with the few men remaining of the centre division of his army, as soon as the sun rose, succeeded, by stratagem, in throwing himself within the walls of the Hīṣār of Andkhūd [Guzīdah says, Tāl-kān], but the Khitā-ī troops invested it, perforated the walls, and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn would have been captured, when Sultān 'Uṣmān of Samrkand, who was now with the Khitā-ī forces, sent him a message saying "For the honour of the true faith I do not desire that a Sultān of Islām should fall into the hands of those of another belief, and be put to death by them therefore it is advisable that you should agree to sacrifice for your own safety what remains of your elephants and other animals, your valuables, treasures, arms and armour, and other war material, that I may make these things the means, with these people, of obtaining your escape in safety" This he agreed to do, and Sultān 'Uṣmān, by a thousand efforts and contrivances, succeeded in securing the Sultān's escape, and he reached his own territory in safety. There can be no doubt whatever as to the Sultān's gallantry, but our author's statements are *rather* highly coloured. The Tabakāt-i-Akbarī, contrary to others, states that the Sultān defended Andkhūd *for some time*, and then surrendered on terms, but it is not correct.

The following is another specimen of the translations from which Indian history is written, referring to this campaign —

Dow, vol. 1. page 145

"News was then brought to him [Mahommed] of the death of his brother *Yeas ul dien*, who retained nothing of the empire but the name [this is totally incorrect, and is the translator's own] *Mahommed*, upon this, succeeded to the empire. He turned by the way of *Budyeish*, and subdued the country of *Chorassan*, recovering it out of the hand of the *Siljoki*, and he divided it among the family of *Sam*, giving the government of *Ferose Ko* and *Ghor* to *Malleck Zea*, who was son-in-law to his brother, *Yeas ul dien*, the deceased Emperor, *Bust*, *Ferra*, and *Isphorar* he gave to *Mamood*, his brother's son, and the government of *Herat* and its districts to *Nasir*, his nephew by a sister

"*Mahommed*, after these transactions, returned to *Ghizni*, where, according to the will of the deceased Emperor, he was crowned in form, and mounted the imperial throne. In the same year, he heard of the death of *Zireek*, prince of *Murve*, and, in the beginning of the next, marched to the conquest of that country, ad-

BRIGGS, vol. 1. page 180-181

"On hearing of the death of his brother, he [Mahomed Ghoozy] now returned towards *Ghizny*, by the route of *Budghees*, and, subduing part of the country of *Khwaruzm*, recovered it out of the hands of the *Suljooks*. He divided this new conquest [! !] among several members of his own family [see our author, page 472], giving the government of *Feroozkooch* and *Ghoor* [Are these in *Khwaruzm* recovered from the *Suljooks*?] to his nephew *Zeea-ood-Deen*, son-in-law of his late brother, *Gheas-ood-Deen*. He also gave *Boost*, *Furrah*, and *Isfurar* [All in *Khwaruzm* perhaps?] to the Prince *Mahomed*, his brother's son, and the government of *Hirat* and its dependencies to *Nasir-ood-Deen*, his nephew by a sister

"On his arrival at *Ghizny*, according to the will of his deceased brother, he was crowned in form [STUDENT'S MANUAL OF INDIAN HISTORY—"he was crowned Sultān without opposition"], and ascended the throne. In the same year he heard of the death of *Mahomed Zeeruk*, Prince of

The following day Sulṭān Uḡmān of Samrḵand, who

coming by way of Charām [11], and Tacash, the King of that country not able to oppose him in the field, shut himself up in the city. The king pitched his camp on the banks of the great canal, which the Chālligies had formerly dug to the westward of that city. He forthwith attacked the place, and in a few days lost many brave nobles in the pursuit of glory. In the mean-time, news arrived, that Aibek, the general of the King of Chittā, in Tartary and Osman, King of Samarcand, were advancing with great armies, to the relief of Charām. Mahomed was so unwilling to abandon his hopes of taking the city that he delayed till the allied armies advanced so near that he was under the necessity of burning all his baggage, and to retreat with the utmost expedition to Chorasān [11]. But an army from the city pressed so close upon his heels, that he was obliged to give them battle. He was totally defeated, losing all his elephants and treasure.

In the meantime the *confederate Kings* who had taken a circuit, to cut off *Mahomed's* retreat, met him full in the face, as he was flying from the King of Charām."

After and in the beginning of the next year marched to *complete the conquest of Khawarizm* [11] [This is what is styled his *western* campaign against the King of Khartizm] in THE STUDENT'S MANUAL, but I think Khwārazm lies north of Ghāznīn]. *Mahomed Ghōory* having encamped on the banks of the great canal, which had formerly been dug to the westward of the city forthwith attacked the place but lost many brave officers and men in AN ATTEMPT TO ESCALADE IT [11]. Mean while news arrived that *Korra Beg* the general of *Ghōorkhan*, King of *Khutta* and *Othman Khan Samarbandy* were advancing with armies to the relief of *Khawarizm Shah* *Mahomed Ghōory* unwilling to abandon his hopes of taking the city delayed his retreat till the allied armies advanced so near that he was compelled to burn his baggage, and to retire with the utmost precipitation towards *Khorasān*. His army was pressed so closely by troops from that province that he was compelled to give battle, and was wholly defeated losing all his elephants and treasure, while the *confederate Kings* [see page 473, and note 2] who had taken a circuit to cut off his retreat towards Ghuzny intercepted him."

This may truly be called the Romance of History. Deceived, apparently by this translation, ELPHINSTONE [page 316] has fallen into great error. He says: *He* [Shāhīb u dīn] *gained a great victory over the king of that country* [Khārizm], *besieged him in his capital and soon reduced him to such straits as to constrain him to sue [1] for aid to the Khitan Tartars*" &c. Never was a statement more erroneous. MARSHMAN too, possibly quoting from the same, says "Mahomed led his troops against *Takash*, as he styles Sulṭān Alī ud Dīn, Muḥammad, the son of Sulṭān Takish."

The following is FIRĀHTAH's account:— Sulṭān Shāhīb-ud Dīn was between Tūs and Sarakhs when the account of the decease of his brother, Ghīyās-ud Dīn, reached him, and in whose name the kingdom was [i. e. in whom the sovereignty rested. This is the passage misinterpreted by Dow— *who retained nothing of the empire but the name.*] The original is *راوى باسامى* [The original is *راوى باسامى*]. From thence he set out for Bādghān, performed the mourning ceremonies there, and, in this year he divided the whole of the states of Khurāsān [Firāhtah here shows that he is himself no authority as to the geography of

was a second Yūsuf [in beauty], and the Afrāsiyābī Maliks of Turkistān, who were Musalmāns⁷, interposed and

these parts, any more than he is an authority as to the history] among the family of Sām [i.e. the descendants of Sām, his father, *only* Ziyā-ud-Dīn now to be mentioned was not of the family of Sām except as a son-in-law—the revised text of BRIGGS has—Āl-i-Sāmān—آل سامان—in this manner. He gave the throne of Firūz-koh and Ghūr to his uncle's son, Malīk Ziyā-ud-Dīn, who was Sulṭān Ghīyāṣ ud-Dīn's son-in-law, Bust, Farah, and Isfarā'īn [Isfīzār?] to Sulṭān Maḥmūd, son of Sulṭān Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn, and Hirāt and its dependencies to his sister's son, Nāsir-ud-Dīn. He himself returned from Bādghais to Ghaznīn, and, in accordance with the will of his brother, having placed the crown of empire upon his head, he became established on the exalted throne of sovereignty [This is the literal translation of the sentence which has been twisted into *crowned in form*, &c.] At this time intimation reached him of the slaying of Muhammad-i-Khar-nak [in the revised text Khair Beg—جیر بک, governor of Marw, and, in the year 600 H., he set out, with numerous forces to subdue Khwārazm. Khwārazm Shāh, unable to oppose him [in the field], entered the fortress of Khwārazm.

“When the Sulṭān reached Khwārazm, he took up a position on the water [canal, river, and the like] which they have (*sic*) dug and set flowing from the Jihūn to the east of the city [the word ج here used with reference to this water-cut has been mistaken by Dow for the Turkish tribe, Khalj, which he styles *Chilgies*]. For some days fighting went on, and several of the Ghūrīān Amīrs were killed. At this juncture news arrived that Karā Beg, the general of Gūr Khān, Bādshāh of Khitā [this is enough to show of what value Firishtah's authority is for these matters. See page 261, for the name of the general of the Khitā-i forces on this occasion. Hitherto, Firishtah has copied our author, whom he quotes as one of his authorities, tolerably correct], and Sulṭān 'Uṣmān, sovereign of Samrḳand, were marching to the aid of Khwārazm Shāh. On receiving this information, such alarm was felt by the Sulṭān that he set fire to the surplus baggage and equipage, and set out towards Khurāsān [he means Ghaznīn]. Khwārazm Shāh followed in pursuit, and Sulṭān Shihāb-ud-Dīn faced about and gave battle, and was defeated, and lost his treasure, his horses, and elephants. Having proceeded on his way, unexpectedly, the army of Karā Beg, Khitā-i, and Sulṭān 'Uṣmān seized the route in advance,” &c. The rest agrees with our author, and there is *not a word*, in the whole account, about *escalade* or anything approaching it, and, moreover, the canal, which he had not crossed, was some miles from the city. Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, in order to celebrate the flight of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, bestowed the nick-name “Ghūrī Breaker” upon a son born to him the night before the enemy retired. See page 281.

The Tāj-ul Ma'āṣir, which pours out page after page of rhapsodical nonsense upon the most trivial matters, merely mentions, with respect to this disaster, that the Sulṭān sustained “a slight misfortune and reverse [اندک چشم رومی و شکستی],” gives the year 600 H. as the date, and does not mention [in the three MSS I have read] anything whatever about the Sulṭān having been wounded. The word رومی mentioned above may have been mistaken for such meaning. I should be sorry to place implicit faith on any statements in the above work, unless corroborated by some other work by a contemporary writer.

⁷ Our author calls the whole of those opposed to Mu'izz ud-Dīn, “infidels”

brought about an accommodation and the infidel forces drew back again and the Sultān returned to Ghazni and commanded that forces should be organized for a three years campaign in Turkistān and determined to march into Khitā¹

At that period an assemblage of contumacious persons, [consisting] of Khokhars and other rebels of the tribes of the hills of Lohor² and Jūd hills had broken out into revolt³

several times before this; but the fact is all are infidels who are opposed to Ghūris. Mu'izz-ud Dīn was saved from captivity or death through the good offices of Sultān Ugmān, a Muslimān like himself.

* When Sultān Mu'izz-ud Dīn, overcome with grief and chagrin, reached his own territory in safety Sultān Muḥammad despatched one of his Chamberlains to him, saying "You are aware that you yourself are the cause of this hostility and distrust. Perhaps you may now be inclined to give up your hostile intentions against my dominions and be desirous of peace." Sultān Mu'izz-ud Dīn was agreeable, and he bound himself by the most solemn promises to abide by the terms, and, further to aid and assist Sultān Muḥammad whenever requested. Perhaps the latter may in doing this, have had a foreboding, that he might want support against Chingiz Khān, who had acquired vast power at that time, and whose doings caused anxiety to the Khwārazmī Sultān.

After this accommodation had been concluded, a body of insurgents assembled together at Tāj-kān, and Tāj-ud Dīn, Zangī [brother of Shams-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, of Tukhristān], who was Wālī of Balkh at that time, was the chief mover in this outbreak. He made a raid upon Marw-ar Rūd, and slew the intendant stationed there, and sought to plunder the place. Sultān Muḥammad, on becoming aware of this raid, nominated Badr-ud Dīn-i-Khīr [—probably Khār—] from Marw and Tāj-ud Dīn, Alī, from Abī ward, with their troops, to march against him. After coming up with them, Zangī together with ten Amīra, were taken in the encounter which ensued, and were sent off prisoners to Khwārazm, where they met with their deaths, and their heads were struck off. Notwithstanding this affair the peace was faithfully observed between the two Sultāns and their Amīra. Still, the remembrance of past events rankled in the heart of Mu'izz-ud Dīn; and, in order to prepare for any eventuality that might offer to enable him to avenge himself, he, under pretence of holy war, he was in the habit of organizing his manufactured arms in great quantities, until, in 602 H. he became venturing an expedition into Hindūstān against the infidels, in order to retrieve the finances of himself and officers, and also of his men, all of whom during the last few years, and, in the Khwārazm expedition, had sustained great losses.

Of the hills of Lohor² is contained in two copies only. The hills to the north of Lohor of course, are meant.

¹ The following is the description of this affair contained in the Tārīkh-i-Alfi, which compare with Elliot's extract from the original in his INDEX, page 1 and his translation, pages 158—160:—

Transactions of the year 592 of the Rīshat.

In trustworthy histories it is stated, that, at the time that Shihāb-ud Dīn

and, in the cold season of that year, the Sultān came into Hindūstān, and sent that refractory race to hell, and

[see remarks as to his correct title and name, as shown by his coins, note⁵, page 446] was defeated by the Turks and Kh̲itā-īs, as already noticed, it became noised abroad throughout his territories that the Sultān, Shihāb ud-Dīn, had disappeared in that battle, and it was unknown what had happened to him—whether he had been killed, or whether he was still living, and had gone into any foreign part. Consequently, the seditious in his territory—in all parts—raised their heads, and each stretched forth his hand towards some tract of the territory. Among the seditious was one, Rāe Sāl by name, who was [dwelling] in the hilly country, between the city of Luhāwar [لہوار] and Ghaznah, and, in concert with a body of Kokars, in the [same] tract [of country], and who always used to pay revenue to the treasury of Shihāb-ud-Dīn, having revolted from authority and obedience, he commenced plundering and harrying that district, and completely closed the route between Luhāwar and Ghaznah [Ghaznīn], and in such wise that not a soul could pass along it” [He is called “*Re bāl*” [ربال] and “*Ran-bāl*” [ربال] in Jāmi’-ut-Tawārīkh, but both names are doubtful, and are, probably, meant for Rāe-Sāl, “the ruler of the Koh-i-Jūd [the Salt Range], at which the frontier of Hind commences, who had turned Musalmān, and subsequently relapsed, and the Khokhars, who also used to pay tribute to the Sultān, in consequence of these reports, also rose.” Tāj-ul Ma’āshir, after stating that the proceedings of Līk-Tāl [لیک تال], and the rumoured death of the Sultān, was the cause of great confusion and disturbance, says, “the Kokar tribe, rising in rebellion, entertained the idea of becoming independent, and obtaining dominion. The sons of Kokar, *Bakan* and *Sarkah* [Firīshṭah has but one, whom he calls ‘the chief of the Khokhars, who bore the name of *Sarkah*’], also entertained the desire of acquiring sovereign power” Then there is an account of their taking Lohor, and of their defeating the feudatories of the Multān province, Bahā-ud-Dīn and his brother, and others, and that the Sipah-Sālār, Sulīmān, had to fly before them.] Alfī continues —“When Shihāb-ud-Dīn reached Ghaznah in safety, in the manner previously described, and this matter came to his knowledge, he determined to proceed into Hindūstān, and thoroughly chastise the rebels of that part. Therefore he first directed Amīr Muhammad, son of Abī ‘Alī [this must be his kinsman, the son-in-law of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, the late Sultān], who was his lieutenant over Luhāwar and Multān [the Amīr i-Dād, Hasan, was probably subordinate to him], to remit with all possible celerity the revenue of the year 601 H [and yet the Tāj-ul-Ma’āshir gives the year 600 H as that of his return from Kh̲wārazm, and his expedition against the Khokhars], as it was required in the preparations making for the invasion of Kh̲itā [Jāmi’-ut-Tawārīkh says after the Sultān had taken his slave Lek Tāl [or Līk-Tāl], who had taken Multān, and had put him to death, and disposed of that affair, he sent Muhammad, son of Abī ‘Alī, to Lāhor and Multān as governor, in session of that he should send the tribute of those territories, which for the last two years were in arrears, to provide him with funds for his campaign against Kh̲itā]. Amīr Muhammad wrote, in reply, that the revenue of the years (*sic*) mentioned was ready, but that the Kokars [Khokhars], and Rāe Sāl, the chief of the Jibāl i-Jūdī [the Jūd Hills] [Tāj-ul-Ma’āshir does not make the distinction between two different tribes, but says the sons of Kokar, Bakan and Sarkah—in another MS نکر و موله], had so closed the lower route to Ghaznah [neither the

carried on holy war as prescribed by the canons of Islām and set a river of the blood of those people flowing. When

Bolān not the Khabbar the two by some *supposed* sole routes into Afghānistān, are referred to], that not a person could proceed by it.

On hearing this, Shihāb-ud Dīn wrote [he sent the Amīr i Khizib, Sarī] ud Dīn i Abī Bīkr] to his slave, Kutb-ud Dīn, who was the commander of the forces of Hind, [to the effect] that having despatched a person to the Kokars to forbid them against committing these odious acts, he should call upon them to repent of their doings and return to obedience, on which he would pass over their misconduct. Kutb-ud Dīn despatched a person to them, in conformity with this command, and urged them to submit. The son of Kokar [not mentioned before] replied: This is not your affair: it was necessary for Sultān Shihāb-ud Dīn to send a person of his own, if he were alive. Wherefore, then, did he not send to us, that we also might have sent the taxes for him? That emissary in reply said: Consider this great regard towards you, that he hath sent me, who am his slave to you. Again, the son of Kokar said, in answer: All this is mere talk. Shihāb-ud Dīn is not forth coming. The emissary replied: The verification of this matter is easy: send one of your own confidential people to Ghaznah, that he may with his own eyes, see, and come and say whether Shihāb-ud Dīn is living or not. In short, the son of Kokar did not give ear to the emissary's words, and still continued firm, as before, in his sedition and rebellion and, when the person sent by Kutb-ud Dīn related to him the state of affairs, he represented it to the Court of Shihāb-ud Dīn. The Sultān directed Kutb-ud Dīn to assemble the [available] troops of Hindūstān and march against the Kokars, and to annihilate and eradicate beyond ought that could be conceived, that seditious and contumacious race.

When the command reached Kutb-ud Dīn, he assembled and made ready his forces, and was about to move against that tribe, when Sultān Shihāb-ud Dīn himself was on the point of marching his troops towards Khizā, but, successive complaints of the violence and outrages committed by the Kokars reached him, and his people represented to that Sultān such numbers of things [respecting them], that it became incumbent on him to quell them and restrain their sedition first, and then to proceed in the other direction. Consequently upon this he gave up his determination of invading Khizā, and pitched his [advanced] tent in the direction of Lahāwar and, on the 5th of Rabī' ul Awwal, of this same year [602 H.], he set out from Ghaznah towards Hindūstān. When Shihāb-ud Dīn reached Purgāwar, he found that the Kokars, in large numbers, had taken up a position between the Jilam [Jhllam] and the Sūdarah [Sūdhārā]. On hearing this news, Shihāb-ud Dīn made a forced march from Purgāwar on Thursday the 25th of the same month, and fell upon them unawares [Jāmi' ut Tawārīkh says he attacked them on the 25th] and from break of day till the time of afternoon prayers he kept up the flame of battle and conflict and the Kokars fought in such wise that, with all that grandeur and power the Sultān had nearly been forced back from his position, when, unexpectedly at that juncture, Kutb-ud Dīn, I bak, with the forces of Hindūstān, arrived [upon the scene], and commenced slaughtering the Kokars. As Kutb-ud Dīn's troops were fresh and vigorous, the Kokars were unable to resist them, and they took to flight. The soldiers of Islām, pursuing them, inflicted such havoc upon them as cannot be conceived. Those that escaped the sword fled to the dense depths of the *jungal* and the Muslims set fire to

he set out on his return towards Ghaznīn, in the year 602 H, at the halting-place of Dam-yak, he attained mar-

it on all sides [Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh states that the Hindūs [the Khokhars] fled to the highest ranges of the Koh-i-Jūd, and, on being pursued, lighted a great fire, and threw themselves into it, and perished. Great plunder was taken and many captives, so that five Hindū [Khokhar] captives could be bought for a *dīnār*. The son of Re-bāl, chief of the Koh-i-Jūd, sought the protection of Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and made great supplication to him. Kuṭb-ud-Dīn made intercession for him with the Sultān, who pardoned him, while the Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir says one of Kokar's sons was among the slain [Sarkah], and the other, Bakan, made for a fortress in the Jūd Hills, in which he was invested, and, after holding out some time, being hard pressed, made intercession through Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, and surrendered the place, and was forgiven.] At that time those infidels agreed together not to surrender to the Musalmāns, and they threw themselves into the *jangal*, and were consumed.

"The Sultān, having disposed of that affair to his satisfaction, advanced to Luhāwar [Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh says he arrived there on the 15th of Rajab], and gave his troops permission to return to their own homes [quarters?], where, having rested some days[some time], they might set out on their invasion of Khitā."

The authors of the Tārīkh-i-Alfī availed themselves of the best authorities in the compilation of their great work, and there is scarcely any celebrated work, whether Arabic or Persian, that they did not use and quote from. They also appear to have often used such Hindū historical works as were available, and yet there is no mention of the story of the Yal-dūz or Īladd-gīz rebellion, nor of Lek-Tāl, nor of Ī-bak-i-Nā-pāk, nor Ī-bak-i-Bāk. It seems *rather significant* that the author or authors of this story should have selected names similar to those of the two most trusted, loyal, and favourite slaves of the Sultān, and who succeeded him in the sovereignty of Ghaznīn and Hindūstān respectively—I-jāl-dūz and Ī-bak—for their story, but it is certain that the Tāj ul-Ma'āṣir is accountable for the latter part of it, in which Ī-bak-i-Nā-pāk is mentioned.

The Khokhars were not annihilated in this affair by any means, and gave great trouble in after years, and gained possession of Lāhor.

BRIGGS says, page 201, vol 1. "In the latter end of the King's reign [Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's], their chieftain [of the *Gukkus*] was converted to the true faith *when a captive*. After becoming a proselyte he procured his release from the King, who endeavoured to persuade him to convert his followers," &c. This is totally contrary to the original. A Musalmān became captive to the Khokhars, and whilst among them he explained to them the tenets and usages of the Muḥammadan faith. The chieftain asked the Musalmān how the Sultān would treat him if he should embrace the Muḥammadan faith, to which the Musalmān replied that he would undertake to say that the Sultān would treat him with royal favour, and would confer on him the authority over those mountain tracts. This circumstance was duly represented to the Sultān in writing by the captive Musalmān, and the Sultān at once despatched a rich dress of honour for the chief of the Khokhars, and he came and presented himself before the Sultān, was treated with great honour, was made a Musalmān, returned home with a *farmān* investing him with the government of those parts, and he made most of the Khokhars converts. Dow, in this instance, has translated the passage correctly, but, unfortunately for Firūzshāh's authority, this tale does not tally with the last events in the Sultān's life, and it, in a measure, contradicts his own statements respecting them.

tyrdom² at the hand of a disciple of the Mulāḥidāh, and died³ One of the learned men of that period has com

² The *Isfahān* differs here in one of the oldest copies, which has, "he was killed," &c.

³ Yāfa † says that one successful expedition gained in Hindūstān at this time was sufficient to repair the Sultān's finances, and to set right the affairs of his troops and, on his return to his capital, after having crossed the Jīf [جبل] ferry—the ferry over the Jhīlam probably—Jāmi' at Tawārikh has Hānī—حانی—[Ben. As. Soc. MS. جبل and Jahān Kushā † ford, and says he crossed over on the 1st of Shā'bān—his royal tent was pitched on the banks of the Jīfūn [of Hind?], i. e. the Sind or Indus, so that one-half of it reached near to the water and hence it was not deemed necessary to guard that side; and that, at the time of taking his noon-day nap two or three Fidā'īs [disciples] suddenly leaped from the water and assassinated him, and in this most authors agree Guẓidah, however says he was then on his way to Turkistān to wreak vengeance on Sultān Ugmān of Samrānd! The term Fidā'ī is particularly applied to the disciples of the chief of the Mulāḥidāh heretics, and our author plainly states that it was from the daggers of the disciples of this sect that Mu'izz-ud-Dīn met his death, and not from the Khokhar tribe and, when we consider that he had undertaken an expedition against them only two or three years before [see note⁴ page 381], it is by no means improbable that they caused him to be assassinated. The Jāmi' at Tawārikh says the assassins were Khokhars, but almost immediately contradicts the statement, and says that Imām Fakhr-ud Dīn was suspected of having brought it about. Some malignant Muḥammadan Ulamā, on account of the great friendship that existed between the Sultān of Khwārazm and the eminent Imām Fakhr ud Dīn, Rāfi [see page 429, and page 492], accused him of having conspired against the life of Sultān Mu'izz-ud Dīn, and asserted that Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, had sent some person, who, after consultation with the Imām, had assassinated the Sultān; but it is considered by some writers that these very people who had accused the Imām had themselves caused the deed to be done. The Imām, as the late Sultān's slaves were bent upon avenging him, threw himself on the protection of the Wazīr Mu'ayyid ul Mulk, until such time as the Wazīr contrived to secure him from their vengeance, and sent him to a place of safety. Imām Fakhr-ud Dīn used to accompany Sultān Mu'izz-ud Dīn in his expeditions, and he states that Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn invaded India nine times: twice he was defeated, and seven times victorious." The statement above mentioned is confirmed, with but slight variation, by the author of the Tāj ul Ma'āzīr a contemporary writer and corroborated by our author's very meagre account. Tāj-ul Ma'āzīr says, that the Sultān's tents were pitched in a delightfully verdant mead on the bank of a clear stream [water]. At this time some *heretics* [Mulāḥidāh—ملاحده], who had been following him for some time, awaiting an opportunity to assassinate him, at the time of evening prayer and whilst the Sultān was in the act of bowing his head to the ground in prayer, and was uttering the praises of his Creator the impure and obscene sect chose for the execution of their design. They slew a Salāḥ-dār [armour bearer] and two Farrāshes [carpet-spreaders] in attendance, and then went round towards the Sultān's Khargah [pavilion or tent], and occupied it [to surround" it would have required a large number. The words used are غرو گرفت—seized, took possession. Compare Elliot, INDIA, vol. II. page 236]; and one or two among those three or four assassins rushed upon the Sultān, and inflicted five or six

posed a verse on this occurrence It is here recorded that it may come under the observation of the sovereign of the Musalmāns, and that verse is as follows —

“The martyrdom of the sovereign of sea and land, Mu’izz-ud-Dīn,
From the beginning of the world the like of whom no monarch arose,
On the third ⁴ of the month Shā’bān in the year six hundred and two,
Happened on the road to Ghaznīn at the halting-place of Dam-yak ⁵”

deep wounds, of which he immediately died.” I have merely given an abstract of the author’s rhapsodical narration.

Alfī says they were Khokhars who had lost relatives killed in the late operations — “One man among them came upon a door-keeper, and wounded him, on which the wounded man began to cry out. On this, the rest of the people about rushed up to the wounded man to see what was the matter, and were collected around him. The Khokhars seized this opportunity, and succeeded in reaching the Sultān, whom they despatched with many severe wounds”

Some other authors say it was one Khokhar only who murdered the Sultān, and that he had attached himself to him, and followed him for the purpose.

The Hindūs give a different account, which is also related by Abū-l-Fazl and in the Jamūn History with a slight difference — “Although the Persian Chroniclers state that Rāe Pithorā fell on the field of Talāwārī [Tarā’in], and that Mu’izz-ud-Dīn fell at Dam-yak by the hand of a Khokhar who had devoted himself to the deed, and that such statement has been followed by the author of the Tabakāt-i Akbarī and by Firūhtah, nevertheless, from the mouth of the Hindī bards, the depositaries of the traditions of every celebrated event, and which is handed down orally from generation to generation, it is stated that, after Rāe Pithorā was made captive and taken to Ghaznīn, one Chandā, some write Chāndā, the confidential follower and eulogist of Rāe Pithorā, styled by some authors his Court poet, proceeded to Ghaznīn to endeavour to gain information respecting his unfortunate master. By his good contrivances he managed to get entertained in Sultān Mu’izz-ud-Dīn’s service, and succeeded in holding communication with Rāe Pithorā in his prison. They agreed together on a mode of procedure, and one day Chandā succeeded by his cunning in awakening the Sultān’s curiosity about Rāe Pithorā’s skill in archery, which Chandā extolled to such a degree that the Sultān could not restrain his desire to witness it, and the captive Rājah was brought out and requested to show his skill. A bow and arrows were put into his hands, and, as agreed upon, instead of discharging his arrow at the mark, he transfixed the Sultān, and he died on the spot, and Rāe Pithorā and Chandā were cut to pieces then and there by the Sultān’s attendants

The Jamūn History states that Rāe Pithorā had been blinded [see note ¹, page 466], and that, when brought forth, and his own bow and arrows given him, notwithstanding his blindness, having fitted an arrow, and tried the temper of the bow, guided by the sound of the Sultān’s voice, and the indications of Chandā, he discharged the arrow in the right direction, and transfixed him. The rest agrees

⁴ Jahān-Ārā and some others say the 1st of Shā’bān, 602 H



⁵ As the second line of this quatrain ends in *yak*, it is wholly impossible that the last word can be *Damīk*. Dam-yak is the correct name of the place. Authors differ considerably about its situation: some say it was a little west of the Jhūlam, some on the Nīl-āb, and others that it was a village beyond the Indus, on the route to Ghaznīn, but the first seems most probable. To prove

May the Most High King encompass that Sultān i Ghāzī with his mercy and forgiveness, and preserve the sovereign of the age !

With respect to the equity and justice of this monarch in the world the mention of them could not be contained in the capacity of writing and the observance of the law of the Chosen One, and the preservation of the system of holy warfare likewise, according to the tenets of the Muḥammadan faith was accomplished in that sovereign.⁶ According to the traditions which they have related concerning the Prophet—on whom be peace!—they say that he, having been asked respecting the general resurrection affirmed that it would take place six hundred and odd years after him and the martyrdom of this sovereign occurred in the year 602 H., and, in this same year likewise, indications of the last judgment appeared and they were the irruption of Chingiz Khān the Mughal and the outbreak of the Turk. Therefore it is evident that that monarch was the strong barrier of Islām in the world, and, when he attained martyrdom the gate of the final judgment opened.⁷

The amount of wealth acquired in holy wars, accumulated in the treasury at Ghāznīn was so great that the indication of the like has not been noticed with regard to the treasury of any sovereign and Khwājah Ismā'īl the Treasurer stated at the Court of Fīrūz Koh at the time of bringing an honorary robe to the Malīkah i Jalālī the daughter of the august Sultān Ghuyās-ud Dīn Muḥammad i-Sām

how little trust is to be placed in Firīghāh's statements, as shown in Briggs's

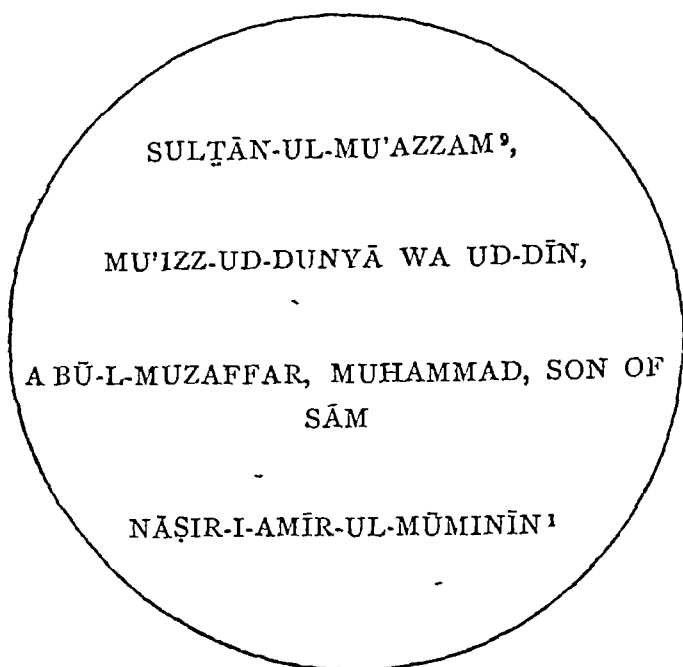
Revised Text, the Persian scholar will there find this place styled Ramhek——in the prose and a few lines under in his version of the same quatrain quoted by our author translated above, it is turned into Rhtak——and Briggs translates it *Raktak* which mistake is re-echoed by his copyists; and so the blunder gets handed down.

⁶ Other authors, too fully appreciate the character of Sultān Muḥammad i-Sām and say that "he was a God fearing and just sovereign, compassionate towards his people, liberal to his servants, honoured and revered learned and good men, and treated them with distinction." His deeds prove that he was faithful to his brother; but if his exploits are not more substantial than the mythical relationship to his *great ancestor* Sooltan Mahmood I " [who has been lately declared *illegitimate* in the STUDENT'S MANUAL OF INDIAN HISTORY], they need not have been ever recorded.

⁷ Notwithstanding which, our author, who appears to have had as keen an appreciation of the mammon of unrighteousness as others who croak about the end of the world, took care to accept villages and money presents, and even slaves to send to his dear sister to sell in Khurāsān, not long after

[Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's niece and Zīyā-ud-Dīn's betrothed wife], that of jewels contained in the Ghaznīn treasury, of diamonds alone, which are the most precious of gems, there were actually fifteen hundred *mans*⁸. The amount of other jewels and money may be judged of accordingly.

Titles and names of the Sultān



⁸ It depends upon what *man* is meant. Our author must refer to the *man* of Tabrīz, which is much smaller than that of Hindūstān, the former being somewhat less than 2 lbs, whilst the latter varies from 40 to 80 lbs. The Tabrīz *man* is thus described — 6 *habbah* [*habbah* signifies, a seed, a gram, &c, and is equal to a barley-corn] = 1 *dāng*, 6 *dāngs* = 1 *muškāl* 15 *muškāls* = 1 *astār*, 40 *astārs* = 1 *man*.

I fear the Khwājah was as great an exaggerator as our author himself. Other authors however mention the quantity as 500 *mans*. Even the latter number is too incredible almost for belief.

⁹ After his brother's death, on becoming supreme ruler, he took the title of Sultān-ul-A'zam.

¹ How he obtained the title of Nāsir-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn, and when, the chronicler does not say. It *may* have been conferred upon him by the Khalīfah of Baghdād for being with his brother, Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, a tool in the Khalīfah's hands against the Sultān of Khwārazm. I imagine it is this title on his coins which Mr E. Thomas reads as the name of the Khalīfah. Un-Nāsir-ud-Dīn 'Ullah was certainly Khalīfah at this period. See CHRONICLES OF PATHĀN KINGS OF DEHLĪ, page 12.

The Sultān is styled "Us-Sultān Nāsir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Abū-l-Muzaffar," &c, on a coin said to have been struck at Dihlī, 589 H, in the year 4 [of his rule in Hind?]

Length of his reign Thirty two years and eight months*

Seat of government in the summer season — Ghaznīn and Khurāsān.

Seat of government in the winter season — Lohor and Hind.

Kāzīs of his Court

Qāzī of the kingdom the Ṣadr i Shāhid, Kuṭb-ud Dīn Abū Bīkr subsequently the Ṣadr i Sa'īd Shīraf ud Dīn Abū Bīkr son of the Ṣadr i Shāhid Nizam [ud Dīn ?] at Ghaznīn.

Qāzī of the army³ and other territory—Shams-ud Dīn, Balkhī and his son.

Wazīrs

Ẓiyā ul Mulk, Durmaṣhānī⁴, Mu ayyid ul Mulk, Muḥammad i Abd ullah Sanjarī Shams-ul Mulk, Abd ul Jabbār, Kidānī.

Standards

On the right, Black with the Turk Maliks and Amīrs.

On the left, Red with the Maliks and Amīrs of Ghūr

The Sultān's august motto

"Victory through God"

The Sultān's Dependents who attained unto Sovereignty

Sultān Tāj ud Dīn Yal duz at Ghaznīn

Sultān Nāṣir ud Dīn Kabā jah in Multān and Uchchah

Sultān Kuṭb-ud Dīn I bak, at Lohor⁵

Sultān Ghuyās-ud Dīn, Iwaz the Khālī over the territory of Lakhanawātī⁷

³ Three years and three months exactly as an independent sovereign, from the 27th of Jamādī ul Awwal, 599 H. to 3rd of Sha'bān, 602 H. He was subordinate to his elder brother as shown by his coins; but as a dependent ruler he of course ruled over Ghaznīn from the time that sovereignty was bestowed upon him.

⁴ Our author's father does not figure here among the Kāzīs. See page 456, nor is mention made of the Ṣadr i Kabīr Kiwām-ul Mulk, Rukn ud Dīn, Hamzah, who was sent to offer terms to Rūle Pithorā.

⁵ In one copy Durmaṣhī, in a second Durmaṣhī and in a third Durghī or Durūl. See page 392, note⁶

⁶ One good copy of the text has, simply عدل Justice, or Rectitude.

⁷ Not Dīhīl! See the reign of Kuṭb-ud Dīn, next Section.

⁷ Fourth Khālī ruler of Lakhanawātī. It is strange that neither Muḥammad, son of Bakht yār nor his two immediate successors in the government of Lakhanawātī, are mentioned here. It was Muḥammad, son of Bakht yār the Khālī who reduced Bihār and Lakhanawātī during Sultān Mu'izz-ud Dīn's own lifetime, and their reduction is mentioned among the victories and successes of

The Sultān's Kinsmen and his Maliks

Malik Ziyā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad⁸, Durr-i-Ghur [The Pearl of Ghūr], in Ghūr

Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, in Bāmiān

Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, in Firūz-koh

Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, of Kīdān⁹

Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Tīmrānī

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Alb-i-Ghāzī, son of Ḳazāl Arsalān Saljūkī

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Ḥarab, of Sijistān

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Zangī¹, of Bāmiān

Malik Mubārīz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad 'Alī-i-Utsuz

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, [Husain], Mādīnī

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, of Tīmrān

Malik Mu'ayyid-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd.

Malik Shihāb²-ud-Dīn, Mādīnī³

Malik Shams-ud-Dīn, Kīdānī

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, [of] Mukrān

Malik Shāh, of Wakḥsh

Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz-i-Ḥusain

Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Alī-i-Kar-mākḥ

Malik Zahīr-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Kar-mākḥ

Malik Zahīr-ud-Dīn, Fath-i-Kar-mākḥ

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Kḥar-mīl

Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, son of Kḥar-mīl

Malik Naṣīr⁴-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, Amīr-i-Shikār [Chief Huntsman]

the Sultān at page 491 Husām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwāṣ, does not appear to have ever been in the immediate service of Mu'izz ud-Dīn, and did not acquire sovereignty until nearly *ten years* after Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's death, whilst Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār, was assassinated towards the end of the same year in which the Sultān was himself assassinated. See the account of the Khalj rulers farther on.

Strange to say, some of the copies have Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish in this list also, but such is not correct. He was the slave of the Sultān's slave, Kuṭb ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and did not acquire sovereignty until after Ī-bak's death, and long after the Sultān's decease.

⁸ Here again the author puzzles his readers. After Ziyā-ud-Dīn became ruler of Ghūr, as our author himself says at page 393, his name was changed to 'Alā-ud-Dīn.

⁹ Maternal grandfather of the two Sultāns

¹ This is the person referred to in note ³, page 425, and note ⁸, page 481

² See pages 344 and 497

³ He is the father of Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mādīnī, and was surnamed Kḥar nak

⁴ In some copies Naṣr

Malik Ikhtiyār ud Dīn Khar⁶ wār
 Malik Asad ud Dīn Sher Malik Wajirī⁷ [of Wajiristā
 Malik Rukn ud Dīn, Sūr of Kidan⁷
 Amīr Sulimān i Shig, Amīr i Dād [Chief Justice?]
 Amīr i Hājib Muḥammad Ali Ghāzi.
 Amīr i Hājib Khān Malik [?].
 Amīr i Hājib Husain i Muḥammad Hasan[?]⁸
 Malik Mu ayyid ud Dīn, Masūd.
 Amīr i Hājib Husain i Surkh⁹

Victories Successes and Holy wars

Gardaiz Saṅkūran [now Shalūzān], holy war against
 Karāmīṭah of Multān and Uchchah holy war of Na
 wālah, Burshor [or Purshor], Sīāl kot Lohor Tat
 hindah¹, Pithorā [at] Tarā'in, Ajmīr Hansī, Surs
 Kuhrām Mīrath Kol Dīhlī Thankr holy war of Budā
 Gwāliyūr Bhīrah² Jal Chānd of Banāras, Banā
 Kinnauj Kālinjar territory of Awadh, Mālwah A-dwa
 Bihār Lakhanawatī, Marw³ ar Rūd, Nishāpūr Tūs Ma
 Bāward Nisā Shāristānah Sabzwār Janābād Khwāra
 Andkhūd holy war of Khūṭā, and Koh i Jūd [and]
 Khokbars⁴

⁶ This name is doubtful. It *might* be Has wār but the above is i
 probable, and may be a nick-name. In modern copies of the text it is wri
 حرلی — حرلی — حرلی — حرلی and حرلی

⁷ In two copies, Ahmadī, and in one copy Ahmarī.

⁸ Very doubtful. The best and oldest copy has میر محمد which is
 intelligible.

⁹ In some Habushī, and in others Husainī.

¹ In one Surkhī or Sarkhī, and in another Sarjī or Surjī, but these
 doubtful. Only five copies of the text contain these names at all, and t
 of these are very defective. The Amīr i-Hājib, Sarāj-ud Dīn, Abī Bīkr
 Bahā ud Dīn, Muḥammad, are likewise mentioned in Alif.

² One copy has Bajhundah.

³ Very doubtful. It is written مر — مر — مر and even مران in the best Paris cc

⁴ Probably quiet, tranquil, &c. See reign of Kuṭb-ud Dīn, next Secti

⁵ Mashrik ar Rūd in one copy

It will be remarked that there is no reference made here to the expedit
 against Dīwal or Dībal, and the sea-coast of Sind. I have endeavoured to
 these victories, conquests, and holy wars in chronological order as near
 possible; but many are mentioned with which Mī'nizz-ud Dīn, personally
 nothing to do, three in which he was defeated — one a complete overthrow
 loss of everything, and a narrow escape from captivity and the 'holy war'
Khūṭā was never undertaken. The successes in Awadh were gained by oth
 and A-dwa and Bihār and Lakhanawatī were acquired by Ikhtiyār ud Dīn, A
 hammad, the Khālī.

III SULTĀN 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, SON OF BAHĀ-UD-DĪN, MUḤAMMAD, SĀM, OF BĀMĪĀN

When the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, was martyred at Dam-yak, and Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Sām, son of Shams-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, died on his way to Ghaznīn⁶, as has been previously recorded, the competitors for the dominion of Ghūr, Ghaznīn, Bāmīān, and Hind, of the race of the Shan-sabānīs, consisted of two lines—one, the [descendants of the] Sultāns of Ghūr, and the other, of the Sultāns of Bāmīān

When they despatched the bier of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn from the halting-place of Dam-yak towards Ghaznīn, the Turk Maliks and Amīrs, who were the slaves of that Sultān-i-Ghāzī, deprived the Amīrs and Maliks of Ghūr, by force, of the bier of the late Sultān, together with precious treasures, and took possession of them⁷. When

⁶ Within two days' journey of the capital See page 432

⁷ One author says, that "the Maliks and Chiefs, on finding the Sultān lifeless, rallied round the Wazīr, Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk, and pledged themselves to defend the treasure and dominions until such time as a successor should be nominated to succeed him. The Sultān's wounds were sewn up [after his death], and the body was placed in a sort of covered litter, and, pretending that he was ill, they escorted it to Ghaznah, and the fact of his death was kept a profound secret. The treasures, amounting to 2000 khar-wārs [lit. ass-loads, one kharwār = about 100 *mans* of Tabriz] were conveyed to the capital at the same time"

The bier of the late Sultān having been taken up, and being conveyed towards Ghaznīn, on the way quarrels ensued between Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk, the Wazīr, and the Ghūrīān Amīrs. The Wazīr wished to proceed by way of Kaṣmān, in order that, through the assistance of Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, who held the government of that district, the late Sultān's treasures might be conveyed to Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, his nephew, who held the government of Bust and Zamīn i-Dāwar, to whose succession he was inclined, while the Amīrs of Ghūr desired to proceed by the route of Gum-rahān [گمرهان] which was nearer to Bāmīān, in order that the sister's son of the late monarch, Bahā-ud-Dīn, Sām, Sultān of Bāmīān [who was advancing towards Ghaznīn when death overtook him] should obtain possession of these treasures. As the Wazīr was supported by the Slaves of the late Sultān, he was more powerful, and he separated from the Ghūrīān Amīrs, and, taking along with him the bier of the late Sultān and his treasures, proceeded by way of Shalūzān [In those days called Saṅkurān, and, subsequently, Shanūzān See note 7, p 498] towards Ghaznīn. When they reached Kaṣmān, Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, came forth to receive them, and, when he beheld the bier, he dismounted from his horse, and received it with the utmost veneration, and he wept to such degree, that the others were quite overcome and wept also. The bier was

they reached Karmān, the Wazīr Mu-ayyid ul Mulk, Muḥammad i Abd ullah the Sanjarī with several other persons distinguished among the Turk Amīrs, were appointed to escort the late Sulṭān's bier to Ghaznīn, in company with other Turk Maliks, and Malīk Tāj-ud Dīn, Yal-duz who was the Mihtar [or chief] of the Turk Maliks, and the greatest and most distinguished of the Sulṭān's Slaves, held post in Karmān.

When the Sulṭān's bier reached Ghaznīn two days after the Sulṭān's of Bāmīān Alā ud Dīn Muḥammad and Jalāl ud Dīn, Alī sons of Bahā ud Dīn, Sām, of Bāmīān, in conformity with the solicitations of the Ghūrī Amīrs, such as the Sipah sālār the [Commander of Troops] Sulīmān i Shīr⁸ and the Sipah salar Kharoshī and other

then conveyed to Ghaznīn, and the corpse of the Sulṭān was interred in the Madrasah [college] which he had founded in the name of his daughter and his only child. Firsihtah's account of this affair has not been correctly rendered by his translators.

After the funeral, Sulṭān Bahā-ud Dīn, Sām, set out from Bāmīān for Ghaznīn, and on the road was seized with a violent headache which was the messenger of his death. There being no hopes of his recovery he made his last request to his two sons, Alā ud Dīn, Muḥammad, and Jalāl ud Dīn, Alī, that they should proceed to Ghaznīn and endeavour by conciliation, to gain over the Wazīr Mu-ayyid-ul Mulk, the Slaves, and the Amīrs of Ghūr and take possession of Ghaznīn, after which, Alā-ud Dīn, who was the eldest son, was to be sovereign of Ghaznīn, and Jalāl ud Dīn, the younger sovereign of Bāmīān.

The Jamī'ut Tawārīkh confirms this generally but states that Bahā-ud Dīn requested them to come to an accommodation with Ghuyās-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd, if he would agree to content himself with Ghūr and Khurāsān, and leave Ghaznīn and Hind to Alā ud Dīn, Muḥammad the eldest son.

They came to Ghaznīn accordingly and, although the Ghūrīn nobles were inclined to offer opposition to this, the Wazīr persuaded them that as Ghuyās-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd, was then wholly occupied in Khurāsān, and had proceeded, at the head of an army towards Hīrāt against 'Izz-ud Dīn, Ḥusain, son of Khar mīl, to oppose Alā-ud Dīn's intentions would be useless and uncalled for since they required a ruler over them, and, that, whenever Maḥmūd should have gained possession of Hīrāt and subdued Khurāsān, it would be easy to get rid of Alā-ud Dīn. So he was allowed to assume the throne. *

When Tāj-ud Dīn, I yal-dūz, became aware of this in Karmān, in compliance with the request of Ghuyās ud Dīn, Maḥmūd, conveyed to him from Zamīn i Dāwar he marched from Karmān with a large army upon Ghaznīn, wrested it by force of arms from Alā ud Dīn and his brother Jalāl-ud Dīn Alī, who retired to Bāmīān. Tāj ud Dīn, I yal-dūz, however proceeded to rent the Kharūbah for himself and to coin money in his own name and, after some time, Alā-ud Dīn, and his brother Jalāl ud Dīn, invaded Karmān and Shalūsān, and devastated the whole of those districts. See page 398.

Styled Amīr i Dād in the list of Malīks.

distinguished personages of the capital city of Ghaznīn, arrived there from Bāmīān, and entered the city 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Bāmīānī, who was the eldest of the sons of [Sulṭān] Bahā-ūd-Dīn, Sām, ascended the throne, and brought the Amīrs present there, both Ghūrī and Turk, under fealty to him, and the Ghaznīn treasury, which, from the immensity of its wealth and precious treasures, would have [so to speak] considered the hoard of Ḳārūn but a tithe, was all divided into two equal portions. Trustworthy persons have related that the portion of Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Bāmīānī, who was the youngest of the two brothers, amounted to two hundred and fifty camel loads of pure red gold, jewel-studded articles, and vessels of gold and silver, which was removed to Bāmīān.

After a period of some days had elapsed, Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk, the Wazīr, and the Turk Amīrs, who were at the capital, Ghaznīn, wrote letters to Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, soliciting him to come thither, and despatched them to Karmān. He determined to proceed from Karmān to Ghaznīn, and, when he arrived in the vicinity of the city, Sulṭān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, made ready to fight, and marched out to encounter him, and Jalāl-ud-Dīn [his brother], who also came out of the city, retired in the direction of Bāmīān.

When the ranks of 'Alā-ud-Dīn were marshalled against Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, the Turk Amīrs on either side united together, and Malīk⁹ 'Alā-ud-Dīn was vanquished, and he, along with all the Shansabānī Malīks who sided with him, was taken prisoner. Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, entered Ghaznīn, and gave permission to the Shansabānī Malīks, so that they returned to Bāmīān again.

A second time Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, in order to aid his brother, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, assembled the forces of the territory of Bāmīān¹, and bodies of the troops of [the] Beghū² from Wakhsh and Badaḵshān, and brought them,

⁹ Styled Malīk and Sulṭān indiscriminately.

¹ Two copies of the text have "the forces of the kingdom of Ghūr and of Bāmīān," but I do not think such can possibly have been meant. The whole of the Shansabānī Malīks were not subjects of the Bāmīān state. Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd, the direct heir to the empire of his father and uncle, was still ruling over Ghūr, and he appears to have favoured Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, and not to have been particularly friendly towards his kinsmen of Bāmīān.

² One copy of the text, and also the printed text, have حوار instead of

and again appeared before Ghaznīn, and possessed himself of the Ghaznīn territory, and re placed Alā ud Dīn Muḥammad, upon the throne, after which, Jalāl ud Dīn returned again towards Bāmīān.

Malik Tāj ud Dīn Yal-duz a second time advanced with his troops from Kaṣmān towards Ghaznīn, and Alā ud Dīn deputed the Ghūrī Malik and Amīrs from Ghaznīn to repel them. On the part of Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Yal-duz, Aetkīn, the Tatār was nominated to proceed in advance to meet them. He came upon them at the Ribāt³ of Saṅkurān and seized the whole of them drunk and out of their senses, and the Ghūrī Malik and the great Amīrs were there put to death. From thence Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Yal-duz, appeared before the walls of Ghaznīn and Alā ud Dīn, Muḥammad was invested within the citadel. For a period of four months Tāj ud Dīn, Yal-duz, continued to invest it, until Jalāl ud Dīn, Alī arrived from the territory of Bāmīān to the assistance of his brother Sulṭān Alā ud Dīn Muḥammad, and to drive away the Turk forces.

When he reached the neighbourhood of Ghaznīn, the Turk Amīrs moved out to encounter him and Jalāl ud Dīn, Alī, was overthrown and was taken prisoner. He was brought to the foot of the walls of the fortress of Ghaznīn⁴ and that fort was taken. When the two brothers fell into his hands, after a short time, Malik Tāj ud Dīn Yal-duz, entered into a stipulation⁵ with them and caused them to return to Bāmīān. After a little while difference of interests arose between the two brothers⁶. Jalāl ud Dīn Alī, was a lion hearted monarch, an ascetic, and a firm ruler, and Alā ud Dīn Muḥammad did not agree with him, and he left Bāmīān, and proceeded to the presence of Sulṭān Muḥammad Khwarazm Shāh. The assistance it was his object there to obtain was not advanced and his good fortune did not again favour him and luck did not aid

جہاں, in eleven other copies. The latter is evidently the name of one of the Ghur tribes.

³ A Kārwān Sarī, also a station on an enemy's frontier.

⁴ This was done to induce Alī-ud Dīn, Muḥammad, to give up Ghaznīn.

⁵ This evidently refers to the occasion when Yal-dūz gave one of his daughters in marriage to Jalāl ud Dīn, Alī. See para. second, note¹ page 433.

⁶ Our author says nothing of these disagreements in his account of Jalāl-ud Dīn Alī, at page 432.

him ; and, after Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, took possession of the territory of Bāmīān, 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, died⁷

He had the daughter of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz, son of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain [Jahān-soz], to wife⁸, and by that Princess he had a son When the writer of these words, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, in the year 621 H, had to undertake a journey into the Ḳuhistān from the territory of Ghūr, on an embassy, it was intimated to him that that Princess and her son were then in the district of Khūsh-āb, on the borders of Tabas, into which part they had come during the misfortunes attending the irruption of the accursed ones of Chīn.

IV SULTĀN TĀJ-UD-DĪN, YAL-DUZ, AL-MU'IZZĪ US-SULTĀNĪ⁹.

Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Sām, was a mighty monarch, just, a champion of the Faith, lion-hearted, and in valour a second 'Alī-i-Abū-Ṭālib—may God reward him¹—but he was wanting in children¹, and one daughter was all he had by [his wife] the daughter of

⁷ See page 266—267

⁸ See page 414.

⁹ So called from having been one of the Slaves of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and who, if the latter had been so "renowned in history" as "Shahab-ood-Deen Mahomed Ghory," we might have expected to have been styled Shihābī instead. Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and others are called Mu'izzī for the same reason It would be difficult to decide what is the real meaning here of the word Yal-duz In the different copies of the text it is written as above, and in the three oldest copies the vowel points are also given, but in other works, including Yāfa-ī and Fasiḥ-ī, the word is written more correctly I-yal-dūz, the first word of which is the same as occurs in I-yal-Arsalān, I-yal-timīsh, &c. In one lexicographical work لدر without any vowels being mentioned, is said to be Turkī [of which there is no doubt], and to be the *name of a man and a star*, not a star only I-yal [ل], among other meanings, signifies a mountain bull, Ī-l [ل], which is not the word here meant, means friendly, obedient, tame, familiar, and Yal [ل], brave, valiant, intrepid Dūz [در] means flat, level, smooth, even, and [در] dīz and dīz [در] mean a fort, a hill, and also rough, austere, anger, fury, rage, and the like Among the Turks, as with other Oriental people, the name of a child is often derived from some object or incident, trifling or otherwise, which may have struck the mother's fancy, or that of any of the women present at the child's birth, and the name I-yal-dūz, Yal-duz, or Yal-dūz is doubtless something of the same kind

¹ From the accounts given by some other authors, it would appear that Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn had had several children born to him, but only one daughter survived him The others may have died in childhood At page 344, which see, he is said to have married the daughter of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Sūrī son of his paternal uncle, Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, Khar-nak, whose other son was named Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad [Husain]

his uncle M a halt in Kaymān, on his expeditions into he had a greṭāj ud Dīn, Yal-duz, used to feast the whole he bought a ξ , and having little level ground. On either side of this one of them a smaller ones, running in nearly transverse directions; but countries of th particularly refer to here, as forming an important portion and expertnessnd giving name to the province, are those springing, so to published in the e *darakh* of SHALUZĀN [also written in the account of Sulṭān's lifetime *etc.*], and which our author refers to [see page 450]

Trustworthy persons^{appears} to have been derived from a tribe of the of the confidential favourites^{fore}, and in the time of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ ud Dīn. It is seven *karakh* in length bold to represent to him saying "stream which issues from Spīn- unto thee the like of whom in height inhabitants are Tōris, grandeur the whole expanse of the empire of^{her} descent, and not contain, sons were necessary to thy empire, nd are now that every one of them might be the inheritor of a kin^{gh} of the empire of the universe, so that, after the expiration^{gh} of the period of this [present] reign, the sovereignty might continue permanent in this family" That victorious Sulṭān [in reply] uttered these august words — Other monarchs may have one son, or two sons I have so many thousand sons, namely my Turk slaves³, who will be the heirs of my dominions and who after me, will take care to preserve my name in the Khutbah throughout those territories³ And so it happened as declared in the

³ And yet the very first TURK slave who acquired the sovereignty after the Sulṭān's death is turned into a Pathān, i.e. an Afghān, and even the Sulṭān himself, and without any authority for such a statement.

³ This may explain [for our author's statements, in different places, make the above one very doubtful] why Tāj ud Dīn, I yal-dūz, is supposed to have issued coins in the sole name of his deceased master and sovereign, and why he styles himself "the servant and slave" of the martyred Sulṭān, Muḥammad i-Sām." See the notice of his coins in Thomas, *PATHĀN KINGS OF DEHLI*, pages 25—31. It is quite a mistake to suppose that I yal-dūz ever styled himself Sulṭān i Muḥammam — he is styled, at the head of this Chapter *Al-ṣāṭ* — and it is probable the titles on the different coins especially those bearing Sulṭān-ul Maḥrīq, from our author's statement here, apply to the late Sulṭān, or more probably to his successor Maḥmūd, who is styled b authors Sulṭān-i-Maḥrīqān wa Shāhshāh-i-Maḥrāmān —

سلطان مہرلی و بہا مہرلی محمد بن محمد بن سام بن حسن

Kutb-ud Dīn probably did the same, although we have no proof; but, what ever may have been done in our author's time, Shams-ud Dīn, I yal-timish, the Kutbī slave and son-in-law does not appear to have followed the same example, from the evidence on the coins given by Thomas at pages 52 and 78. See however our author's statement at page 398, where he says the Khutbah

would make a halt in Karmān on his expeditions into Hindūstān* Tāj ud Dīn Yal-duz, used to feast the whole

being 2000 paces], and having little level ground. On either side of this great *darāk* are smaller ones, running in nearly transverse directions; but those I would more particularly refer to here, as forming an important portion of I yal-dūr's fief, and giving name to the province, are those springing, so to speak, from Spīn ghar

One of these is the *darāk* of SHALŪZĀN [also written in the account of Amīr Tīmūr *Shanūzān*], and which our author refers to [see page 450] as SANĠURĀN which name appears to have been derived from a tribe of the Ghuzz, so named, who held it before, and in the time of Sulṭān Ghīyās-ud Dīn, and his brother Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn. It is seven *kuroḥ* in length from north to south, and through it flows a stream which issues from Spīn ghar and joins the river from the Palwā valley. Its inhabitants are Tōris, who are reckoned among the Afghāns but they CLAIM other descent, and some Awān-kārs, a tribe of Jats, which appears to have been, for the most part, displaced by the easterly migrations of the Afghān tribes, and are now chiefly located on the other side of the Sind Sāgar or Indus.

KARMĀN is another *darāk* somewhat smaller with a stream running through it which also joins the Shalūzān and other streams which fall into the Kurmah. I find no mention, in any author of any ancient town of Karmān, but the governor of the province was located in the *darāk*, and there may have been a considerable town so called, or at least, a permanent encampment.

East of Shalūzān is the ZERĀN *darāk*, running in a south-westerly direction from Spīn ghar and eight *kuroḥ* in length. A stream issuing from Spīn ghar flows through it, which, having joined the Shalūzān river enters the Kurmah west of the town or large village of Ūjī Khel. The people are Dāzīs [turned into Jajees by travellers], who also are reckoned among the Afghāns but CLAIM other descent, and some Awān-kārs.

Another large *darāk* and the most westerly one, is IRI ĀB [vulg. Harriab], twenty *kuroḥ* in length, running south west from Spīn ghar very mountainous, but very fruitful. Out of this *darāk* likewise a stream issues, which, flowing east of Baghān, the chief town of the Dāzīs, enters the Kurmah district, and receives the name of Kurmah.

Another *darāk* is PAIWAR [not Pīwar], which also has its river which joins the others before mentioned, flowing from the northwards.

The chief towns and large villages of this tract, at present, are Astiyā [this is not the place referred to at page 339], Palwā Bālūt, Zāmīht, Sakdā, Ūjī Khel, Buland Khel, Bālīmīn [vulg. Balameen], Iri-āb, Baghān, and the cluster of villages called by the name of the *darāk*, Shalūzān, with many of smaller size. Kurmah, called by travellers Kurram, where is a fort, and the residence of the local governor is not situated in the Karmān *darāk*, so is not to be confounded with any place of that name. This name, Karmān, which is spelt as the natives spell it, has caused some absurd blunders among writers and translators, who have supposed it referred to the Persian province of Kirmān.

The *darāks* south of the Kurmah *darāk* include those of Khōst, Dawar Maidān, and Bakr Khel, each with its stream which falls into the Kurmah; but the whole of those mentioned, in the summer decrease very much in volume.

* It was through this province of Karmān—the government of which was a most important post—that the *lower* route from Ghaznī to Lāhor lay which is referred to in note¹ page 481. The route by Karmān was the *lower* route" referred to in Alfī in the same note.

of the Amīrs, the Maliks, and the suite, and was in the habit of presenting a thousand honorary head-dresses and quilted tunics, and would command liberal largess to be given to the whole retinue

By command of the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, a daughter of Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, was given in marriage to Sultān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, I-bak, and another daughter⁹ was married to Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah¹ Sultān¹ Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, had likewise two sons, one of whom he had placed with a preceptor. One day that preceptor, by way of chastisement and discipline, struck the boy over the head with an earthen water-flask². The decree of destiny had come, and the water-flask struck him in a mortal place, and the boy died. Information was conveyed to Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, who forthwith, out of his excessive clemency and exemplary piety, sent funds to the preceptor for his expenses, with directions that "he should get out of the way, and undertake a journey, before the boy's mother became aware of her son's fate, lest she might cause any injury to be done him, in anguish for the loss of her son." This anecdote is a proof of the goodness of disposition and the purity of faith of that amiable Sultān.

In the last year of the reign of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, when that monarch [on his last expedition into Hind] came into Karmān and halted there, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, presented those yearly stipulated thousand tunics and head-dresses. The Sultān, out of the whole of them, selected one tunic and one head-dress, and honoured his slave by presenting him with his own princely robe, and the Sultān conferred upon him a black banner, and it was the desire of his august mind that Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, after himself, should succeed to the throne of Ghaznīn³. When the

⁹ One daughter was given in marriage to Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, of Bāmīān, hence there must have been three, or more daughters. See note 7, page 433.

¹ Our author styles him Malik and Sultān indiscriminately.

² Firīṣṭah has كور [كوب], a whip, but all the copies of our author's text have كور. The Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī too says "he took up a gugglet and struck him over the head with it," &c. A whipping was not likely to cause death, but the other mode of chastisement was.

³ Here again is a specimen of the manner in which Firīṣṭah has been translated, and whose *translated* work hitherto has furnished the sole materials for writers of Indian Histories for our Colleges and Schools.—

Dow says that "Mahommed, in his last expedition, favoured Eldoze so

Sultān i Ghāzī attained martyrdom, it was the desire and disposition of the Turk Maliks and Amīrs that Sultān Ghuyās-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd son of [Ghuyās-ud-Dīn] Muḥammad son of Sām should come from the confines of Garmīsir to Ghaznīn and ascend his uncle's throne and that they all should gird up their loins in his service. To this effect they wrote to the Court of Fīrūz koh, and represented saying 'The Sultāns⁴ of Bāmīān are acting oppressively and are ambitious of obtaining possession of Ghaznīn. Thou art the heir to the dominion and we are thy slaves'

Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, replied, saying "To me the throne of my father, which is the capital, Fīūz-koh, and the kingdom of Ghūr, is the most desirable I confer the territory [of Ghaznīn] on you," and he despatched a robe of honour to Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, and presented him with a letter of manumission, and assigned the throne of Ghaznīn unto him

By virtue of this mandate Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, came to Ghaznīn, and seized the Maliks of Bāmīān⁶, and ascended the throne of Ghaznīn, and brought that territory under his jurisdiction After a time he was excluded from Ghaznīn, and again returned to it, and again brought it

whither he had come to guard one of the routes into Hind, and was well pleased with what was conferred upon him "

Other writers state that I-yal-düz sent an agent to Mahmūd and tendered his allegiance, and confirm what our author states, but they probably copied their account from his

⁶ Called "Sultāns" in the preceding paragraph, and in his previous account of them Alfī says I-yal-düz, subsequent to sending Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, back to Bāmīān, as stated in note ⁷, page 433, assembled his forces, and carried his inroads as far as Bust, and that, when Abī-Dakur [Zakur?] reached Kābul, after his desertion of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, an emissary reached him on the part of Kutb ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, which emissary he had first despatched to Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-düz, reproaching him for his conduct towards his benefactor, Sultān Ghiyās ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, and exhorting him to discontinue it This emissary was directed to ask Abī-Dakur to co-operate with him [Ī-bak], and, in case I-yal-düz did not hold his hand and repent of his acts, that Abī-Dakur should assemble his troops and assail Ghaznīn, and wrest it from I yal döz, who appears to have been then absent in Bust, and, in case he [Abī-Dakur] did not find himself powerful enough for the purpose of taking it, not to be deterred, as he was following to support him Abī-Dakur complied with the request, and invested Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk, the Wazīr, whom I-yal döz had left there as his lieutenant, and a portion of the suburbs of Ghaznīn was taken and occupied by his men On becoming aware of the movement, I-yal döz returned from Bust by forced marches, and reached Ghaznīn, on which Abī-Dakur precipitately withdrew, and joined Sultān Gh, after - Mahmūd, who gave him his manumission, and conferred upon him⁸. When Malik ul-Umrā [Chief of Nobles]

At this time Sultān Muhammad, Kage to Jalāl-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, of Bāmīāt [one of his way to Hirāt?], and took for more daughters - Alī, of Bāmīāt [one of Fīwār Ghūrīs, and then marchn Malik and Sultān indisc to Kāl-yūsh [one of Fīwār several times Amīr Husāy], a whip, but all thim-ud-Dīn, the governor of those p but he did not succeed hakāt-i-Akbarī too says n his design, as they were very to Hirāt again Arrived there Sultān Muhammad retirehead with it," &c A whi d Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Harab ruler of Siyistān of it, anode of chastisement was utbah and coined money in suzeranty, and read the Klen of the manner in which of the year 594 from th name These are the event work hitherto has furnis seen the two eras H and [604 H] The difference between our Colleges and Schools¹ less twenty or twenty-one days in his last expedition, fa

under his sway. A second time the same thing happened, until after some time, a battle took place between him and Sultān Kṣṭb-ud Dīn, I bak, on the confines of the Panj āb⁷ and Tāj ud Dīn Yal-duz was defeated, and Sultān Kṣṭb-ud Dīn advanced to Ghaznīn⁸ and remained there for a period of forty days, during which time he gave himself up to pleasure and revelry. A third time Sultān Tāj ud Dīn Yal-duz, marched from Karmān towards Ghaznīn and Sultān Kṣṭb-ud Dīn I bak, retired again towards Hindūstān by the route of Sang i Surakh and once more Tāj ud Dīn Yal-duz brought Ghaznīn under his rule⁹.

He sent armies upon several occasions towards Ghūr Khurāsān and Sijistān, and nominated Maliks [to command them]. On one occasion he despatched a force to aid Sultān Ghīyās-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd, as far as the gates of Hirāt, on account of the treason of Izz ud Dīn Husain, son of Khar mīl who was the Malik of Hirāt, and who had conspired with Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh and had gone over to him and who fled before the forces of Ghūr and Ghaznīn¹.

On another occasion Sultān Tāj ud Dīn Yal-duz, led an army towards Sijistān and remained away on that expedition for a considerable time and advanced as far as

⁷ Some copies have on the confines of the Panj-āb-i Sind —the five rivers of Sind.

⁸ I yal-dūz having sent the Wazīr of Ghaznīn against Kabā jah and ousted him from Lāhor [see reign of Kabā jah, next Section], Kṣṭb-ud Dīn, I bak, advanced into the Panj-āb against I yal-dūz in 603 H. and, I yal-dūz having encountered him, was defeated, and retreated to Karmān and Shalūzān, which districts had been his charge in Mu'izz ud Dīn's reign. Kṣṭb-ud Dīn, I bak, pushed on to Ghaznīn [by another route], and drove out the governor on the part of Jalāl ud-Dīn, Sultān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh's son, and then gave himself up to wine and debauchery. The people of Ghaznīn sent to I yal dūz and solicited him to return; and, when he arrived in the neighbourhood at the head of a numerous force, Kṣṭb-ud Dīn, I bak, was quite unprepared to resist him, and he made the best of his way towards Hind by the route of Sang i-Sūrākh, and reached Lohor. On this occasion Izz-ud Dīn, Alī i-Mardān, the Khaj, who assassinated Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār ruler of Lakhanawāt and afterwards obtained from Kṣṭb-ud Dīn, I-bak, the government of that territory was taken prisoner. See his reign, next Section. As Kṣṭb-ud Dīn did not consider himself safe from the designs of I yal-dūz, he continued at Lohor until 607 H. when he met with the accident which caused his death."

⁹ On the death of Kṣṭb-ud Dīn, and dethronement of Ārām Shāh, his adopted son, Tāj-ud Dīn, I yal-dūz, sent a canopy of state and other insignia of royalty to Shams-ud Dīn, I yal-timīsh. See his reign, Section XXI.

¹ See note² page 257 and note³ page 400.

the gates of the city of Sistān² At length peace was concluded between him and Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn-i-Ḥarab, who was the king of Sijistān When Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, set out on his return [to Ghaznīn], on his way thither, Malik Naṣīr³-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, the Amīr-i-Shikār [Chief Huntsman] showed disaffection towards him, and engagements took place between them Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn was overthrown, and retired towards Khwārazm [the Khwārazm territory⁴], and after a time returned, until, on the expedition [of Tāj-ud-Dīn] into Hindūstān⁴, the Turkish Malik and Amīrs of

² Other authors do not mention any cause why I-yal dūz should have marched against Sistān, and do not give any details respecting this affair It may have been caused through the ruler of Sijistān proposing to acknowledge the suzerainty of Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, but our author does not say a word about any expedition of this kind in his account of the rulers of Sijistān

Here, again, is a specimen of history-writing Dow says "*Eldoze*, in conjunction with the *Emperor Mamood of Ghor*, sent an army to Hirat, *which they conquered*, as also a great part of Seistan, but, making a peace with the prince of that country, *they returned*" Then BRIGGS says "At length, in conjunction with the King, Mahmood of Ghoor, he (*Yeldooz*) sent an army to *Herat, which he reduced*, as also great part of Seestan," &c. Firsihtah, however, says "Once, to support Sulṭān Maḥmūd, he despatched an army against Hirāt, and *overcame* the Malik of Hirāt, 'Izz-ud Dīn, Husain-i-Khar-mīl On another occasion he marched an army against Sistān, and invested it, and [then] made a peace with the Malik of Sistān, and returned" Firsihtah, however, is no authority whatever for Western affairs, and as to overcoming 'Izz-ud-Dīn, son of Husain i-Khar-mīl, see last para. to note², page 258 For further details respecting the reign of I-yal-dūz not mentioned here, see pages 417 and 420

³ Naṣīr-ud Dīn in two copies, and Naṣr in another He held the office of Chief Huntsman under the late Sulṭān

⁴ Among the events of the year Rihlat 603, according to Alfī [Hijrah 613], Sulṭān Muḥammad, Khwārazm Shāh, acquired possession of Ghaznīn After that monarch had possessed himself of the territory of Bāmiān and Khurāsān from the Ghūrīān nobles, he despatched an agent to Tāj-ud-Dīn, I yal dūz, intimating that if he, Tāj ud-Dīn, would acknowledge his suzerainty, and stamp the coin with his name, and pay him a yearly tribute, he should be left in quiet possession of Ghaznīn, otherwise he must be prepared to see his troops speedily appear before it. Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, called a council of his Amīrs, and Kutlagh Tigin, his Amīr-ul-Umrā [Jāmī'-ut-Tawārīkh says his Nāyab or Lieutenant at Ghaznīn], who was another of the late Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud Dīn's slaves, advised that the Sulṭān's demands should be acceded to, as it was impossible for them to resist Khwārazm Shāh Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, complied, and despatched befitting offerings and presents, and accepted the Sulṭān's terms

Not long after these events, Tāj ud-Dīn went out on a hunting excursion, and Kutlagh Tigin sent information to the Sulṭān [who was then on the northern frontier of I yal-dūz's territory], saying, that Ghaznīn was now freed from Tāj ud-Dīn's presence, and urged him to come thither that he might deliver up the place to him Khwārazm Shāh acceded to the request, and

Ghaznīn conspired together and put to death the Khwājah, Mu-ayyid ul Mulk Muḥammad i Abd-ullah, Sanjarī who held the office of Wazīr and likewise Malik Naṣīr ud Dīn Husain, the Amīr i Shikār

After a period of forty days Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh, marched an army from the side of Tukhāristān, and advanced towards Ghaznīn, and his troops suddenly and unexpectedly seized the frontier route leading into Hindūstān towards Gardāiz and the Karābah⁶ Darah [Pass]. Sultān Tāj ud Dīn Yal duz, took the route towards Hindūstān by way of Sang i Surāk^h, and reached Lohor. An engagement took place between him [Sultān Tāj ud Dīn, Yal-duz] and the august Sultān Shams-ud Dīn, I yal timīsh⁷ in the vicinity of Tarā'in⁸ and Sultān

obtained possession of Ghaznīn and Tāj-ud Dīn, finding what had happened [Tāj ul Ma'āyir says in 612 H.], retired towards Hind. The Jūmi-ut Tawārīkh states that this took place in 611 H. and that all the dominions of the Ghūrīs fell under his sway

Sultān Muḥammad Khwārazm Shāh, having obtained possession of Ghaznīn, as above related, Tāj-ud Dīn, I yal-dūz, continued his retreat towards Hind. On reaching the neighbourhood of Lāhor he fought a battle with Naṣīr-ud Dīn, Kabālah, who was governor of that province on the part of Kuṭb-ud Dīn, I bak, defeated him, took possession of Lāhor for himself, and soon appropriated the whole of the Panjāb. [See the account of Naṣīr ud Dīn, Kabālah, page 532.]

Khwārazm Shāh, according to the statement of Alfi, on taking possession of Ghaznīn, put to death all the Ghūrīn nobles and chiefs [which is very improbable], made over the city and territory to his son, Jalāl ud Dīn [he nominated him to the rulership of those parts, but left an officer there as his son's deputy], and returned to Khwārazm.

⁶ In some copies Karānah [کرانه], but the best have کرانه as above. It is one of the Passes on the route from Ghaznīn towards Lāhor the name of which has been changed with the change in the inhabitants of those parts.

⁷ There are three or four places so called, signifying the Perforated Stone. The route here seems to refer to a more southerly route than that by the Pass above mentioned. It is a totally different route to that mentioned at page 441

⁸ Four good copies, two of which are old ones, write this name here and in some other places, with two ts—I yal-timīsh and some other writers do the same.

⁹ The engagement between Sultān Tāj ud Dīn, I yal-dūz, and this august Sultān—the slave of the slave, Kuṭb-ud Dīn, I-bak, his own son-in-law—took place, by some accounts, on Saturday the 20th of Shawwāl 611 H. and, according to others, on Monday the 3rd of Shawwāl, 612 H. at Tarā'in, now Talāwarī, near Pānīpat, in the neighbourhood of which the fate of India has so often been decided. Tāj ud Dīn was put to death soon after in the citadel of Badā'un, by his rival, I yal timīsh on whom he had himself conferred the insignia of royalty after I yal-timīsh's usurpation of the sovereignty

Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-ḏuz, was [defeated and] taken prisoner, and sent to the district of Budā'ūn, and there he was martyred, and there his mausoleum is situated, and has become a place of pilgrimage, and is visited by suppliants.

His reign extended over a period of nine years. The Almighty's mercy be upon him! God alone is immortal and eternal!

V SULTĀN-UL-KARĪM [THE BENEFICENT], KUṬB UD-DĪN,
Ī BAK, AL-MU'IZZĪ US-SULTĀNĪ

The beneficent and just Sultān, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, who was a second Hātīm, seized the throne of Ghaznīn, and took it out of the hands of Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-ḏuz, who was his father-in-law. He occupied the throne for a period of forty days, and, during this space of time, he was wholly engaged in revelry, and in bestowing largess, and the affairs of the country through this constant festivity were neglected. The Turks of Ghaznīn, and the Malīks of the Mu'izzī [dynasty], wrote letters secretly to Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-ḏuz, and entreated him to return. Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn determined to march thither from Karmān, and, as the distance was short, he reached Ghaznīn unexpectedly. Sultān Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, when he became aware of this, retired from Ghaznīn towards Hindūstān again, by the way of Sang-i-Surākh⁹, and, as both of them, in the position of father-in-law and son-in-law, were in the relation of father and son, they did not cause any injury to be done to each other. Subsequently to that, the territory of Ghaznīn came into the possession of Sultān Muhammad, Khwārazm Shāh, and under the authority of the Khwārazmī Malīks, as has been previously recorded.

This Section, on the Shansabānīs and their Slaves, is

of Dihlī, and dethronement of Kuṭb-ud-Dīn's son [according to our author, but his adopted son, according to others], and putting him to death.

⁹ A very stable government, certainly—forty days! Our author has Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, one of the Sultāns of Ghaznīn, as though he was, and make up the number as much as possible, and he is introduced here in the any cause whatever. Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-ḏūz, took Lāhor, and overtook the governor, and held it a much longer time, and he, under the same system, should have been entered among the Sultāns of Hindūstān.

concluded, and, after this, I come to the Section on the Sultāns of Hindūstān the first of whom to be mentioned is Sultān Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn Iḥāk, and his illustrious actions¹ which, please God, will be recorded as fully as the limits of this book will permit.

¹ The more modern copies of the text differ here somewhat.

SECTION XX.

ACCOUNT OF THE MU'IZZĪAH SULTĀNS OF HIND

THUS saith the feeble servant of the Almighty, Abū 'Umr-ī-'Uṣmān, Minhāj-ī-Sarāj, Jūrjānī—the Almighty God preserve him from indiscretion ¹—that this TABAKĀT is devoted to the mention of those Sultāns, who were the Slaves of the Court, and servants of the Sultān-ī-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Sām ¹—on whom be peace!—and

¹ English writers on Indian History, with scarcely an exception, begin, from this point, *their*—I say *then*, because no native historian does so for obvious reasons—“AFGHAN or PAĪAN Dynasty of Dehli,” with the first *Turkish* slave king, Ḳuṭb ud-Dīn, of the Powerless Finger,—although one or two of them commence with his Tājik master, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, son of Sām, Ghūrī,—as its founder

This monstrous error, which has been handed down from one writer to another for more than a century, no doubt, originated with Dow, who, in 1768, published a version of FIRISHTAH'S HISTORY, the commonest Persian historical work that is to be met with in India, and the one which is generally known to most educated Musalmāns. The work, in itself, which is a compilation from other works, and largely copies the histories composed in the reign of Akbar, is not very often incorrect, but, consequently, Firishtah is not a *very great* authority, and, as regards non-Indian history, no authority at all

Dow professes, in his Preface [which teems with monstrous errors, but which I must pass over here, as I have referred to it in another place. See JOURNAL OF THE BENGAL ASIATIC SOCIETY for the present year, 1875], to have entered into “*more detail*”—to have “*clipped the wings of Firishta's turgid expressions, and rendered his metaphors into common language*,” and further states [p 1x] that he has “given as few as possible of the faults ['] of the author, but has been cautious enough, not wittingly at least, to *substitute any of his own* in their place” [11]

Notwithstanding all this, the work was so translated, that Gibbon suspected “that, through some odd fatality, the style of Firishtah had been improved by that of Ossian,” and, as it caused the late Sir H. Elliot, in his BIOGRAPHICAL INDEX [p 317], to say “his [Dow's] own remarks are so interwoven as to convey *an entirely different meaning from that which Firishtah intended*,” and “some of the commonest sentences are misunderstood, and the florid diction was occasionally used to *gloss and embellish an imperfect comprehension* of the original”

This is, by no means, an exaggerated picture of the translation, but, on the

who, in the empire of Hindūstān, sat upon the throne of sovereignty, to whom the throne of the kingdom of that

contrary a very sober one, as I shall show in as brief a manner as possible, with regard to those passages only which have led some conscientious writers to turn Turkish slaves, Khālī Turks, the descendants of Jāts, low caste Hindūs, and Sayyids, into Afghāns or Patāns.

Passing over the numerous errors in the Preface of Dow's translation to save space, I begin with his Introduction, which is taken from Firightah's, but a vast deal of the original is left out, for obvious reasons, and what has been retained is full of ridiculous mistakes. In the account of a Hindū king styled Kād Rāj [page 8], he has: The mountaineers of Cabul and Candahar *are called Afghans* [sic] or *Patans* advanced against Keda rāja. The words in italics are NOT in Firightah.

At page 50, vol. I. Dow has: In the following year Mahmūd [Mahmūd of Ghaznī is meant, but the translator ignores the letter ح —h—in his name] led his army towards Ghor. One native prince of that country *Mahommed of the Soor tribe of Afghans* [sic], *a principality in the mountains famous for giving birth to the Ghorian dynasty* &c. BRIGGS, too, follows Dow closely and often verbatim, in his version of Firightah. This identical passage in his translation (vol. I. page 49) runs thus:— In the following year Mahmūd led an army into Ghoor. The native prince of that country *Mahomed of the Afghan tribe of Soor (the same race which gave birth to the dynasty that eventually succeeded in subverting the family of Subuktigern),*" &c.

There is NOT A WORD in Firightah about the Afghan tribe of Soor! the whole of the passages in italics, in both translations, are NOT in Firightah. From this particular passage it is, I suspect, that the monstrous error of making Patāns or Afghāns of *all* the rulers of Dihlī, Turk, Khālī, Jāt, or Sayyid, has arisen. Compilers of Indian History no doubt, felt assured that this statement, from its being repeated by both translators, must be in Firightah, and, being in Firightah, that it must be true; but it is NOT in Firightah, neither is such a statement *correct*, nor is such to be found in *any Muhammadan history*.

A few lines under the passage in question, thus incorrectly translated, added to, and altered from the original, Firightah refers to the Kitāb-i Yāmīn, and *quotes our author's work* as his authority with reference to the conversion of the Ghūzīs to Islām, and says: but the author of the *Tabakāt-i-Nāṣirī* and Fakhr-ud Dīn, *Mubārak Shāh Marw-ar-Rūdī*—i. e. of the town of Marw-ar-Rūd—who composed a history" &c. [which Firightah never saw but learnt of it from our author. See page 300]. Dow *leaves this passage out entirely*; but Briggs, who appears to have been equally smitten with "Afghan or Patan" monomania, translates [page 50], the last part of the sentence, Fakhr-ood Deen Mubārīk *Lady* who wrote a history" &c. He read مرو الرودى — Marw-ar-Rūdī—as مروى *Lady* [Lūḍī], and so made a "Patan" of him too!!

At page 132, Dow has: "The generality of the kings of Ghor according to the most authentic historians, could be traced up by the names for three-and-twenty and DOWNWARDS nine generations, from ALI to MAMOOD, the son of Subuktāgi," &c.

There is NOT one word of this in Firightah. He gives the names of their ancestors as our author [from whose work he copied them] and a few others give them, name by name down to Zuhāk the Tāṭī; but not understanding, apparently what followed in the original, Dow *concocted*—drew on his own

monarch passed—in the same manner as his own august

fertile imagination—the “*nine generations DOWN TO MAMOOD*” of Ghaznīn, to whom the Ghūrīs were no more related than they were to Dow himself

I have not a copy of Briggs's version by me now, that I might compare it with Dow's, but I should not be surprised if, in this instance also, he had drawn his inspiration from Dow. It was from this identical passage, probably, that the author of a “*Student's Manual of Indian History*” was led to imagine that Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn was “the great ancestor of *Shahab-ood-Deen*”

As Sām was the name of Rustam's family, the Tāzīk Ghūrīs might have been, with equal plausibility, made descendants of Rustam, son of Zāl, the Sīgīzī, and moreover Sīgīstān or Sijistān is close to Ghūr, and several of the Ghūrī chiefs were called SĀM

I now pass from the “Ghuzni Patans” and the Turkish slave “Patans” to the Tughlaḳ dynasty or “Tuglick Patans”

Dow has, at page 295, vol. 1 “We have no true account of the pedigree of *Tuglick*. It is generally believed that his father, whose name was Tuglick, had been, in his youth, brought up as an imperial slave, by *Balin*. His mother was one of the tribe of Jits. *But indeed the pedigrees of the Kings of the Patan empire make such a wretched figure in history,*” &c

NOT ONE of the words in italics is in FIRISHTAH the whole sentence is his own concoction. Compare Briggs also

Under the reign of the Afghān ruler whom Dow styles “Shere” [vol. 1 page 159], being more correct in his translation, he consequently contradicts some of his former assertions. He then describes Roh from FIRISHTAH [“*The Student's Manual of Indian History*” however assures us that it is only “*a town*, in the province of Peshawur” !!!], but makes several mistakes in doing so, but FIRISHTAH himself blundered greatly when he said that the son of the Ghūrī chief who took up his abode among the Afghāns was called Muhammad-i-Sūrī, and that his posterity are known as the Sūr Afghāns. The Afghān tradition is very different. According to it, the chief's son was named Shāh Husam, he was said to have been descended from the *younger* branch of the Ghūrīān race, while Muhammad-i-Sūrī, *said to be* the great-great grandfather of the two Sultāns, Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn and Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, was descended from the *elder branch* with whom the sovereignty lay. This Shāh Husam, by *one* of his Afghān wives, had three sons, Ghālzī, Ibrāhīm, surnamed Lōdī and Lūdī—but properly, Loe-daey—and Sarwānī. Lūdī had two sons, *one* of whom was named Sīānī, who had two sons, Prānkī and Ismā'il. Prānkī is the ancestor in the eighth degree of the FIRST Afghān or Patān that attained the sovereignty of Dīhlī, namely, Sultān Bah-lūl, of the Shāhū Khel tribe of Lūdī, and founder of the Lūdīah dynasty. He is the *thirteenth* ruler of Dīhlī counting from Kutb-ud-Dīn, the Turkish slave of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, Ghūrī, but, according to Mr E. Thomas “*Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*,” he, under the name of “Buhlōl Lodi,” is the thirty-second PATĀN ruler.

The other sons, of whom Shāh Husam is said to have been the father, formed separate tribes, one of which, the Ghālzīs, I shall have to make a few remarks about, shortly.

Ismā'il, brother of Prānkī, and son of Sīānī, son of Lūdī, had two sons, one of whom was named Sūr, who is the founder,—not Muhammad, son of Sūrī, the Ghūrīān—of the Afghān tribe, not of Sūrī, which here is a *proper* name, but of Sūr. Sūr, *great grandson* of Lūdī, had four sons, from one of whom,

words had pronounced, and which have been previously in the ninth degree, sprung Farid, afterwards Sher Shāh, and therefore, according to the Afghān mode of describing their peoples' descent, he would be styled, Sher Khān, of the Sherā Khel, of the Sūr subdivision of the Lōdī tribe of the Batani Afghāns or Pāṭāns. The name of Sūr occurring among the Ghūrī Tārks, and Sūr among the Afghāns, immediately struck Firsihtah probably and he, at once, jumped at the conclusion that they were one and the same, and that the Ghūrīs were Afghāns, and Afghāns Ghūrīs. But, although Firsihtah made this mistake—for he is the *first* who made it—he *never* turns Turkish slaves, Khalj Turks, Sayyids, and others into PĀṬĀNS, for according to Firsihtah's statements also, Bah lūl, Lōdī, is the *first* PĀṬĀN sovereign of Dihlī, as stated by other authors who preceded him.

Under the reign of Salīm [Islām] Shāh, Sūr Dow has [at page 191 vol. II.] when mentioning his death, In this same year Mahmood, the *Patān* King of Guzerat, and the Nizām of the Decan, *who was of the same nation, died*

Here we have the descendant of a converted Rājā of the Tāk sept, on the one hand, and the descendant of a Brahman of Bija nagar [Bijayā nagar], on the other turned into AFGHĀNS; but I need scarcely add that the words in italics ARE NOT contained in Firsihtah. Compare Briggs also here.

One example more and I have done with these monstrous blunders; but there are scores unnoticed still. At page 197 vol. II. Dow under the reign of Ibrāhīm, Sūr has: In the meantime, Mahommed of the *Afghan family of Ghor* governour of Bengal, rebelled against Mahommed." The words in italics ARE NOT contained in Firsihtah's text; and what that author does state is perfectly correct. What Briggs has I am not aware.

The *last* of the eight Afghān or Pāṭān sovereigns of Dihlī, as Bah lūl was the *first*, was Ahmad Khān, who, on ascending the throne, adopted the title of Sultān Sikandar

The renowned Afghān chief, the warrior and poet, Khush hāl Khān of the Khajak tribe, who was well versed in the history of his people, mentions the only two Pāṭān dynasties—Lōdīah and Sūr in one of his poems [See my Poetry of the Afghāns," page 106] in these words:—

The whole of the deeds of ^a Pāṭāns are better than those of the Mughals;
But they have no unity ^a ~~more~~ among them, and a great pity it is.
The fame of BAH LŪL, and ^a ~~SHER~~ SHĀH too, resoundeth in my ears—
Afghān emperors of India who swayed the sceptre effectually and well.
For six or seven generations did they govern so wisely
That all their people were filled with admiration of them."

He does not claim the Tārks Ghūrīs, Turks, Parānchāhs, and Sayyids however

I must mention before finishing this, I fear tiresome note, that ELPHINSTONE does not perpetrate the monstrous blunder I have been dilating on. He very properly calls the Turkish slaves, the "Slave Dynasty;" and the others under their proper designations. I do not say slaves in a contemptuous sense, far from it, for they were most able rulers, and many of them were of as good descent as their master; but they were NOT PāṭāNS NOR did they belong to a PāṭāN dynasty. It was (however left for the President of the Archaeological Section, at the late Oriental Congress [on the authority of Major-Gen. A. Cunningham probably] to crown this edifice of errors with Ghori Pathāns, "Khilji Pathāns," Tughlak Pathāns, "and Afghāns"

recorded²—who became the heirs of his dominion, and the august brows of whom became encircled with the imperial diadem of that sovereign, and through whose sway the signs of the lights of the Muhammadan faith remained on the records of the different parts and tracts of the territories of Hindūstān: and may such evermore continue! The Almighty's mercy be on those passed away, and may He prolong the empire of the remainder¹

I SULTĀN KUTB-UD-DĪN, Ī-BAK, AL-MU'IZZĪ US-SULTĀNĪ³

The beneficent Sultān Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the second Hātīm, was a high-spirited and open-handed monarch. The Almighty God had endowed him with intrepidity and beneficence, the like of which, in his day, no sovereign of the world, either in the east or west, possessed, and, when the Most High God desireth to make manifest a servant of His in magnificence and glory in the heart of mankind, He endows him with these attributes of intrepidity and beneficence, and makes him especially distinguished, both by friend and foe, for bounteousness, generosity and the display of martial prowess, like that of a victorious monarch was, so that the enterprise of him, the region of Hindūstān became full of friends and empty of enemies. His gifts were bestowed by hundreds of thousands, and his slaughters likewise by hundreds of thousands. The Imām, Bahā-ud-Dīn, the sovereign of this beneficent sovereign:—

“Truly, the bestowal of *laks* thou in the Sarwānī

Thy hand brought the mine's affairs to the sons, Prānkī and 1517.

The blood-filled mine's heart, through the FIRST Afghān or Patān

Therefore produced the ruby as a pretulān Bah-lūl, of the Shāhū

[Afghans are not “Pathans” here!], “Ben the Turkish slave of Sultān Pathans” After this we may shortly exūri, but, according to Mr E Thomas or even English, Irish, and Scotch Patēhli, he, under the name of “Buhlól

² See page 497

³ That is the slave of Sultān Mu'izz-usam is said to have been the father,

⁴ Hence he is also called “Lak Bāhe Ghālzi, I shall have to make a few 555, where Rāe Lakhmanīah, his cont Lak Bākhsh

f Sīānī, son of Lūdi, had two sons, one founder,—not Muḥammad, son of Sūrī, most distinguished men of Kutb-ud-Dīn, of Sūnī, which here is a proper name,

⁶ The liberality of Kutb-ud-Dīn becaḍī, had four sons, from one of whom,

At the outset of his career, when they brought him from Turkistān, K̲uṣṭb-ud Dīn reached the city of Nīshāpūr. The K̲āṣī ul K̲uṣāt [Chief K̲āṣī] Fakhr ud Dīn, Abd ul Azīz i Kūfī who was a descendant of the Imām i Aḡam Abū Hanīfah of Kūfā⁷, the governor of the province of Nīshāpūr and its dependencies, purchased him, and, in attendance on, and along with his sons, he read the Word of God and acquired instruction in horsemanship and shooting with the bow and arrow so that, in a short time, he became commended and favourably spoken of for his manly bearing. When he attained unto the period of adolescence⁸, certain merchants brought him to the Court of Ghaznī and the Sultān i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz ud Dīn Muḥammad, son of Sām purchased him from those traders. He was endowed with all laudable qualities and admirable impressions, but he possessed no outward comeliness and the little finger [of one hand ?] had a fracture⁹ and on that account he used to be styled I bak i Shīl [The powerless-fingered]¹

continues to be so. The people of Hind, when they praise any one for liberality and generosity say he is the K̲uṣṭb-ud Dīn-i kal, that is, the K̲uṣṭb-ud Dīn of the age, *kal* signifying the age, the time, &c. Blood is a play on the ruby's colour.

⁷ See page 384, and note *

⁸ Some say the K̲āṣī sold K̲uṣṭb-ud Dīn to a merchant but others, that, after the K̲āṣī's death, a merchant purchased K̲uṣṭb-ud Dīn from his sons, and took him, as something choice, to Ghaznī, hearing of Mu'izz ud Dīn's [then styled Shihāb-ud Dīn] predilection for the purchase of slaves, and that he purchased K̲uṣṭb-ud Dīn of the merchant at a very high price. Another work states, that the merchant presented him to Mu'izz ud Dīn as an offering, but received a large sum of money in return.

Frīstah quotes from our author here correctly but his translators manage to distort his statements, and K̲uṣṭb-ud Dīn is made out a proficient in Arabic and Persian, indeed, a ripe scholar. "He made a wonderful progress in the Persian and Arabic languages, and all the polite arts and sciences" says Dow; and Briggs repeats it; but Frīstah's statement was respecting his talent for government, and his accomplishments in the art of war. Elphinstone and others, led astray by the translators, copy *their* incorrect statements.

⁹ The printed text here has the words *جی داس* which are not correct, and spoil the sense.

¹ I-bak-i-shīl-alone is clearly not the real name of K̲uṣṭb-ud-dīn, for if *i* were ~~then~~ the word *shīl*-ج added to it would make it I bak of the withered or paralyzed hand or limb; and, even if the word *shīl* were used for *shāl*, it would make no material difference. Now we know that K̲uṣṭb-ud-dīn was a very active and energetic man, and not at all paralyzed in his limbs; but, in every work ~~where~~ ^{where} he is mentioned, it is distinctly stated that he was called I bak because

At that period, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, now and then was wont to give himself up to pleasure and jollity. One night he had given directions for an entertainment and conviviality, and, during the entertainment, he commanded a gift to be bestowed upon each of the slaves present, consisting of sums of ready money, and gold and silver, both wrought and unwrought. As to the portion of these gifts which came to Kuṭb-ud-Dīn's share, he came forth [with] from the jovial party, and bestowed the whole of the wealth upon the Turks², and janitors, and other attendants, so that nothing whatever, little or much, remained to him.

Next day, this story was conveyed to the royal hearing, and the Sultān distinguished Kuṭb-ud-Dīn by his favour and intimacy, and assigned to him an honourable post among the important offices before the throne and the royal audience hall³, and he became the leader of a body of men, and a great official. Every day his affairs attained a high degree of importance, and, under the shadow of the patronage of the Sultān, used to go on increasing, until he became Amīr-i-Ākhūr [Lord of the Stables]. In that office, when the Sultāns of Ghūr, Ghaznīn, and Bāmīān, advanced towards Khurāsān to repel and contend against Sultān Shāh, the Khwārazmī, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn was at the head of the escort of the foragers of the stable [department], and used, every day, to move out in quest of forage⁴.

injured, and one author distinctly states that on this account the nick-name of Ī-bak-i-Shīl was given to him. Some even state that Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn gave him the name of Kuṭb-ud-dīn, while another author states that it was the Sultān who gave him the by-name of Ī-bak-i-Shīl. It may also be remarked that there are a great many others mentioned in this work who are also styled Ī-bak. Fanākātī, and the author of the Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh, both style him Ī-bak-i-Lang—and *lang* means maimed, injured, defective, &c., as well as *lame*.

Ī-bak, in the Turkish language, means *finger* only, and according to the vowel points, may be 'Arabic or Persian, but the 'Arabic *shāl*, which means having the hand (or part) *withered*, is not meant here, but Persian *shīl*, signifying, "soft, limp, weak, powerless, impotent, paralyzed," thus Ī-bak-i-Shīl—the *wcak fingered*. See Thomas PATHĀN KINGS OF DEHLÍ, page 32.

² Turkish guards, the slaves of the household.

³ The text is defective here in nearly every copy, but comparison makes the passage correct. The idiom also varies considerably, or several lines, as in numerous other places, already referred to.

⁴ Others say Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, with the patrol up the river bank of the Murgh āb, towards the assembly of his command, had pushed on with the army of Sultān Shāh. He became a Marw, when he unexpectedly fell all his endeavours to effect his retreat.

Unexpectedly [upon one occasion] the horsemen of Sultān Shāh came upon them and attacked them*. Kuṭb-ud Dīn displayed great energy, but, as the horsemen [with him] were few in numbers, he was taken prisoner, and, by Sultān Shāh's commands, was put under restraint.

When a battle took place between Sultān Shāh and the Sultāns of Ghūr and Ghaznīn, and the former was put to the rout, the Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn's men brought Kuṭb-ud Dīn placed on a camel, in gyves of iron as they found him into the victorious Sultān's presence. The Sultān commended and encouraged him*, and after he returned to the seat of government, Ghaznīn the fief of Kuḥrām was committed to Kuṭb-ud Dīn's charge*. From thence he advanced towards Mīraṭh and took possession of that place in the year 587 H*. From Mīraṭh likewise he issued forth in the year 588 H. and captured Dihlī and in the

and all the intrepidity he displayed, were futile, as his party was small. He was taken prisoner and conducted to Sultān Shāh's presence, and, by that prince's orders, was kept in durance. Firishah, copying from our author and from others who also agree, states, that, when Mu'izz-ud Dīn's men found Kuṭb-ud Dīn, in his place of confinement in Sultān Shāh's camp, they placed him on a camel, with his feet still in fetters [as they had no means then of unfastening them], just as he was, and conducted him to the presence of his master, the Sultān. Dow and BRIGGS however improve upon it, and assert that *Eisak was discovered sitting on a camel on the field* and carried to his old master" &c. Such is not contained in Firishah. Both translators fall into the same error of calling Sultān Shāh—this is his name, not his title: (see page 245)—"king of Charizm and Khwarizm, and into this error ELPHINSTONE likewise falls. See page 319, and note* page 456.

* As a specimen of difference of idiom in the different copies of the text collected I may mention that one set—the oldest—has *دیهان و دیوان و دیوانه* whilst the more modern set has *دیهان و دیوان و دیوانه*.

This important expedition, in which three sovereigns were engaged, is what ELPHINSTONE [page 319, third edition] refers to as "some border warfare with the Kharizmians, in which he was taken prisoner."

* He was treated with great honour and much favour and gifts were conferred upon him.

* As the Sultāns could not keep him up as a prisoner, he was kept up as a prisoner.

Our author continually says that Firishah does not indeed.

people abundant benefactions, and innumerable favours, and returned again to Hindūstān, the account of which has been previously related. As the decree of fate supervened, in the year 607 H, he fell from his horse whilst engaged in playing ball⁹ on the course, and the horse came down upon him, in such wise that the prominent part¹ of the front of the saddle came upon his blessed breast, and he died².

The period of his rule, from the first taking of Dihlī up to this time, was twenty years, and the stretch of his sovereignty, with a canopy of state, the Khutbah, and coin [in his own name and titles], was four years and a little over³.

II SULTĀN ĀRĀM SHĀH, SON OF SULTĀN KUṬB-UD-DĪN, Ī-BAK.

When Sultān Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, died, the Amīrs and Malīks of Hindūstān at once considered it advisable for

⁹ Chaugān, something similar to modern Polo

¹ The eastern saddle is vastly different from ours, and those who have seen it in use in the East will easily conceive the effect of the high-pointed front coming in contact with the breast

² The generality of authors place his death in the year 607 H, but the month and date is not mentioned, and some place his death much later. One work, the Tārīkh-i Ilāhī, a 'nī, however, gives a little more detail than others, and enables us to fix the month, at least, tolerably correctly. It is stated in that work that, having ascended the throne at Lāhor, in Zī-Ka'dah, 602 H, he died in 607 H, having ruled *nineteen years, fourteen* as the Sultān's [Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's] lieutenant, and *five and a half years* as absolute sovereign. From 588 H, the year in which he was first made the Sultān's lieutenant, to the 2nd of Shā'bān, 604 H, the date of the Sultān's death, is *fourteen years and a month*, calculating from about the middle of the former year, if Mu'izz-ud-Dīn returned to Ghaznīn before the rainy season of 588 H, which, in all probability, he did, and *five years and six months* from the middle of Zī-Ka'dah, 602 H, would bring us to the middle of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, the fifth month of 607 H, which will therefore be about the period at which Kuṭb-ud-Dīn is said to have died, and a little more than *three months*, by this calculation, after the death of Sultān Maḥmūd, if 607 H be the correct year of the latter's assassination. Faṣīḥ ī sayy Kuṭb-ud-Dīn died in 610 H, and the Mir'āt-i-Jihān-Numā and Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh say in 609 H. He was buried at Lāhor, and, for centuries after, his tomb continued to be a place of pilgrimage. It may now possibly be turned into a reading room, a residence, or even a place of Christian worship, purposes for which many buildings of this kind are now used at Lāhor, without its being known whose dust they were built to cover.

³ It seems strange that our author should give detailed lists of the offspring, kinsmen, Kāzīs, nobles, and victories of his former slave and son-in-law, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-tīmīsh, and not of Sultān Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, himself, the *pseudo-founder* of the "*Patān or Afghan*" dynasty

the sake of restraining tumult, for the tranquillity of the commonalty and the content of the hearts of the soldiery to place Ārām Shāh upon the throne⁴

Sultān Kuṭb-ud Dīn had three daughters, of whom two

⁴ Although a number of authors agree in the statement that Ārām Shāh was Kuṭb-ud Dīn's son it nevertheless appears, from the statements of others, that Kuṭb-ud Dīn *had no son*; and it is stated, more than once by our author likewise, that three daughters were *his only offspring*. Some of these authors, moreover who call Ārām Shāh his son, afterward add, than whom he had *no other heir*;" but, if he was really his son, what better heir could be desired? Abū l Faḡl makes the astonishing statement that Ārām Shāh was Kuṭb-ud Dīn's brother!

On the sudden removal of Kuṭb-ud Dīn from the scene, at Lāhor the nobles and chief men, who were with him there, in order to preserve tranquillity set up, at Lāhor Ārām Bakshah, the *adopted son* of Kuṭb-ud Dīn and hailed him by the title of Sultān Ārām Shāh. What his real pedigree was is not mentioned, and he *may* have been a Turk. Mandates and decrees were now issued in his name, and the good news of justice and glad tidings of impartiality towards the people reached them. This was, it is said, in 607 H.

At this juncture, Amīr Alī-Isma'īl, the Sipah-Sālār and governor of the city and province of Dihlī, the Amīr l Dīd [called Amīr Dā'ūd, by some], and other chief men in that part, conspired together and sent off to Budā'un and invited Malik I yal-timish, the *governor* of that part, Kuṭb-ud Dīn a former slave and son-in-law and invited him to come thither and assume the sovereignty. He came with all his followers, and possessed himself of the city and fort and country round. At the same time, Nā'ir-ud Dīn, Kabājah, who had married two daughters of Kuṭb-ud Dīn [in succession], appropriated Sind and Multān, Bhakar and Sīwastān, and, subsequently the territory to the W. as far as Surust and Kahrām the Khālī chiefs in Langdāh assumed independency there, and the Rājās and Rāēs on the frontiers [of the Muslimān dominions] began to show a rebellious and contumacious spirit.

Ārām Shāh, on first becoming aware of these acts of I yal-timish, at the advice of his supporters summoned to his aid the old Amīrs and soldiers of his adopted father and they having rallied round him in considerable numbers from Amrohah, and other parts, and he having inspired them, advanced with a strong force towards Dihlī. Malik I yal-timish, having gained possession of the capital, issued from it with his forces and, in the plain of Jūd before Dihlī, the rival forces encountered each other. After a feeble effort on the part of Ārām Shāh's troops, he was defeated and disappeared, and what became of him is not quite certain; but our author is probably correct in saying this. He was put to death by his rival. After this, Malik I yal-timish became independent ruler of Dihlī, and the other great chiefs were left, for a while, in the possession of the territories they before held or had since appropriated. The reign of Ārām Shāh, if such can be properly so called, is said by some to have terminated within the year but others contend that it continued for *three years*. The work I have before alluded to gives the following inscriptions on a coin of Ārām Shāh, and the date on another given as I yal-timish, corroborates the statement of those who say Ārām Shāh's reign extended over three years.

one after the [death of the] other, were wedded to Malīk Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Kabā-jah, and the third was married⁶ to Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-tīmish. At this time that Sultān Kutb-ud-Dīn died, and Ārām Shāh was raised to the throne, Malīk Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Kabā-jah proceeded⁶ to Uchchah and Multān. Kutb-ud-Dīn had contemplated Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn's acquiring dominion, and he had called him son, and had conferred upon him the fief of Budā'un. The Malīks, in concert, brought him from Budā'un, and raised him to the throne of Dihlī, and the daughter of Sultān Kutb-ud-Dīn was espoused by him, and they martyred Ārām Shāh⁷.

Hindūstān became subdivided into four portions: the territory of Sind Malīk [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Kabā-jah took possession of, the dominion of Dihlī pertained to Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-tīmish, the territory of Lakh-anawatī was appropriated by the Khalj Malīks and Sultāns, and the state of Lohor, according to alteration of circumstances, used to be seized upon, sometimes by Malīk [Sultān] Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, sometimes by Mālīk [Sultān]

The following are the inscriptions on this coin —

هذا لادرم مسكوك باسم الملك ظل الله آرام شاه في سنة سبع وسقاية
ضرب دار السلطنة ببلده لاهور

which may be thus rendered — "This diram [is] stamped with the name of the Malīk, the shadow of the Almighty, Ārām Shāh, in the year 607," and on the reverse — "Struck in the Dār-us-Saltanat, the city of Lāhor." The date given on the coin of I-yal-tīmish, which see farther on, Section XXI, is "612, the first of his reign."

Those authors, who say Ārām Shāh was Kutb-ud-Dīn's son, for the most part make a great blunder in stating that he was raised to the throne at Dihlī, and that those, who had set him up, repenting of having done so, through his incapacity—his incapacity seems to have been his incapacity to enforce obedience—invited I-yal-tīmish to assume authority, and that Ārām Shāh, becoming aware of their sedition, came out of Dihlī, and called on his father's old followers to aid him, after which I-yal-tīmish secured it, and subsequently defeated Ārām Shāh.

⁵ From what our author states, a few lines under, it would appear that I-yal-tīmish only espoused Kutb-ud-Dīn's daughter when he assumed the throne, at Dihlī.

⁶ In other words, he appropriated those places and their dependencies in the confusion consequent on I-yal-tīmish's usurpation, and assumed the title of Sultān.

⁷ The idiom varies here. All the modern copies of the text, and one of the oldest also, have, instead of this sentence, the words—"and the decree of destiny reached Ārām Shāh," and the sentence ends. Compare Elliot, INDIA, vol. II page 301.

Nasir ud Dīn Kabījah and sometimes by Sultān Shams ud Dīn Iyālīmish as will subsequently, be recorded, please God! in the account of each of those personages.

MALIK (SULTAN) NASIR UD DĪN KABĪJAH

✓ AL-MU'IZZĪ US-SULTĀNĪ

Malik (Sultan) Nasir ud Dīn Kabājah was a great monarch and the slave of the Sultan i Ghāzī Mu'izz ud Dīn Muhammad i Sam

He was endowed with very great intellect sagacity discretion skill wisdom and experience and had served Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn many years in various departments of every sort of political employment both important and subordinate about the Court in military affairs and the administration of civil duties and had acquired great influence

Malik Nasir ud Dīn i Actamur the feudatory of Ugh

* Sultan, on his coins, the title he assumed, and to which he was equally as much entitled as the "august" Sultan Iyālīmish

Some authors—but they are mostly those either natives of or resident in India, and of comparatively modern days—write this name *kalā-chah*, with *ch*. The Raṣṣat-ṣṣ Saṣṣ writes it *kalāḍ* merely. Our author however invariably writes it *kalā jah*, and I have therefore followed him. The letter *g* in writing is constantly used for *ch* sometimes from ignorance sometimes by mistake and the two letters are very often interchangeable and *j* and *ḡ* are substituted for them; but, in this particular case the name of this ruler occurs time after time in the same line with *Uchchah*, but the *j* of *kalā jah* and the *ch* of *Uchchah* are distinctly marked in the oldest copies of the text and, in one the vowel points are also given. *Uchchah* will be found constantly written with *j* which is intended for *ch* in several copies of the text as well as in many other works, but we never find *kalā jah* written with *ch* in the text.

The idea appears to have prevailed that this probable nickname is derived from *q-kabā*, an Arabic word signifying a quilted jacket with short sleeves, or a tunic open in front, and that *-chah* is the Persian affixed particle of diminution = *kalā-chah*, a short jacket or tunic, and thus his name would be Nasir ud Dīn of the short tunic or jacket but, in this case *Kalā chah* with *w* is impossible because there is no *w* in the Arabic word *kabā*

The letter *ḡ* never occurs in a purely Persian word, nor does it ever occur in *Slami* and *ḡ* is often substituted for it and vice versa. There are other meanings attached to a precisely similar word used in Persian, which is probably *Turkic* like the nick names, I bak, I yal-dū, I yal-almish, and the like. This *kalā* means, rending, tearing, cutting, paring, scraping shaving, &c., while in another form of it the *ḡ* is doubled = *kalāḍ* signifying slender about the middle. To this last the Persian diminutive particle, *chah*, is of course applicable; but besides this, *chah* signifies, much, great, abundance and the like, and also fifteen, or literally three fives. Under these circumstances this nickname might mean "very slender waisted." See also Elliot: INDIA, vol i page 131

chah, in the engagement at Andkhūd⁹—which took place between the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and the forces of Khitā, and the Maliks of Turkistān—displayed great valour before the stirrup of the Sultān, and fought against the infidels as by orthodox law enjoined, and despatched great numbers of them to hell. The Maliks of the army of Khitā became dejected through the amount of slaughter inflicted [upon them] by Nāsir-ud-Dīn-i-Actamur, and they simultaneously came upon him, and he attained martyrdom. The Sultān-i-Ghāzī reached his capital and the throne of Ghaznīn in safety, from that disaster, and the government of Ūchchah¹ was entrusted to Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Qabā-jah

He was son-in-law to Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn, I-bak, through two daughters², and, by the elder daughter, he had a son—Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh. He [Bahrām Shāh] was of handsome exterior and of good disposition, but addicted to pleasure, and, according to the way of youth, he had an excessive predilection for vice.

In short, when Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Qabā-jah, after the catastrophe of Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn, I-bak, proceeded to Ūchchah, he possessed himself of the city of Multān, and Sindūstān³, and Dīwal, as far as the sea-coast. The whole he brought under his sway, and subjected the fortresses, cities, and towns of the territory of Sind, assumed two canopies of state, and annexed [the country to the eastward] as far as the limits of Tabarhindah, Kuhrām, and Sursutī⁴. He also took Lohor several times, and

⁹ This word is written, in one of the oldest copies of the text, with the vowel points Inda-khūd—اِنْدَاخُوْد—and, from further research, I find it is the proper mode of spelling the name of this place. In the present day the people of that part call it Ind-khūd and Ind-khū. I have retained the modern mode of spelling.

¹ The printed text and two *MS* copies of the text have Ūchchah and Multān, but the ten best copies omit Multān.

² One having previously died. Qabā-jah was likewise son-in-law of Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yal-dūz, and, consequently, by the alliance with Qutb-ud-Dīn's daughters, he married the daughters of his wife's sister's husband.

The Tāj-ul-Ma'āzīr calls him 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, but I look upon our author as a better authority than the Tāj-ul-Ma'āzīr for the events of this reign. What became of Qabā-jah's son our author and others do not state.

³ That is, Sīvastān, also called Shīw-astān, by some Hindū writers. The remarks which follow seem to indicate that all these were separate provinces or territories. Sīvastān is turned into *Hindūstān* in Elliot's *INDIA*, page 302.

⁴ Yāfā'ī says each of the slaves seized upon the territory he held the govern-

fought an engagement with the troops of Ghaznīn which used to come into the Ianjub on the part of Sulṭān Tāj

ment of at least one of Sajin Mulraj and Binodan Lalit, and that Kaldish appears to be Cechy. At this, I believe, and perhaps which territory. In some cases, Suljo Jallal of Dhaaf was also affected.

Immediately after the fall of the Hsiang-shan, the so-called establishment of the Ching Dynasty by "Nga-sun-lin, Kala-jah, foreman, a struggle for power or rather a weak government," exterminated all the fort and towns in the territory of Liao-tai-shan, as well as others, by Bathing & some Sin-nih-er-kung-mo-fa, a Sin-nih-er-kung at the time (Khalbud-lin death) of the Ching, a Miao, was previously killed labor for him. He was a son, they say, of from Liao-Multin, and Ochebah by the forces of So-pin-Tapud-lin, Iyalto's a cousin mentioned above. But, after the defeat of the Liao and the Liao put to death in captivity by Iyalto, he had jah-gui, one of those terms given again, and apparently as a tributary of Iyalto, though he was never subject.

Our a little leaf is cut for the mention in two lines and not a wrong to the first line. I saw a name between Kalyan and Iyalumsh under the latter's name. There is a letter in 613 H. many years before the defeat of Sujaj Lalodila, Khawarm Shah, by the Mughals. According to the Taj ul Ma'as Kalyan was a tributary to Iyalumsh and the tribute was in arrears. At the advice of the Wazir Iyalumsh marched from Dihli toward Lalot in its payment. There is another report that it was for the purpose of the prince Shahab-ud-din of Alwar in 613 H. [The Taj ul Ma'as and the other sources make a great blunder here. They state correctly enough that war was between these two rulers about Lalot and that Shah Lalodila Iyalyumsh was always victorious. But add that in the last century, in 614 H. Shah Lalodila married a daughter of Iyalyumsh and in 615 H. he and then proceeded to mention Kalyan's death which happened some years after the above and on mentioning up the two events. This Shah's example is at least a great event in Kalyan's life.]

Kald jah with his forces was engaged on the Biah (the Bia of Europeans) to defend his passage. Armed on its banks, I yal timish on the 14th of Shawwāl began to encamp with his army without the aid of boats (this in *TAJUT* vol. ii, page 571 is called crossing the Indus) at the ford near a village named Chamshah[*]; but we must remember that the *present* course of the Biah is not as it was then. In those days it separated into two branches at a village named Lowah wāl, one branch flowing by Kaurah bāhūlah, Khāle and Mujaahid Shāh Muḥim, joined about a mile and a half west of the fort of Bihār pūr and fell into the river Chānd. This branch was called Biah and Nālah i Biah; whilst the other branch, flowing southwards, fell into the Sutlej, and the Chānd, at its present confluence with the Biah, is called . . . One author copied by Iul hiāh, states that this affair between Kald jah and I yal timish took place between Manḡurlah and the banks of the Chund, which seems very unlikely being too far west. Kald jah, on witnessing this daring deed according to the Tāj al Maʿālir abandoned his position and fled towards "Lahwar" whither he was pursued. His tamlah kettle-drums, war material and other booty, a vast amount fell into the hands of his rival. After this disaster Kald jah fled towards Uchchah whither I yal timish appears not to have been then prepared to follow him.

I yet timely remained some time at Lahore to arrange his affairs; and having published the news of his success in all parts, conferred the government of that

ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, and was overthrown by the Khawājah, the Mu-ayyid-ul-Mulk, Muhammad-i-'Abd-ullah, the Sanjarī, who was the Wazīr of the kingdom of Ghaznīn ⁵.

When [Sultān] Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Kabā-jah, became quietly established in the territory of Sind ⁶, during the calamities [attending the inroads] of the infidels of Chīn, a great number of the chief men of Khurāsān, Ghūr, and Ghaznīn presented themselves before him, and he bestowed upon the whole of them ample presents, and provided liberally for them ⁷. There used to be constant contention ⁸ between him and the august ⁹ Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-tīmish, up to the time of the battle on the banks of the Sind, which was fought between Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, son of Sultān Muhammad, Khwarāzm Shāh, and Chingiz Khān, after which, Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Khwarāzm Shāh, came into the land of Sind, and proceeded towards Dīwal and Mukrān

After the taking of Nandanah ¹ by the forces of the infidel

territory upon his eldest son, Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, and then returned to Dihlī. It was after these events that Kabā-jah's territory was invaded by Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Khwarāzm Shāh, as already mentioned in note ⁵, page 293. The extent of the province of Lāhor may be judged of from what is mentioned in that note, and note ¹, below

⁵ This happened in 612 H, according to the Tāj-ul-Ma'āşir, but it cannot be correct. That is the year in which I-yal-düz in person overthrew him the Wazīr of Ghaznīn defeated Kabā-jah soon after the death of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn. The Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā states that engagements were fought between I-yal-düz and Kabā-jah several times in the neighbourhood of Lāhor for the possession of that province. See under the reign of I-yal-düz, pages 496—506

⁶ Having been deprived of the province of Lāhor, Kabā-jah retired into Sind, and, devoting his energies to the consolidation of his rule therein, acquired great power

⁷ See page 200

⁸ Truly, and at page 294 he says that Kabā-jah was defeated by I-yal-tīmish in person in 614 H, which refers to the same events as related in the Tāj-ul-Ma'āşir in note ⁴, page 532

⁹ Sa'id here means *august*, and not that his name was "Sa'id," which it was not, nor was it "Sultan Sa'id Shams"

¹ Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn's defeat happened in the seventh month of the year 618 H. Compare Elliot's INDIA here, and throughout this Section, as the Calcutta printed text happens to be pretty correct in this identical portion of it. In the translation in Elliot, vol. II, page 303, this passage is thus rendered — "When the battle between Jalālu dīn Khwārizm Shāh and Changiz Khān was fought on the banks of the Indus, Jalālu dīn came into Sind, and went towards Dewal and Makrān. After the victory of NANDUA-TARI the Moghal prince came with a large army, &c." Here it will be perceived that NANDANAH, the name of the fort which was taken and the district in which it lay, and TURTI, the name of the Mughal who led the troops engaged in it, have been very

Mughals Turtl the Mughal Nû in with a large army, appeared at the foot [of the walls] of the city of Multan

cleverly made into *our name* and Chingiz Khân is brought to Multan, who was never east of the Indus in his life!

The passage cannot fail to be unintelligible to the reader without giving some explanation, and some detail respecting the events to which it refers. Our author, no doubt, could have given more particulars, but here as elsewhere he has, for reasons of his own, concealed a great deal.

There are many discrepancies likewise in the generality of Muhammedan authors about the incident of Multan. Some writers, including Jahân Kûshâ, and Jâmi'at Tawârikh, agree with our author and some others state that Multan was taken by the Mughals, while Fa-hî and others, which give such detailed accounts of the Mughal invasion and Suljân Jallûd Dîn's career say nothing at all. NASTASAH and do not refer to this expedition against Multan; and Fa-hî farther states, what is altogether improbable that Chingiz Khân himself gave Suljân Jallûd Dîn to understand, that as long as he did not recover the Sind he would not interfere with him." The Afnânî Khân says the Mughals *invaded* Multan and that Haldjah again repulsed them, but the first statement is not correct.

European writers also differ considerably—I need not quote the absurd non-sense even met in FROHMAN (vol. p. 4) and in RAMPOLLA, in his *History of Multan*—"In their accounts, extracted from the Muhammedan writers, respecting the advance of the Mughal upon Multan. In the *History of the Tatars* translated from the work of Abû'l-Ghâsi Bahâdar Khân, it is stated that Chingiz dispatched *Dulky Aygun* and *Sulu Aygun* in pursuit of the Sultan, but they having followed him in vain as far as the frontiers of India, were obliged to return without being able to give any tidings respecting him." LEIT DE LA CROIX, on the other hand, quoting Fa-hî, says, *Sulu Aygun* with 20,000 men, was sent to resist the Sultan, if he appeared in the country of Multan," and again, quoting Abû'l-Fatâ, says "Multan fell into the hands of the Mughals." Jahân-Kûshâ, Jâmi'at Tawârikh and Afnânî are however greater authorities than those quoted by LEIT DE LA CROIX for these events.

After his defeat of Suljân Jallûd Dîn on the west bank of the Sind or Indus, Chingiz Khân, with the main body of his forces halted in the country near the Hâbul river and the Hind—in the plain of Ishkwar or the Hâshî nagar Do-âbah, probably—pending negotiation with Suljân Iyâtimish—as stated by our author also farther on, only the negotiations of Chingiz were usually conducted upon quite a different plan: with the sword not the pen—for permission to pass through upper Hindûstân and enter Chîn by way of Lakhnâwâh and Kâmrûl. Whilst there encamped, Chingiz hearing of the progress of Suljân Jallûd Dîn, and the strength he was acquiring detached the Nû in, Turtl or Turtle—both names are correct and he is by some writers called Tûrmâh [not Tull, as stated in THOMAS, *THE HISTORY OF DEHLI*—Tull was the son of Chingiz and was elsewhere employed at this time. FRISHTAH on the other hand, says it was Chaghataï another of the sons, which is equally incorrect]—with two *armies*—20,000 men—in pursuit of him.

Suljân Jallûd Dîn, then in the western part of the Sind Sâgar Do-âbah, being much too weak in point of numbers to face this Mughal army sent after him, retired farther into the Panjâb, after he had with 150 men, attacked and routed some 2000 or 3000 of the troops of Hindûstân stationed in that part, beyond the river Bihâr Wihâr or Jhilam, into the Chînhatâh Do-âbah (The

and, for a period of forty-two days, closely invested that strong fortress

name of this Do-ābah is derived by combining the two first letters of the word چاب—Chināb—with the three last letters of رفته—Bihatah or رفته—Wihatah, *b* and *w* being interchangeable—the Do ābah of Chinhatah lying between those two rivers], where there were numbers of Khokhars at that period, and one writer states that the Sultān did actually invest Lāhor itself

Turtī, having crossed the Sind, “pushed on until he reached the boundary of the district or tract of country belonging to Hindūstān which Kamr-ud-Dīn, Karmāni, had held, but had been dispossessed of it by one of the Sultān’s [Jalāl-ud-Dīn’s] Amīrs. This evidently refers to the tract of country which will be subsequently referred to in several places—Banbān. In it was the strong fort of NANDANAH [نندنه—in two copies of Alfī it is written نندنه and نندنه, clerical errors probably, but the locality cannot be mistaken, and NANDANAH is evidently meant] which he took, and inflicted great slaughter upon its inhabitants.” From whom this fort was taken is not mentioned, but it could scarcely have been then in the possession of Jalāl-ud-Dīn’s vassals. After this feat, Turtī set out towards Multān, keeping along the western bank of the Jhūlam. “On arriving opposite Multān he found the river unfordable, and directed his followers to construct a bridge which they did by means of rafts of wood—a floating bridge.” He then crossed, and invested the place, but, after he had placed his catapults, and had discharged them a great number of times with much effect, and the fortress was about to fall, he had to abandon the siege on account of the excessive heat [It was the height of the hot season, and the heat of Multān is truly excessive]. He plundered the provinces of Multān and Lohāwar, re-crossed the Sind, and proceeded towards Ghaznīn. Jāmi’-ut-Tawārikh and Alfī say he plundered the ملک—the country of Fūr or Porus—which is the same probably as the Malik-pūr and Malka pūr of other writers, the meaning of the former not having been recognized, perhaps, from the two words being written as one—ملکپور and ملکپور. See also Elliot, INDIA vol II, page 559

Our author, however, makes the matter of the investment of Multān by Turtī very confused, for, in a previous page [297], he states that “Turtī, the Mughal, who had invested Multān, left Chingiz Khān, and came and joined Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and became converted to the Muhammadan faith.”

To return, however, to NANDANAH. This name is first mentioned in the reign of Maḥmūd of Ghaznīn by ‘Uṭba’ in the Kitāb i-Yamīnī, and then by Abū-Sā’id, son of Haiyah, a native of Gardāiz in the Ghaznīn territory [probably an earlier writer even than Abū-l-Faḍl i-Baihaḳī, though not much], in his Zain-ul-Akhbār, who says that Maḥmūd, towards the end of 404 H, determined to attack that fort, and that Naro Jai-pāl, on becoming aware of it, placed a strong garrison therein and retired himself towards the valley of Kaṣhmīr. Mines were sprung, and the Turks kept up such a fire of arrows against those who showed themselves upon the walls that the place surrendered in 405 H. This very rare and important work I have commenced translating.

The next mention of NANDANAH occurs in Abū-l-Faḍl i-Baihaḳī’s work, wherein it is said it was “impossible to leave that saḡhar—سنگر—a narrow pass between hills bordering upon a hostile country—where was the fort of NANDANAH, without being properly taken care of.” Our author also mentions it in several places, and it is mentioned in some other works, including the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī [It appears to have been copied from Zain-ul-Akhbār],

During that contest Malik [Sultān] Nūr ud Dīn Kabīlah opened the door of his treasury and conferred nunc

Abulhasan Tawdikh, and Ishah, both under Mahmud's reign, and in many other places, as well as by Adib, Sarwari, the Afghan historian, and other writers; yet by some means or other it has been turned into *Adab* by a few Muhammadan writers, or rather copyists, and by almost all Europeans in this manner, after the same fashion a *Tarikh* the present *Talwar* has been turned into *Adab*. No such places as Nand and Nardim ever existed. See also Elliot, *INDIA* vol. II. pages 438 & 450. Ishah is made *Shah*, and Nardim is, in this manner, made *Adab* tolerably correct, and is followed by others.

Although it is declared [11] 4, 1984 in § 431 that the name of *Nasir* cannot be reformed, I will make an effort to restore that of *Nasir* and I will not do so.

SARDAWAT is the name of the last part of the last century at least, was the name of a district, and formerly of a considerable tract of country and a fortress, in the Sirdar Daulah of the Panjab but the name has fallen from the Panjab Survey Maps, appears to have been dropped in recent times—lying on the west bank of the Rihah Wahi, or Jhelum. It contained within its part of the hill country including the tail or hill of the Jhelum hills, a great piece of the Hindustan, which hill country was known to the Muhammadan writers as the Jhelum, or Jhelum hills, and the people in it therein as the Makhlasi, or Jhelum or Jhelum Mountain, and the style the Sirdar from the number of fumes of such salt contained within them, and by between Jhelum and Dahan Khan (so called after a former Khokhar chief, named Dahan Khan) and Khushab, and the compass part of the Shikhar (the Jhelum or Jhelum) district of the present Rawal Pindi District under the British Government. There was also another separate and smaller district named *Yadun* or *Yadun* a little farther north, and there is a small river named *Yadun* in the present district of Lahore, and the Rawal Pindi District at its north. There is also, in this district, a Mughal place in ancient days, the residence of the provincial governors, which lies in the direct line of route from the SARDAWAT district in the Jhelum to the valley in which Chitral Khan had pitched his camp, next to the allied.

It is not impossible that the name of **HAST NASH** was, previous to the reign of Akbar, applied to the eastern half of the hill tract between **Rhughah**, **Kawal Langh** and the **Jilam**, including the northern part of the **Chul-i-Jalili**—so called after **Jalil ul Din**—in the midst of the **Sind Sagar Du Abah**, which formed, during the rule of the **Ghuris** and the **Turkish Slave-kings of Delhi**, the north-western province of **Hind and Sind**. The authority of the last named rulers does not seem to have extended to the eastern bank of the **Sind**, except on the occasion of an army to enforce it nor northward over the mountain tract; and the **Alpokhars**, along with the **Awankhars**, **Kathars**, **Ghakars**, and other less numerous tribes, and, like them, still inhabiting that ancient country—the ancient **Gandhārah** of the **Hindūs**—were not reduced to the subjection of the rulers of **Hindustān** till the time of Akbar.

In the reign of Sultan Mu'izz ad Din, Muhammad-i Sam, his rule which extended from Ghazni to Lahore and Delhi did not extend save very nominally over this hilly country; and it was because the Khakhars and others, in alliance with them, closed the route between Ghazni and Lahore a referred to in note 1 page 481 that he had to march into this very frontier district of Nandanah to coerce them. The fortress of that name seems to have been

rous benefits upon the people, and showed such proofs of boldness, ability, expertness, and courage that the men-

for the same object as that for which Sher Shāh, Afghān, founded the fort of Ruhtās in after years. Whether it was founded on the site of the fort of NANDANAH it is difficult to say, but is more than probable, for Abū I-Faṣl does not mention it in the list of forts in that *sarkār*, which may account for the name being less used in later times, but, at a place on the route between Khush-āb and Makhad on the Sind, named at present Pakkā-kot, there are the remains of a very strong fortress of ancient times, which may be those of NANDANAH.

In the tract south of the Makhiālah Mountains or Koh-i-Jūd, as far as the Sind, and to the north among the hills likewise, and beyond the Sind towards Karmān and Ghaznīn, are the remains of several large towns or cities, and substantial buildings, including the ruins of a considerable city, on the east side of the river, named Kahlūr [کَلُور], which were noticed in the latter part of the last century, built in the strongest and most substantial manner, and still to be seen, and which would be delightfully interesting to explore. The country between the Jhām and the Sind, in the direction I have been referring to, teems with ruins of this kind, and the remains of numerous great wells, with stone steps to descend into them, named *wān*—the present termination of many village names—in the Panjābī dialect, *baoli* in Hindī, and *sarī ābah* in Persian. There are also the extensive ruins of the ancient city of Akarrah, and some others, in the Banū district, the whole of which give undoubted evidence of this tract south of the Makhiālah or Jūd Mountains having been the chief route between Hind and Ghaznīn by Karmān and Gardāiz. The more northern route by Jhām, Rāwal Pindī, Aṭak, and Peshāwar was seldom, if ever used, for the Khair route was not under the control of the Dihlī kings, nor was it so good and practicable as the other. [I notice that the periodical ravings about the “*only two routes*” from Afghānistān into India have not yet ceased.] This may be gathered from the account of Sulṭān Nāṣir ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd’s reign farther on, where he marches his forces as far as the Sūḍharah and then sends Ulugh Khān with his best troops to endeavour to expel the Mughals from this very tract, and also from the account of Ulugh Khān in the following Section. The country on the west of the Sind and on the Kābul river nearest to it, on the decline of the Ghūrīān, Khwārazmī, and Mughal powers, was occupied by confederacies of powerful tribes, among whom were Afghāns, and on the east side, in the hills, by the tribes before alluded to, some of whom, the Awān-kārs and a few others, also held lands on the west side near the river Sind, and some even farther west.

It was from this frontier province of NANDANAH that Sulṭān Jalāl-ud-Dīn sent an envoy to I-yal timiṣh—who was made away with by him—with whom Chingīz is said by our author to have been at the same time negotiating [1]. I-yal-timiṣh had, at this time, ousted his rival Kabā-jah from this portion of the Lāhor territory, and had compelled him to content himself with Multān, Ūchchāh, and Sind, although, from what subsequently occurred, the hold of either of the rivals upon the frontier district of NANDANAH could not have been very firm or very secure. At page 293, our author says, that I-yal-timiṣh, on hearing of Sulṭān Jalāl ud Dīn’s overthrow by the Mughals on the Sind and retreat towards the frontiers of the Dihlī kingdom, “*despatched*”—in his account of I-yal timiṣh farther on, he says he “*marched*”—“the troops of Dihlī towards Lāhor [into the province of Lāhor?] against the Sulṭān, who thereupon “turned aside, and proceeded towards Sind and Sīwastān.” They were in great terror of the Khwārazmīs at Dihlī, but Sulṭān Jalāl ud-Dīn,

Malik [Sultān] Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Kabā-jah, moved on to repel them, and a battle took place between the two

error of not mentioning those matters, if they were aware of them. The Khwārazmī Sultāns were very obnoxious to the Ghūrīs and their parasites, and, as the Khwārazmī sovereigns were not on good terms with the Khalīfahs of that day, our author's bigotry doubtless led him, as well as Hasan, Nizāmī, to conceal all that might tend to the honour and glory of those whom our author and his sect considered no better than heretics, as well as to pander to the vanity of his patrons. See page 609.

Eighteen months after the appearance of the Mughals on the Sind or Indus, and the investment of Multān by Tūrtī or Tūrtāe some time in 623 H, a chief, named Malik Khān by several writers, and styled "of Hirāt," with his followers and the Khalīj tribe, or rather the remnant of the Khalīj tribe [a portion of this great tribe was settled in Garmsīr, and some held lands in Nangraihār, north of the Karman district, centuries before the Afghāns came into it. It is included by some in Shanūzān or Sankurān or rather the latter is included in Nangraihār], the remnant of the Khwārazmī forces in these parts, pressed by the Mughal invaders, arrived on the N W frontier of Sind. This person, however, cannot be the great chief referred to at pages 287, 409, &c.—nor does our author say he is, but styles him "the Khalīj," but some other writers endeavour to make out that he is—for, according to Yāfa ī, Jūhān-Kushā, and other works, he was slain when endeavouring to reach Parshot or Barshāwar, when the right wing of Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn's small force which he commanded was defeated on the banks of the Indus. He was the son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn's maternal uncle, and is styled by different names and titles in different histories. In Alfī he is called, Yamīn Malik, in Jāmi'-ut Tawārikh, Amīn Malik, and in Rauzat-us-Shafī, and Hātib-us-Siyar, Yamīn-ul-Mulk. It is apparent, however, that his correct name and titles were Malik Khān, Yamīn-ul-Mulk. See page 287.

Abū l Ghāzī, Bahādur Khān, in his history styles the person last referred to Khān Malik, Saif-ud-Dīn, 'Ighrāk, Malik of the hills of Karman—the Sankurān or Shanūzān hills. This however is not correct, for that chief, together with others, 'Azam Malik and Nūh, the Jān dār, after their desertion of Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn, began to fall out and fight among themselves, so that within three months of their desertion all three were killed, and their followers dispersed, and, what with those killed by each other and those slain by Changīz Khān's forces, after a short time no traces of them were left.

A Malik Khān commanded the left wing of Jalāl-ud-Dīn's force in the battle on the Indus, and his fate is not recorded. He probably is the person meant by our author, and the remains of the deserters from Jalāl-ud-Dīn's army after the victory at Barwān may have been his followers.

Our author does not appear to have known much more about the situation of Manūrah and the district of which it was the chief place than Abū-l-Fazl did. It was on the west side of the Indus, and nearly fifty miles from the present main stream, and was situated between forty-five and fifty miles N E of Haidarābād. The Khalīj fugitives appeared on the N W frontier of Sind, of which Sīwastīn [which gave name to the province] or Sadūsān, the present Sīhwān, was the chief city, and included that district and what we at present call Upper Sind. Ibrāhīm moved against them and defeated them, and Malik Khān is said to have been killed in the engagement. The remaining Khalīj and others of his followers sought the protection of Shams-ud-Dīn, Ibrāhīm-shah, Kabā

armies and the Khaly force was overthrown and the Kh in [Chief] of the Khaly was slain and Malik [Sultan] Nāṣir ud Din Kabīlah returned again to Uchchah and Multan.

In this same year likewise the writer of this work Minhaj Saraj reached the city of Uchchah from Bhurā Sin by way of Gharnin and Banīn by boat on Tuesday the 27th of the month Jamādī ul Awwal in the year 624 H. In the month of 71 Hijjah of the same year the Itruzi College of Uchchah was committed to the charge of the author together with the office of Kaḡl of the forces of

jabari and enemy who took them under his protection and slave purely
married against him by a wife by these factors

Thinking, carrying over their term a short period the event in 615 is
but it is totally correct. He y they came from the outskirts of
Gharina. The Tala'ia Alluf he coming it

[illegible]

The Calcutta text has Mithan or Mithān — here but there is no such word in any copy of the text or I told. The edit. writer knew probably that there was a place somewhere on the Indus called Mithān — not Mithān with long ā — jumped at the conclusion that this must be the place referred to. The name contained in every copy of the text is written generally as — Mithān but occasionally as — Mithān. See note page 536 and note* page 623. The same name occurs in the reign of Jayatish and in many other places; and, in the printed text the name is generally as written. In a not however it is turned into but in two of the most modern copies of the text it is turned into and respectively. In Elliot's 1841 is the printed text implicitly followed. There is no doubt whatever that Mithān is meant and that it refers to some place between Gharni, Harina, and the tract north or west of the Salt Range perhaps Harā or near it; and further mention of it in the following pages of this work tends to confirm this supposition, but its precise position is difficult to fix. Mithān is a long distance from Uchchah, and would have taken our author much out of his way in coming from Gharni to that city.

* Compare Elliot, IVBIA, vol. II, page 304, where the Kāfī ship, or office of Kāfī I turned into *proclamation*! The passage thus rendered is— In the month of Zi l hijja of the same year the Fīrōz college at Uch was consigned to the care of the author *On the proclamation of the army of Allāh dīn Ibrāhīm Shīh in the month of Rabi'ul awwal A.H. 623* Sultān Sa'īd Shamsī I līn encamped in sight of Uch!

of Ūchchah Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, discomfited, embarked on boats [with his troops and followers ?] and retired towards Bhakar, and [a body of ?] the Sultān's forces, along with the Wazīr of the State, the Nizām-ul-Mulk, set out in pursuit of him, and invested him within the fortress of Bhakar¹

Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-tīmish, remained encamped before the gate of the fortress of Ūchchah for a period of two months and twenty-seven days. On Saturday, the 27th of the month, Jamādī ul-Awwal², the citadel of Ūchchah was given up. When the news of the capture of the place reached Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, he sent his son 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, to the presence of the Sultān. Subsequent to his reaching the camp of the Sultān, on the 22nd of the month, Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, information arrived of the taking of Bhakar, and that Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, had drowned himself in the river Sind, and the term of his existence was severed³.

The period of his rule in the land of Sind, and Ūchchah, and Multān, was twenty-two years

IV MALIK BANĀ-UD-DĪN, TUGHRIL⁴, UL-MU'IZZĪ US-SULTĀNĪ

Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Tughril, was a Malik of excellent disposition, scrupulously impartial, just, kind to the poor and strangers, and adorned with humility. He was one of the slaves of the early part of the reign of the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, and the latter had raised him likewise to a high degree of rank, and,

¹ The printed text [and Firishṭah in his work] turns this name into Thankīr, which is Bhīānah, although Bhakar is mentioned correctly immediately after¹.

² Impossible, considering that Zī-Hijjah is the *last* month of the year, and Rabī' ul-Awwal the *third*. He must either mean that he reached Ūchchah in 623 H, or that it was surrendered in 625 H. See page 296, where he contradicts both the date of his own arrival at Ūchchah and also the year in which it was taken.

³ Compare ELLIOT here, vol. II page 304.

⁴ Tughril, with short *u* before the final *l*, is the name of a bird, but the name of this chief, like that of several of the Saljūk rulers, is spelt Tughril. All writers agree that Bahā-ud-Dīn, Tughril, was one of the greatest, most successful, and most accomplished of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's mamlūks.

* when the fortress of Thangir¹ [or Thankir] which is [in ?] the territory of Bhlānah with the Rac of which warfare was being carried on was taken, it was made over to Bahā ud Dīn Tughril's charge and that part became flourishing and prosperous through his means. From different parts of Hindūstān and Khurasān merchants and men of repute had joined him and to the whole of them he was in the habit of presenting houses and goods which used to become their property so that on this account they would dwell near him.

As the fortress of Thankir was not suitable as a place of residence for him and his following Malik Bahā ud Dīn, Tughril founded in the territory of Bhlānah the city of Sulṭān Kot and therein took up his abode and used continually to despatch [bodies of] cavalry towards Gwāliyūr. When the Sulṭān i-Shihāzī [Mu'izz ud Dīn] retired from the foot [of the walls] of the fort of Gwāliyūr he said to Bahā

¹ The discrepancies of authors with regard to the taking of this fortress, and the operations *etc.* of Gwāliyūr are great.

Our author I have, under the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn, states that Khajūh Dāwūd Jūzī, al-Bīrūnī, Thangir Gwāliyūr and Buda'ūn, and here comes to an end.

The Tāj ul Ma'ālī says Thangir was taken in 592 H. and that Khajūh Dīn, his son, joined the Sulṭān's forces, the royal army moved again to Gwāliyūr and invested it in that same year. Khajūh Dīn's need for peace became military and was allowed to retain his possessions.

The Tāj ul Ma'ālī also says Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn made the expedition to Kinnauj and Banāras in 594 H. and, leaving Khajūh Dīn as his representative in Hind, returned to Ghazna. Immediately after that work takes,

Khajūh Dīn *etc.* of Thangir Gwāliyūr and Buda'ūn, and then invaded al-Bīrūnī, but gives no dates; and then a line, without mentioning any other event between, that, "when between Tū and Sarakhs, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud Dīn heard of the death of his brother" which happened in 599 H. according to our author.

The Mir'āt i Jahān Nūmā also says that Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn, after the conquest of Kinnauj and Banāras, left Khajūh Dīn, as his deputy in India, and that the latter *etc.* of Gwāliyūr Buda'ūn, and other places, but Thangir is not mentioned, and in this statement Haft Ikhlās and Buda'ūn agree.

All which is the most correct apparently has, Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, again entered Hind in 590 H. and took Thangir [or Thankir], which was an exceedingly strong place and then marched against Gwāliyūr "about which more will be mentioned in the following note.

It is amusing to compare Firghīah here—the text I mean—his account of these events, first under the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn and, subsequently in his account of Khajūh Dīn, I-shāh and Bahā-ud Dīn Tughril. They are related in three different ways, and neither in details nor in dates do they

-ud-Dīn, Tugh̃rīl “I must leave this stronghold to thee [to take]” In concurrence with this hint, Malīk Bahā-ud-Dīn, Tugh̃rīl, stationed a body of forces from his own troops at the foot of the fort of Gwāliyūr, and near by, at the distance of one league, he erected a fortification, in order that the Musalmān horsemen might remain within it at night, and, when the day should break, push on to the foot of the fort⁶ [walls]

They were occupied in this manner for the period of a year, and, when the defenders of Gwāliyūr became reduced to straits, they sent emissaries to the Sultān- [Malīk at that period] 1-Karīm, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and gave up the fort to him⁷, and [consequently] between Malīk Bahā-ud-Dīn,

⁶ The more recent copies of the text differ somewhat from this, but the oldest and best copies are as above

⁷ Neither here, nor under the reign of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, does our author give us the details in consecutive order, his constant failing. The Sultān, having gained possession of Thangīr, moved against Gwāliyūr. Arrived there, he found it would be impossible to take it by a *coup de main*, and that the only way to reduce it would be by a regular investment, and reduction of the defenders to straits, which would occupy a considerable time. The Rāe of Gwāliyūr, becoming aware of the Sultān's deliberations on the matter, hastened to present himself before him, with rich presents and offerings, and conciliated him, and, for a time, he was enabled to preserve his territory

ELPHINSTONE, led away by the *translations* of Firīshṭah—Briggs's version of which he constantly quotes—and other histories probably, *easily*, but *incorrectly*, disposes of these affairs. He says, page 315, “next year, Shahāb u dīn came back to India, took Biāna, west of Agra, and laid siege [!] to the strong fort of Gwālīor, in Bundēlkand. It is probable [!] that he was recalled by some attack or alarm in Khorāsān, for he left *the conduct of the siege of Gwālīor to his generals*, and returned, without having performed anything of consequence [!], to Ghaznī ”

At the time of withdrawing from before the fort, the Sultān remarked to Tugh̃rīl, that, if the fort should be taken [hereafter by his means], it should be made over to him. On this account, after the Sultān's departure, Tugh̃rīl founded the strong fortress of Sultān kot in the Bhīānah territory and there took up his residence, and from thence made constant raids into the Gwāliyūr territory, but, finding this of no avail, he founded a strong fortification within two leagues [some say much nearer] of it, and made it his headquarters, and virtually blockaded Gwāliyūr. By making incessant raids upon the country round, he sought to reduce the place to extremity. After about a year, the defenders, being reduced to great straits, sent agents, with presents and rarities, not to Tugh̃rīl, but to his rival, Malīk Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and delivered up the fortress of Gwāliyūr to him. Kuṭb-ud-Dīn's having accepted this offer was the cause of enmity between the two Turk mamlūks, and, had not Tugh̃rīl been suddenly removed from the scene by the hand of death, hostilities would have arisen between them. The Tagkīrat-ul-Mulūk says Tugh̃rīl died whilst the operations were being carried on

Tughril, and [Malik] Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn Iḥāk, there used to exist a little of the leaven of vexation.

Malik Bahā ud Dīn, Tughril was a man of exemplary faith, and in the district of Bḥānah, numerous proofs of his goodness remained and he died and was received into the Almighty's mercy

After this an account will likewise be given in this ṬABAḤĀT of the Khālī Maliks who were [among] those of the reign of the beneficent Sultān* Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn and accounted among the servants of the Sultān 1-Ghāzī, Mu'izz ud Dīn Muḥammad 1 Sām in order that, when the readers [of this work] acquire knowledge respecting all the Maliks and Amīrs of Hindūstān, they may utter a benediction upon the author and pray unto the Omnipotent for the eternal dominion and perpetual sovereignty of Sultān NĀSIR UD DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN ABŪ L MUZAFFAR 1 MAHMŪD the son of the Sultān, the Ḳasīm [co-sharer] of the Lord of the Faithful* and may Almighty God perpetuate the dynasty, Amīn!

There is no date given of the surrender of Gwāliyūr to Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn, but, from what our author states about the leaven of vexation between Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn and Tughril, and what other writers say respecting Tughril's determination of appealing to arms on account of Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn's interference with respect to this fortress, we may conclude that its surrender must have taken place just before or immediately after the death of Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn, who would probably had he lived longer, have interfered in this matter out of his great regard for Tughril, his ancient slave. Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn, after the Sultān's death, would scarcely have kept himself entirely at Lāhor out of fear of Tāj-ud Dīn, I yal-dūr, with another rival like Bahā-ud Dīn, Tughril, in his ear lest they might act in concert.

Ḥaḥṭah mentions these events in his account of Tughril as though they had happened in 607 H 1. See also note * page 316

Gwāliyūr did not long remain in Muslimān possession however and it was recovered shortly after by the Hindūs, during the confusion which arose on the death of Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn, Iḥāk, and the accession of his adopted son and, it was not until many years after—in 630 H—that I yal-timīsh could gain possession of it. See under his reign farther on.

* Not so. Malik Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn was a slave at this time, and continued a slave till after Sultān Mu'izz-ud Dīn's assassination; and the first of the Khālī rulers of Lakhanawāḥ died before Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn received his manumission.

See note * pages 310, 315 and 358, and note †. On his later coins the title is Nāṣir al Mūminīn and as our author himself states in his account of Nāṣir-ud Dīn Maḥmūd's reign farther on.

V MALIK-UL GHĀZĪ, IKHTIYĀR-UD-DĪN, MUHAMMAD, SON OF BAKHT-YAR¹, KHALJĪ, IN THE TERRITORY OF LAKHMANAWATĪ²

Trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that this Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār, belonged to the Khalj [tribe] of Ghūr, and the territory of Garmsīr³, and that he was a man impetuous, enterprising, intrepid, bold, sagacious, and expert. He came from his tribes to the court of Ghaznīn, and [to] the Audience Hall of dominion of the Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-ī-Sām. In the Dīwān-ī-'Ārīz

¹ In the more recent copies of the text, the word بن—"son of" has been left out, but the izāfat—the *kasrah* or ی, governing the genitive, even in them is understood, if not written, and thus, with European and some local Indian Muhammadan writers, the *father* has had the credit for what the *son* performed. The same error, of omitting the *kasrah* or not understanding the grammatical structure, has caused the ancestor of the Ghūrīān Sultāns, Muhammad, *son* of Sūrī, noticed at page 320, to be made Muhammad Sūrī—one person—instead of *two*. The father's name it appears was Bakht-yār [i. e. the Fortunate or Lucky], the son of Maḥmūd.

At page 517, in every copy of the text, our author styles him 'Izz-ud-Dīn, instead of Ikhtiyār-ud Dīn.

² My oldest copy of the text gives the vowel points as above. There is no doubt but that the correct name is LAKHMANA-WATĪ, or LAKSHMANA-WATĪ from Lakhmana or Lakshmana, the son of Dasarata, and half-brother of Rām Chandra, and watī, the contraction of wātī—habitation, dwelling, home—the country of Lakhmana.

³ The most absurd statements have been made with respect to the people named Khalj, the plural of which, according to the 'Arab mode of writing, is Akhilāj. It is also written, but rarely, Khalaj, but some few Muhammadan Indian authors write it Khulj and Khuljī, and most European writers have followed them [Dow, however, makes "*Chilligies*" of them, although Firsihtah writes the word خلع like other Muhammadan authors], but, according to the fertile imaginations of Europeans, the Khalj—خلع—tribe and Ghalzī—علی—tribe are one people—in fact, some roundly assert that the Khalj are one and the same race as the Afghān tribe of Ghalzī, without there being a shadow of authority for such an assertion in any Muhammadan writer whatever. Because the Khalj happened, in the days of the Ghūrīān Sultāns [and long prior], to have been located in that part of Khurāsān now included in what in the present day is styled by the general name of Afghānistān—a comparatively modern designation—such writers, in their innocence, jumped at the conclusion that they were Afghāns, and, more than that, that the Khalj and Ghalzī must be one and the same people.

The Khalj are a TURKISH tribe, an account of whom will be found in all the histories of that race—the Shajarah-ul-Atrāk, Jāmī-ut Tawārīkh, Introduction to the Zafar Nāmah, &c, and a portion of them had settled in Garmsīr long prior to the period under discussion, from whence they came into Hindūstān and entered the service of Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn. See also note ⁶, page 550.

[بهکوت], and Bhiūlī or Bhīwalī [بهولی] upon him in fief, and, being a man of valour and avarice, he was in the habit of making incursions into the territory of Muner and Bihār⁶, and used to

⁵ These names are thus written in the oldest copies and in the best of the modern copies of the text, and, as they are wise, that the original Persian. These fiefs were situated between the Karmah nasah, to the eastward of and adjoining the Khalj [tribe] and that he was still the chief town of the latter, but there is a difference of opinion, sagacious, and name of the principal place of the Bhagwat or the court of Ghazni days, and it is most probable that the hill and fief were included in it. See Indian Atlas, sheet 88. That text were in the part named is singularly correct. In the *Dīwān-i-ʿĀr* were the names of Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyār, and the following note, for the places referred to are evident. *Patutah* and *Kuntul* [Kuntilah?], the former being the genitive, even in the nine west, and the latter one mile north, European and some local Indian names. All these three places moreover are in the credit for what the *son* of the river, which river was the boundary of the *kasrah* or not understanding. In the text these places are turned into *Sāhla*—ancestor of the Ghūrīān Sultan *Sihlī* [سهيلى] or *Sihwalī* [سهيولى]—in fact, age 320, to be made *Muḥan* *Elliot* INDIA, vol. II, page 305. In the father's name it appears was B.

⁶ There is considerable difference of opinion of Mahmūd writers here, and also in other places, that, our author styles him 'Izz-ud-dīn, abstract of what they say.

Khūyār-ud Dīn, Muhammad i-Bakhtiyār, the vowel points as above. There is a story that he was the son of Bakhtiyār, LAKHMANA-WATĪ, or LAKSHMAN, "History of India" written for him by the son of Dasarata, and half-brat. He was one of the headmen of the contraction of wātī—habitation, on the south-west border of Ghūr. His valour, and liberality, was of repute. He had been made with respect to his long arms—as described by our author according to the 'Arab mode of fighting. Mu'izz-ud-Dīn he came to Ghaznīn in Khalaj; but some few stirring times, and, subsequently, not obtaining what he desired, he came into Hind, and proceeded "to *Chaluchies*" of them, although he got on with Kutb ud-Dīn, it is said, so he proceeded farther east, but accompanied by the Malik-ul Mu'azzam [the great Malik], Husām-ud-Dīn, Ūghul Bak [see note 2, page 516, para 11], who held in fief a considerable tract of country in the Do āb, and on the east side of the river Gang, independent of Kutb ud Dīn's authority. According to another author, Sultan Mu'izz ud Dīn conferred on Ūghul Bak the fortress of Kol and its dependencies, which is in the Do-āb. Muhammad i-Bakhtiyār was taken into that Malik's service, and, soon after, was despatched with some forces into Awadh [Compare Thomas, "PATHAN KINGS OF DEHLI," page 110, who makes him "*Sipah salār* of Oude" and note 7, page 558, farther on], and, on several occasions he gave proofs of his valour and prowess against his Hindū opponents.

After this, Husām ud-Dīn, Ūghul-Bak, conferred upon him the fiefs of *PAṬITAH*—پاٹيتا [Lat 25°, Long 82° 54'], and *KUNTILAH*—کنتلا [Lat 25° 7' Long 82° 35'], the *Kuntul* of the Indian Atlas.

[From a similarity in the names, some comparatively modern Muhammadan

from it, until he acquired ample resources in the shape of horses, arms and men and the fame of his alertness and bravery and the booty [he had acquired] became noised abroad. Bodies of Alḥḥaj' from different parts of Hindūstān turned their faces towards him and his reputation reached Sulṭān [Malik] Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn who despatched a robe of distinction to him and showed him honour. Having been honoured with such notice and favour he led a force towards Bihār and ravaged that territory.

He used to carry his depredations into those parts and that country until he organized an attack upon the fortified city of Bihar. Truly worthy persons have related on this point that he advanced to the gateway of the fortress of Bihar

with two hundred horsemen in defensive armour, and suddenly attacked the place. There were two brothers of Farghānah, men of learning, one Nizām-ud-Dīn, the other Samsām-ud-Dīn [by name],⁸ in the service of Muhammad-ī-Bakht-yār, and the author of this book met with⁹ Samsām-ud Dīn at Lakhanawatī in the year 641 H., and this account is from him. These two wise brothers were soldiers⁹ among that band of holy warriors when they reached the gateway of the fortress and began the attack, at which time Muhammad-ī-Bakht-yār, by the force of his intrepidity, threw himself into the postern of the gateway of the place, and they captured the fortress, and acquired great booty. The greater number of the inhabitants of that place were Brahmans, and the whole of those Brahmans had their heads shaven, and they were all slain. There were a great number of books¹ there, and, when all these books came under the observation of the Musalmāns, they summoned a number of Hindūs that they might give them information respecting the import of those books, but the whole of the Hindūs had been killed². On becoming acquainted [with the contents of those books], it was found that the whole of that fortress and city was a college, and in the Hindūi tongue, they call a college [مدرسه] Bihār³.

When that victory was effected, Muhammad-ī-Bakht-yār returned with great booty, and came to the presence of the beneficent Sulṭān⁴, Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and received great honour and distinction. A party of Amīrs at the capital [Dihli], through the noising abroad of Muham-

⁸ A few modern copies say, "he, Samsām-ud-Dīn, discovered the author," &c.

⁹ Jān-bāz, which does not mean "active."

¹ Books on the religion of the Hindūs.

² The *Zubdat ut-Tawārīkh*, which quotes our author verbatim on most occasions, says they sent for a number of Hindūs, who made them acquainted with the contents of the books, and *in them it was written* that that fortress and city was called a college, but, correctly, a Buddhist monastery.

³ In Persian words derived or borrowed from the Sanskrit the letter *b* is often substituted for *N*īgārī *ब-व*—thus, Bihār or Wihār, but there is no *e* in the word—hence Behar is impossible.

⁴ He was not then Sulṭān, and his master, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, was still alive, and was assassinated *thirteen years afterwards*, and, some time even after that event, Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn received his manumission and the title of Sulṭān from the nephew of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn. Our author does not mean that Kutb-ud-Dīn was Sulṭān at that very time. He was not Sulṭān, in fact, during the lifetime of Muhammad-ī-Bakht-yār.

mad i Bahht yār's praises' and at beholding the honour

* After having gained possession of Bihār Muḥammad-i-Bakht yār taking along with him valuable presents, part of the spoils, proceeded to wait upon Malik Kuṣṭ-ud Dīn, at this time the representative of Sulṭān Muḥizz ud Dīn in Hindū. By the generality of authors he is said, more probably to have gone to Dihlī for the purpose; but, as previously stated in next to last para. of note¹ page 516, it was whilst Kuṣṭ-ud Dīn was at Mahobah, in the Khilji territory in 599 H — which should be 589 H — after taking Kalinjar that Muḥammad-i-Bakht yār presented himself, for it was in 589 H that he moved from Bihār to invade Lakhanawāt. See note² page 558. He was received with such distinction, and so many marks of favour were shown him, that the chief and ministers of Kuṣṭ-ud Dīn's vice-regal court became filled with envy and hatred of Muḥammad-i-Bakht yār and they began to calumniate him to Kuṣṭ-ud Dīn, and to report expressions of a scornful nature towards himself on the part of Muḥammad-i-Bakht yār which he had never used. It happened, upon the occasion of Kuṣṭ ud Dīn's holding a public audience in the ḥayr-i Safed [White Cañle], that a rampant elephant was brought forward for inspection, and these envious persons began saying, in a disdainful and contemptuous manner that there was no one who would venture to stand before that elephant the like of which was not to be found in Hindū. Kuṣṭ-ud Dīn, in whose mind they had succeeded in creating an unfriendly feeling towards Muḥammad-i-Bakht yār proposed to him an encounter with the elephant. He agreed at once and with the mace he held in his hand dealt it one blow but that blow was so effectual that the elephant made off.

This anecdote is somewhat differently related by another writer who says that these malignants stated to Kuṣṭ ud Dīn that Muḥammad-i-Bakht yār was desirous of encountering an elephant and that Kuṣṭ-ud Dīn had a white one, which was rampant, and so violent that the drivers were afraid of it and which he directed should be brought on the course for Muḥammad-i-Bakht yār to encounter. He approached it near enough to deal it such a blow on the trunk with his mace as at once put it to flight.

After his performing this feat Kuṣṭ-ud Dīn distinguished him with still greater favour. He conferred upon him a special dress of honour of great value and a large sum of money; and Muḥammad-i-Bakht yār having donned the robe, added money of his own to Kuṣṭ-ud Dīn's gift, and distributed the whole among those present and left the assembly with increased renown and honour. Kuṣṭ-ud Dīn further distinguished him by giving him a standard and other insignia, and confirmed him, on the part of his master the Sulṭān, in the government of the tracts he had subdued and such further conquest as he might make in the Lakhanawāt territory; and Muḥammad-i-Bakht yār returned to Bihār.

Here is a rich specimen of the history taught at present, at least, in the University of Calcutta, as it is from the History of India by Mr. Marshman:— "Kootub lost no time in despatching *one of his wives* BUKHTIYAR KHILJī who had risen to command, by his native genius, to conquer Behar. The capital was sacked, and the country and land and the army returned within two years to Delhi, bending beneath the weight of plunder. An attempt was soon after made to supplant Bukhtiyar in his master's favour but it was defeated by the prowess he exhibited in a single combat with a lion which his enemies at court had forced on him. This event established him still more firmly in the confidence of Kootub, who sent him in 1203, to reduce Bengal."

Now in the whole of this statement, there is not *one atom of truth* and in no author Muḥammadan or Hindū, will such a statement be found.

he received, and the gifts bestowed upon him by Sultān Kutb-ud-Dīn, became envious of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, and, at a convivial banquet, they treated him in a reproachful and supercilious manner, and were deriding him and uttering inuendoes, and matters reached such a pitch that he was directed to combat with an elephant at the Kaṣr-i-Safed [White Castle] With one blow, which he dealt the elephant on the trunk with his mace⁶, the elephant fled discomfited

When Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār gained that distinction, Sultān Kutb-ud-Dīn ordered him a rich robe of honour from his own special wardrobe, and conferred considerable presents upon him The Sultān [likewise] commanded the Amīrs to make him presents, and he received such a number of gifts as could not be contained within the limits of writing Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār moreover, in that same assembly, dispersed the whole of those presents and bestowed them upon the people, and, with the special imperial⁷ honorary robe, he departed, and set out towards Bihār

Fear of him⁸ operated exceedingly in the hearts of the unbelievers of the different parts of the territories of Lakhnawatī and Bihār, and the countries of Bang and Kām-rūd Trustworthy persons have related after this manner, that the fame of the intrepidity, gallantry, and victories of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār had [also] reached Rāe Lakhmīah⁹, whose seat of government was the city of Nūdiāh¹⁰ at who was a very great Rāe, and had been¹¹ road of Muhammad a period of eighty years

At this place, an ANECDOTE
stances of that Rāe, which had been
is here recorded, and it is this, ^{four}our author verbatim on most
rīndūs, who made them acquainted

⁶ See Elliot INDIA, vol. II. *in them it was written that that fortress was* In some modern copies, correctly, a Buddhist monastery left out, and we have added or borrowed from the Sanskrit the letter *b* is phant." no more. āgārī *q-w*—thus, Bihār or Wihār, but there is no

⁷ One of the robes prof is impossible his master, hence it is called, and his master, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, was

⁸ His intrepidity and valour *thirteen years afterwards*, and, some time even

⁹ Another writer styles him Dīn received his manumission and the title for the Sanskrit लक्ष्मण son of K'uzz ud'kmal Our author does not mean Bangālāh in Abū-l-Faṣl's Ā'in-i-Akbarī, and Dī He was not Sultān, in fact, note², page 559

removed from this world Rāe Lakhmanlah was in his mother's womb. The crown was placed on the belly of his mother and all girded up their loins in her service. The Rāes of Hind used to hold their family in great importance and were wont to consider them in the position of *Khalifah*¹ by descent.

When the birth of Lakhmanlah drew near and the signs of giving birth became manifest to his mother she assembled the astrologers together², and they made observation whether the horoscope was auspicious. With one accord they represented "If this child should be born at this hour it will be unfortunate exceedingly and will never attain unto sovereignty but, if it should be born two hours subsequent to this time it will reign for eighty years. When his mother heard this conclusion from the astrologers she commanded that she should be suspended with her head downwards with her two legs bound together and the astrologers were placed in order that they might continue to observe the horoscope. When the time came they agreed that the [auspicious] hour of birth was now arrived. She directed that she should be taken down and forthwith Lakhmanlah was born³. On reaching the ground his mother unable any longer to endure the agony of labour died and Lakhmanlah was placed upon the throne⁴.

He reigned for a period of eighty years and trustworthy persons have related to this effect that little or much never did any tyranny proceed from his hand and whosoever preferred a request to him for anything other than one *lak* [one hundred thousand] he did not bestow after the manner of the beneficent Sulṭān Kuṭb-ud Dīn the Hātim of his time. It has been narrated on this wise that

¹ The words *Khalifah by descent* [سركت علیہ], here used by our author and Peshawar, by others, plainly indicate that his family was looked upon in the light of head or supreme leaders in *spiritual*, not temporal matters, and Rāe Lakhmanlah, not as a powerful monarch and lord paramount for power of that kind he evidently did not possess. Compare Elliot: INDIA, vol. II, page 307.

² There is not a word about Brahmins in the best copies of the text.

³ Here is a specimen of the difference in idiom in the text, which I have before referred to. The oldest set of MSS have لکھمنہ تولد and the more modern لکھمنہ را ولادت آمد.

⁴ His nobles, or rather the chief men of his kingdom—his late father's ministers probably—carried on the government until such time as Rāe Lakhmanlah was able to assume the direction of affairs.

as in that country, the *kaurī* [shell] is current in place of silver⁵, the least gift he used to bestow was a *lak* of *kaurīs*. The Almighty mitigate his punishment [in hell]!

I now return to the history of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār. When he returned from the presence of Sulṭān Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, and subdued Bihār⁶, his fame had reached the hearing of Rāe Lakhmanīah, and the different parts of his dominions likewise. A number of astrologers, wise men, and counsellors of his kingdom presented themselves before the Rāe, and represented, saying "In our books of the ancient Brāhmans they have foretold that this country will fall into the hands of the Turks⁷, and the time of its fulfilment has drawn near. The Turks have subjugated Bihār⁸, and next year they will surely come into this country. It is expedient for us that the Rāe should consent⁹ so that he, along with the whole people, should be removed from the country in order that we may be safe from the molestation of the Turks."

The Rāe replied, saying "Is there any token given in your books with respect to this man who is to subdue our country?" They replied "The indication of him is this, that, when he stands upright on his two feet, and lets down his two hands, his hands will reach beyond the point of his knees in such wise that the fingers will touch the calves of his legs¹." The Rāe answered "It is advisable that

⁵ In every copy of the text collated, with the exception of *two*, which have *jītal*, the word *silver* is used. In 1845 the rūpī was equivalent to 6500 *kaurīs*, and a *lak* would be equal to a fraction over fifteen rūpīs. In ancient times they may have been estimated at a higher rate, but a *lak* of *kaurīs* could not have been a very desirable present to obtain, or a very convenient one. See note², page 583.

⁶ Our author must mean when Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār returned from the presence of Malik Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, whither he had gone *after* he subdued Bihār, because he did not go to Kuṭb-ud-Dīn *before*, even by his own account. All the copies of the text, however, are as above.

⁷ But their predictions did not go so far as to foretell that the Calcutta University "History of India" would turn the Turks into *Ghalzī Afghāns*.

⁸ "Have this year subjugated Bihār, and next year will come into this country," according to the *Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh*.

⁹ Compare Elliot INDIA, vol. II page 308, where this sentence is translated "It was therefore advisable that the Rāe should make *peace with them*!" موافقت نمودن does not signify to make peace with the Turks, but to consent, approve, agree to, judge expedient, &c., *their* proposal.

¹ Lit "legs," i.e. the leg in its true sense, the part below the knee. In ELLIOT the words پای پای have been translated "*shins*."

trustworthy persons should be despatched in order that they may in a proper manner investigate those peculiar characteristics." In accordance with the Rāe's command they sent trustworthy persons, and they made investigation respecting this matter, and, in the external form and figure of Muḥammad i Bakht yār, those characteristics they found.

When they became assured of these peculiarities most of the Brāhmans and inhabitants² of that place left and retired into the province of Sankanat³ the cities and towns of Ilang and towards Kāmruḍ, but to begin to abandon his country was not agreeable to Rāe Lakhmanlah. The following year after that, Muḥammad i Bakht yār caused a force to be prepared pressed on from Bihār and suddenly appeared before the city of Nūdlah⁴ in such wise that no more than eighteen horsemen could keep up with him and the other troops followed after him. On reaching the gate of the city Muḥammad i Bakht yār did not molest any one, and proceeded onwards steadily and sedately in such manner that the people of the place imagined that maybe his party were merchants and had brought horses for sale⁵ and did not imagine that it was Muḥammad i Bakht yār until he reached the entrance to the palace of Rāe Lakhmanlah, when he drew his sword and commenced an on slaught on the unbelievers.

At this time Rāe Lakhmanlah was seated at the head of his table⁶ and dishes of gold and silver full of victuals, were placed according to his accustomed routine when a cry arose from the gateway of the Rāe's palace and the interior of the city. By the time he became certain what

² All but the two oldest copies have Sihān [from *सिन्धु*], which signifies merchants, shopkeepers, and the like—inoffensive people, not chiefs.

³ In the best and oldest copies of the text, Sanknat—*سنگنات*—is plainly written, with the exception of two, which have Saknat—*سکات*. The *Zabdat al Tawārikh* also has Saknat; but other works, including the *Tabaḥṣṣi-i Akbari* and the *Tazkarat al Mulūk*, say Jagnat. The part meant by our author more probably refers to a province of eastern Ilang.

⁴ The more modern copies of the text have *لود*—one even has *لودبار*—instead of *لود* and *لودبار*.

⁵ The text varies in different copies here. It appears from the above remark, that traders were in the habit of bringing horses from Bihār into the Rāe's territory and such is stated by some other more modern writers.

⁶ Not "at dinner" necessarily; it might have been the morning meal.

was the state of affairs, Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār had dashed forwards through the gateway into the palace, and had put several persons to the sword. The Rāe fled barefooted by the back part of his palace, and the whole of his treasures, his wives, and [othei] females, his domestics and servants, his particular attendants, were taken, and the Musalmāns captured a number of elephants, and such a vast amount of booty fell to their lot, as cannot be recorded.⁷ When the whole of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār's army arrived, and the city and round about had been taken possession of, he there took up his quarters, and Rāe Lakhmanīah got away towards Sankanāt⁸ and Bang, and there the period of his reign⁹ shortly afterwards came to a termination. His descendants, up to this time, are rulers in the country of Bang.¹

⁷ The Rāe, on hearing of the arrival of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, was dumbfounded. He fled alone and unattended, and succeeded in reaching a boat, and escaped. His boundless treasures, the accumulations of eighty years, fell into the possession of the Musalmāns, and a large portion of them, the greatest rarities, were transmitted to Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn, for the Sultān.

According to Munshī Shīām Parshād, who wrote an account of Gauṛ [Gaudah—گوداه] for Major William Franklin [In referring to this work I shall call it the Gauṛ MS], Rāe Lakhmanīah ruled from 510 to 590 H, which is correct. It was in the early part of the last-mentioned year that Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār took Nūdiāh.

His rule extended over a period of twelve years, and he was assassinated in the middle of the year 602 H.

Mr Thomas, however, in his "PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLI," page 110, says Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, whom he erroneously makes "*Sipah sālār*" of Awadh, "in A.H. 599, pushed his forces southward, and expelled, with but little effort, the ancient Hindu dynasty of *Nuddeah*." Here is an error of *ten years*. Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār moved from Bihār in 589 H, and in the following year took Nūdiāh by surprise. Were 599 H correct, his sway over Lakhanawātī would have been less than *three* years, as he was assassinated about the middle of 602 H. See note ², page 516, para next to last, and note ⁹, page 572.

⁸ Here, as previously, some copies have Saknāt, and the other authors, previously referred to, Jagnāth and Kāmṛūd.

⁹ In some copies, the period of his *life*, &c.

¹ The Rājah, it is said, escaped in a boat to Bīkrām-pūr or Wīkrām-pūr. We shall also find that Sunārgānw, near Bīkrām-pūr, continued to be a place of refuge for those who were discontented at Gauṛ, and was not finally reduced for a long time after the overthrow of Rāe Lakhmanīah, who had a son, Madhob Sen, who had a son, Sū Sen, who by Hindūs is considered the last ruler. Bīkrām-pūr is about eight miles south-east, from Dhākah, and is said to have been the principal residence of Balāl Sen, the predecessor of Adisur, who preceded Lakhman Sen, the predecessor of our author's Lakhmanīah, but he sometimes resided at Gauṛ, which did not become the

After Muḥammad i Bakht yār possessed himself of that territory [Rāc Lakhmanlahs] he left the city of Nūdlah in desolation and the place which is [now] Lakhanaṭwāṭ¹ he made the seat of government. He brought the different parts of that territory under his sway and instituted therein, in every part, the reading of the Khuṭbah and the coining of money², and through his praiseworthy endea-

capital of Banglāh until immediately before the Muḥammadan conquest Nūdlah was called Nola-dwīp. See *A cune of Zila Dina ur* Calcutta: 1832.

Willford says the conquest of Bengal took place in 1207 A.D. which is equivalent to 603-604 H. the latter year having commenced 27th July 1207 A.D.; and according to this theory Bengal was conquered a year or more *after* its conqueror's death! Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud Dīn was assassinated in Sha'ban 602 H. = March 1206 A.D. in which same year Muḥammad i Bakht yār died or was assassinated, and which, from 590 H. = 1194 A.D. is just twelve years.

¹ The name of Rāc Lakhmanlah's capital was spelt Nūdlah until the time of Aurangzeb, when words ending in -hā lamukhtāf—were ordered to be written with -as Nūdlā.

Muḥammad i-Bakht-yār destroyed Nūdlah, and, leaving it in desolation, moved onward [Kauṭat-ur Saḥī says he passed beyond the territory of the Rāc], and, in place of that capital, *found / an / other city* (or town) at the place, according to the *Tahkīk-i Akbarī*, where Lakhanaṭwāṭ *has been* [لاکھناٹو], and which, at this time [reign of Akbar], they call Gang. The Gang MS. says he made the *new* [place village district] of Lakhanaṭwāṭ, his capital, now twelve miles from the Gang. The Murādī Jahān-Nūmā says he founded a city as his capital *the territory of Lakhanaṭwāṭ* which signifies Gang of Banglāh, at the place where Lakhanaṭwāṭ was. Haulānī says Muḥammad i-Bakht yār destroyed the idol temples of the infidel and erected *mosques* and other buildings, and built a capital *in his own name* [i] which he now called Gang. Gang or Gangah was the name of a division of the present country or tract styled Banglāh as well as of its ancient capital, and its inhabitants were Gangiyā or Ganghiyā. According to Abū-l-Iṣṭī, the fort of Gang was founded by Balāl Sen, the second of the Sen dynasty one of eight [in some copies, seven] kings who reigned 106 years, out of which Balāl Sen reigned fifty years. According to the same author the last of this dynasty was Hājah *or* [or *or*]. It would seem from this, that the most ancient name of the city was Gang afterwards changed to Lakhanaṭwāṭ and subsequently styled Gang again. The emperor Humāyūn named it Bakht Alā L. Banglāh itself is sometimes styled Jannat ul Bilād. See note² page 584.

² There is not a word in the text about coining. *His name* to be read in the Khuṭbah and struck *on the coins*. See note² page 572. According to the *Zubdat-ut Tanẓīkh* he established "the Khuṭbah and money of Islām, and its author copies our author almost verbatim. Other writers, on the contrary state that having brought all the surrounding territory under his sway after the capture of Nūdlah, he caused a canopy of state read the Khuṭbah for himself and issued coin in *his own name* which is not correct. He would naturally have issued coin in the name of the Sulṭān, Mu'izz ud Dīn, Muḥam-

vours, and those of his Amīrs, *masjids*, colleges, and monasteries [for Darweshes], were founded in those parts Of the booty and wealth [taken] he despatched a large portion to the presence of Sulṭān Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak

After some years had passed away⁴, and he had ascertained the state of the different mountain tracts of Turkistān and Tibbat to the eastward of Lakhanawatī⁵, the ambition of seizing the country of Turkistān and Tibbat began to torment his brain, and he had an army got ready, and about 10,000 horse were organized In the different parts of those mountains which lie between Tibbat and the country of Lakhanawatī are three races of people, one called the Kūnch⁶, the second the Mej [Meg], and the third the Tihārū, and all have Turk countenances They have a different idiom too, between the language of Hīnd and Turk⁷ One of the chiefs of the tribes of Kūnch and Mej, whom they were wont to call 'Alī, the Mej, fell into the hands of Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, the Khalj, and, at his hand also, the former adopted the Muhammadan faith

mad-i-Sām, to whom he appears to have been most loyal [see page 571] He had no occasion whatever to issue money in the name of Malīk Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, who was still a slave, and Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār only died the same year in which Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was himself assassinated See Thomas "PATHĀN KINGS OF DEHLI," page 110, and note 1, and Elliot INDIA, vol. ii. page 309

⁴ This expedition must have been undertaken towards the close of the year 601 H After Muḥammad-i-Bakht-yār had acquired great power and grandeur, he turned his thoughts to the acquirement of further territory in Tibbat and Turkistān without probably being aware of the distance to be traversed, and the difficulties to be surmounted. He set out with a force of about 12,000 horse according to the generality of accounts, but the Rauḏat-uṣ-Ṣafā has "10,000 horse, and 30,000 foot!" which is certainly incorrect.

Tibbat was a well-known name in our author's time even, and yet HAMILTON in his "Description of Hindostan," vol. ii page 566, makes the rash statement that it does not appear that the name *Tibet* is anywhere in general use to designate the province according to the European acceptance of the word! This may be true as to *Tibet*, for the *country* here referred to is written and called TIBBAT

The "Tharoo" [Tihārū] caste, according to Buchanan, composes the greatest portion of the population that are dwellers in the plain of "Saptari," in Makwānpūr adjoining the Mūrang on the north-west, and the inhabitants of the Mūrang to the east of Bijaipūr [Wijayāpūr] are chiefly Konch, and on the lower hills are many of the Megh, Mej, or Mech tribe.

⁵ Our author's ideas of east and west are rather obscure, as may be noticed at page 431 In this instance he means to the north and north-east

⁶ In some copies the nasal *n* is left out—Kūch

⁷ In some of the more modern copies of the text, "Hind and *Tibbat*"

He agreed to conduct Muḥammad i Bakht yār into those hills and act as guide, and he brought the latter to a place where there is a city the name of which is Burdhan [kot].^a They relate, after this manner that, in ancient times Shāh Gūshīdīb^b returned from the country of Chīn and came towards Kāmruḍ and by that route got into Hindūstān and founded that city [Burdhan kot]. A river flows in front of that place of vast magnitude the name of which is Beg-matī^c and when it enters the country of Hindūstān they style it, in the Hindūī dialect Samund^d [ocean], and in magnitude breadth and length it is three times more than the river Gang.

To the banks of this river Muḥammad i Bakht yār came and Ali, the Meī joined the army of Islām, and, for a period of ten days, he took the army up the river among the mountains, until he brought it to a place where, from remote times, they had built a bridge of hewn stone and consisting of upwards of twenty arches.^e After the army

^a The oldest and best copies generally have as above but two add kot, and one copy gives the vowel points. The Zuhdat-ul-Tawārikh also has Burdhan twice. The other copies collated have Mordhan and Mordhan-kot and the printed text, in a note, has Durdhan [Mordhan?] as well as Burdhan.

^b Some copies have Gūshīdīb and some Garshīdīb, and one has Gūdarz. In the Irānī records Garshīdīb, son of Zan, is not mentioned as having had ought to do with Hind or Chīn. The wars of Gūshīdīb with Arjāshī, son of Afrīdīshī, king of Tūrān, are narrated, but there is no mention of Gūshīdīb's going into Tūrān or Chīn; but his son, Iskandīr according to the tradition, reduced the sovereign of Hind to subjection, and also invaded Chīn. In the account of the reign of Kai Khurrah, Gūdarz, with Rustam and Gīw invaded Turkistān to revenge a previous defeat sustained from Afrīdīshī who was aided on this occasion by the troops of Suḥdīb and Chīn, and Shānkah, sovereign of Hind, was slain by the hand of Rustam. Our author in another place, states that Gūshīdīb, who had gone into Chīn by that route, returned into Hind by way of the city of Kāmruḍ, and that up to the period of the invasion of Kāmruḍ by Ikhtiyār-ud Dīn, Yūz Bak-i-Tughril Khān, governor of Lakhnawāt—some years after Muḥammad i-Bakht-yār's expedition—twelve hundred boards^f of treasure all still sealed as when left there by Gūshīdīb, fell into the hands of the Muslims.

^c The name of this river in the best and oldest copies is as above but some others, the next best copies, have Beg-matī, Bak-matī, or Bag-matī, and others have Bang-matī, Mag-matī, and Nang-matī or Nag-matī. Bag-matī is not an uncommon name for a river and is applied to more than one. The river of Nīpāl which lower down is called the Grandhak, is called Bag-matī.

^d Samund or Samudr or Samudra, the ocean. One of the best copies of the text has when it enters the ocean or sea [دریا] of Hindūstān, &c.

^e The reader cannot fail to notice that considerable discrepancy exists here in our author's statements respecting this river and bridge. From what he

of Islām passed over that bridge, he [Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār] installed there, at the head of the bridge, two of his

says about the size we are led to conclude that this river, Beg-matī or Bek-matī, must be the Brahmā-putr, but *what part of it* is the question to be solved. When he adds that it is more than three times broader and deeper than the Gang—and, of course, equally liable to inundation—the idea of its being spanned by a stone bridge of above *twenty* [i.e. between twenty and twenty-five] *arches*, shows that the narrator, or his informant, must have grossly exaggerated. We may suppose our author's idea of the size of the Gang was derived from what he had seen of that river on his journey from Dihlī to Lakhanawātī, but, if we only take its average breadth at Banāras during the height of the hot season, viz. 1500 feet, our author's river will be a mile or more in breadth, and, if we believe that this bridge consisted of even twenty-five arches, *each of them* would be above seventy yards in the span. Is this at all probable?

At page 55, our author says 'Alī, the Mej, brought them to a place where stood the town of Burdhan or Aburdhan-kot, in front of which flows the mighty river Begmatī, *which, on entering Hindūstān, they call the Samund*, but the great bridge is not mentioned in connexion with it. He then says that 'Alī, the Mej, joined the Musalmān forces on the banks of this river, and then conducted them *up the river for a period of ten days' journey*" [some 200 miles or more, even at the low computation of twenty miles a day for cavalry without incumbrance, would have brought them near to the Sānpū or upper part of the Brahmā-putr in Tibbat], and then, *not before*, they reached this great bridge, *but no river is mentioned*. At page 565, it is said that *after passing* this great river the forces pushed on for a further period of fifteen days [200 or 250 miles, even allowing for the extra difficulty of the country] when *the open country of Tibbat* was reached. Here it would appear that 'Alī, the Mej, joined them, beyond the territory of the Rājah of Kāmṛūd, and the latter's message to Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār, confirms it, but, farther on [page 569], this great bridge is said to be in [but probably adjoining] the Kāmṛūd territory, or words to that effect.

The boundaries of Kāmṛūd are very loosely described by Musalmān authors, and they apply the name to all the country between the northern frontiers of Muḥammadan Bangālah and the hills of Bhūtān, its southern boundary being where the Lakhīyah river separates from the Brahmā-putr.

From the distinct mention of *Tibbat and Turkistān*, by others as well as by our author, together with other observations made by him, it is evident that Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār—and his forces—marched from Dīw-kot, or Dīb kot, in Dīnjā-pūr district, the most important post on the northern frontier of his territory, keeping the country of the Rājah of Kāmṛūd on his right hand, and proceeding along the bank of the river Tīstah, through Sīkhūm, the tracts inhabited by the Kūnch, Mej, and Tihārū, to Burdhan-kot. They were not in the territory of the Rājah of Kāmṛūd, as his message shows, yet, when the retreat is mentioned, the Musalmāns were, invested in the idol-temple by his people, but *no reference is made to this temple's being near the bridge in the account of their advance*. Pushing onwards from Burdhan-kot, which may have been situated on a river, on the tenth day the Musalmāns reached the bank of the great river where was the bridge of stone "of above twenty arches". If the town of Burdhan or Aburdhan-kot was situated on the farther side of the great bridge, it is strange Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār,

own Amirs one a Turk slave, and the other a *Khaj* with troops in order to guard it until his return. Then Muḥam

did not occupy it when he left a detachment behind to guard the bridge and still more strange that, when he on his retreat, reached the bridge and found two arches broken, he did not occupy that town, and compel its inhabitants to repair it or furnish him with all he required, and the means of crossing. If its gates had been closed against him, we can easily imagine why he would have had to take shelter in the great *khil* temple or that even with the town open to him, why he would prefer a strong post such as this was; but the town is never mentioned by our author although we might suppose this the place for obtaining boats or wood and other materials for rafts, and people to construct them. If the distance between this river and *Dīw kōj* was only ten days journey it was not impossible to have obtained and from thence. All the Muhammadan histories with which I am acquainted state that the Muslims entered *Tilāh*. In my humble opinion, therefore the great river here referred to is no other than the *Tilāh*, which contains a vast body of water and, in *Sikhim*, has a bed of some 800 yards in breadth, containing, at all seasons, a good deal of water with a swift stream broken by stones and rapids. The territory of the *Rāks* of *Khmrūd*, in ancient times, extended as far east as this; and the fact of the *Rāks* of *Khmrūd* having promised *Muḥammad Bakht yār* to precede the Muslim forces the following year shows that the country indicated was to the north. The route taken by the Muslims, therefore was, I am inclined to think much the same as that followed by Turner and Pemberton for part the way and that the Muslim army then turned more to the east in the direction taken by Pemberton, for it is plainly indicated by our author at page 568 that the tract entered lay between *Admrūd* and *Tilāh*. The *Sinph*, as the crow flies, is not more than 160 or 170 miles from *Dīw kōj* and it may have been reached; but it is rather doubtful perhaps, whether cavalry could reach that river from the frontier of Bengal in ten days.

In the Twentieth Volume of the Bengal Asiatic Journal, page 291 is a drawing by Dalton of the bridge of *Sil Bāko*, described by Hannay. It is situated," he says "on the high alley (one of *Ghājā* and *Dīn*, two causeways probably) which, no doubt, formed at one time the principal line of land communication with ancient *Gowahatty* (*Pragjyotisha*) in Western *Khmrūd* [*Khmrūd*]. He also considers that "it is not improbable that this is the stone bridge over which *Bactyār Khilji* [*Muḥammad, son of Bakht yār*] and his Tartar cavalry passed previous to entering the outskirts of the ancient city of *Gowahatty* the bridge being but a short distance from the line of hills bounding *Gowahatty* on the N N W and W on which are still visible its line of defences extending for many miles on each side from the N W gate of entrance or pass through the hills. The Mohammedan general is said to have been obliged to retreat from an advanced position (perhaps *Chārdōr*) bearing [?] that the *Raja* of *Khmrūd* had dismantled the stone bridge in his rear; now it is quite evident from the marks on the stones of the platform, that they had been taken off and replaced somewhat irregularly."

The fact of the existence of this stone bridge is certainly curious, but I think it utterly impossible that it can be the bridge our author refers to. In all probability it is one of the bridges connecting "the high alley" or causeway above referred to, and there must have been very many of a similar description at one time. It is but 140 feet long and 8 feet broad, and has no regular arches—this last fact, however is not material, as the partitions or divisions might be so

One night, in the 4th of 642 H., the author was sojourning, as a guest, at the dwelling of the Mu tamad ud Daulah, a trusted vassal of Muhammad i Bakht yār, at a place, in the territory of Lakhanawatl between Dwa kot and Bekānwah⁴ at which place his host was residing, and heard from him the whole of this account. He related on this wise, that after passing that river for a period of fifteen days the troops wended their way stages and journeys, through defiles and passes ascending and descending among lofty mountains. On the sixteenth day the open country of Tibbat was reached. The whole of that tract was under cultivation, garnished with tribes of people and populous villages. They reached a place where there was a fort of

which alone would be at least as many *yards* as the bridge is *feet* broad and even then they had gone but a small part of the distance; and rafts and boats were being constructed to enable the army to cross.

VII. We are not told that this disaster took place in the rainy season, and few would attempt an expedition into Ashm at that period of the year. At all other times the water-course in question would have been fordable to cavalry.

VIII. And lastly can any one imagine that two gaps of 6 feet 9 inches each—equal to 13 feet and 6 inches in all, would have deterred the Muslim cavalry from crossing? The very bambū, or brushwood, growing near would have enabled them to have, at once required two such gaps, even if a tree or two could not have been found. A door from the idol temple would have been sufficient to have spanned the gap, of 13 feet 6 inches, or rather two gaps of 6 feet 9 inches, even if the materials which they had obtained to make rafts and boats had not been available for that purpose.

One reason why it might seem that Gowlhat is referred to is, the fact of there being a famous idol temple near it, or close to the Brahmi puṛ; but there is no mention whatever that such was the case with regard to the great idol temple near the bridge and scene of Muhammad i Bakht yār's disaster. Moreover the city of Gowlhat is close by the river while the Muslims after reaching Bardhan[kot] marched upwards 10 days until the great bridge was reached, and then pushed on from this bridge for 15 days more before they reached the fort, which even then was 5 leagues distant from the city of Har battan—the march from Bardhan[kot] to the fort 5 leagues from Har battan occupying in all 26 days. Can any argument be more conclusive than this?

⁴ In a few copies 641 H. Mu tamad-ud Daulah is but a title. In ELLIOT instead of our author Muhammad i-Bakht-yār who had been *dead forty years*, is made to *talk* at the place in question.

⁵ The oldest copies have Bekānwah or Begānwah and one Bekāwān or Begāwān—as plainly written as it is possible to write, while two more modern copies have Saigāwān [Saigāwān?]. The remainder have Bangāwān and Sagāwān. See Blochmann's CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF BENGAL, note † to page 9. It is somewhat remarkable that this place also should be confounded with Saigāwān; but in the copies of the ĀḤM I AKKAR I have examined I find Baklāwah—بکلواہ—instead of Beklā—بکل—but this can scarcely be the place referred to by our author.

Kar battan [or Kar pattan¹ or Karar pattan] and [that] in that place would be about 50,000 valiant Turk horsemen archers² and that immediately upon the arrival of the Musalman cavalry before the fort messengers with a complaint had gone off to the city to give information and that at dawn next morning those horsemen would arrive.

The author when he was in the territory of Lakh anawatl made inquiry respecting that [before] mentioned city. It is a city of great size, and the whole of its walls are of hewn stone, and [its inhabitants] are an assemblage of Brāhmans and Mūnls³ and that city is under the authority of their Militar [chief or lord] and they hold the pagan faith⁴ and every day at daybreak in the cattle market⁵ of that city about one thousand five hundred horses are sold, and all the *tingahan*⁶ horses which reach the Lakh

¹ The text varies considerably here and great discrepancy exists with respect to the name of this important place. The oldest copy has *kar-battan*, possibly *kar pattan*, the next two oldest and best have *karar-battan* or *pattan*, but what seems the second in this word may be *kar*—thus *karan pattan*. All the other copies have *karam*—*karam pattan* or *karam-pattan*. Zuhlat ut Tawārikh has *karli* which might be read *harghlin*, or *haran-tan*; and some other histories have *karam-sin*.

Malik-gūn, the Pandras of the Cūkah dominions, and once a large place in Malakān, in which part the inhabitants are chiefly Tibhārū, was anciently called *dharam-pattan*, and another place once the principal city in the Nipāl valley and, like the former in ancient times, the seat of an independent ruler is named *Lalitah pattan*, and lies near the Nag maul river; but both these places are too far south and west for either to be the city here indicated for Muḥammad, son of Bakht yār must have penetrated much farther to the north, as already noticed.

² The best Paris copy—falsely imagined to be an *autograph* of our author, but containing as many errors as the most modern copies generally has 350,000!

³ In the oldest copies *Nūlīn*, and in the more modern ones *Tūlīn*. One copy of the text however has but para tīn *idol worshippers*.

⁴ The original is *dīn i-tarā ī*. The word *tarā* is very widely applied, to signify a Christian, also a worshipper of fire or gabe a pagan, an infidel, and an unbeliever and not to any established religion other than that of Islam. Here our author I think, refers to Christians—Manichæans—the whole of Tārtary and other northern parts of Asia contained a vast number of Christians. See Travels of Father Avril and others in Tārtary. Christians are constantly referred to in the annals of the Mughals.

⁵ The word used is *nakhkhās*, which signifies a seller of captives, cattle or booty of any kind, and is used to signify a place where cattle and slaves are bought and sold.

⁶ The printed text and that only has *asp-i-lang budak*. Where the editor or editors got this from it would be difficult to conceive, but they could scarcely have intended to convey the meaning of horses brought down with saddles on their backs ready to be mounted. The words in the copies of

great strength, and the Musalmān army commenced plundering the country around⁶ The people of that fort and town and the parts adjacent advanced to repel the Muhammadan army, and they came to a battle⁷ From day-break to the time of evening prayer a fierce encounter was carried on, and a great number of the Musalmān army were killed and wounded The whole of the defensive arms of that host were of pieces of the spear bāmbū⁸, namely, their cuirasses and body armour, shields and helmets, which were all slips of it, crudely fastened and stitched, overlapping [each other], and all the people were Turks, archers, and [furnished with] long bows⁹

When night came, and the Musalmān force encamped, a number [of the enemy], who had been made prisoners, were brought forward, and they [the Musalmāns] made inquiry of them They stated on this wise, that, five leagues' distance from that place, there was a city which they called

⁶ The text varies considerably here.

⁷ Zubdat ut-Tawārikh says the Musalmāns began to attack the fort.

⁸ There is nothing here, even in the printed text, which is correct [with the exception of *برسم*—*برسم*—being altered to *برشم* but *برشم* not *برشم* is *silk*], which warrants the reading of this passage as in Elliot [INDIA vol II page 311]—“The only weapons of the enemy were bamboo spears, and their armour shields, and helmets, consisted only of raw silk strongly fastened and sewed together” A “shield” and “helmet” of raw silk would be curiosities certainly

The bāmbū referred to in the text is the *male* bāmbū—the young shoots, probably, used for spear shafts—for which the hollow bāmbū is not adapted Has the spear bāmbū not been so plainly indicated in the text, we might suppose the armour to have been *something* after the manner of that worn by the Dufflahs and to have been formed of sections of the hollow bāmbū laid overlapping each other as the rings of a coat of mail, but the male bāmbū could not be used in this manner, and, therefore, their armour, shields, &c, must have been of pieces of the *male* bāmbū overlapping each other, as in the literal translation above. An officer with the Dufflah expedition, writing on December 8, 1874 says “Each man has over his forehead a top-knot of his own hair, and now and then a bit of bear's fur in addition Through this he runs a skewer of metal—silver if he can afford it—and by means of the top-knot and skewer he fastens on his cane-work helmet, a sort of close-fitting skull-cap worn on the back of the head This helmet is usually ornamented with the upper portion of the hornbill's beak to save the head from sword cuts Round his loins over the hips he wears a number of thin bāmbū or cane rings, unattached to one another” See also Dalton ETHNOLOGY OF BENGAL, page 32.

⁹ Budā'ūnī says the people of this place were of the lineage ['] of Gūsh-tāsib [Gurgh-tāsib?], and that the fortress had been founded by him That author does not give his authority for this statement Our author says, at page 561, that Gūsh-tāsib founded Burdhan[kot] The Khalj were a Turkish tribe certainly, but they had emigrated from northern Turkistān ages before this period

kar battan [or kar pattan¹, or karar pattan], and [that] in that place would be about 50,000 valiant Turk horsemen archers² and that immediately upon the arrival of the Muslim cavalry before the fort, messengers with a complaint had gone off to the city to give information, and that at dawn next morning those horsemen would arrive.

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Blāl-ghūn, the *ḡawāt* of the *ḡūlah* dominions, and once a large place in *Makulapūr* in which part the inhabitants are chiefly *Tihārūs*, was anciently called *dharam*—*dharam* pattan, and another place once the principal city in the *Nipāl* valley and, like the former in ancient times, the seat of an independent ruler is named *Lal tab pattan*, and lies near the *Rag maulī* river; but both these places are too far south and west for either to be the city here indicated for *Muḥammad*, son of *Ḥaḡht jār* must have penetrated much farther to the north, as already noticed.

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⁴ The original is *afn*—*tanā*! The word *tanā* is very widely applied, to signify a Christian, also a worshipper of fire or gale a pagan, an infidel, and an unbeliever and not to any established religion other than that of Islam. Here our author I think refers to Christians—Manichæans—the whole of *Tartary* and other northern parts of Asia contained a vast number of Christians. See *Travels of Father Avril* and others in *Tartary*. Christians are constantly referred to in the annals of the *Mughals*.

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⁶ The printed text and that only has *asīl*—*asīl* *ḡang* *kaṣṭāh*. Where the editor or editors got this from it would be difficult to conceive, but they could scarcely have intended to convey the meaning of horses brought down *with saddles on their backs* ready to be mounted. The words in the copies of

anawatī country they bring from that place. The route by which they come is the Mahamhā-ī [or Mahanmhā-ī], Darah⁷ [Pass], and this road in that country is well known, for example, from the territory of Kāmīrūd to that of Tīrhut are thirty-five mountain passes, by which they bring the *tangahan* horses into the territory of Lakhanawatī.

In short, when Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār found out the nature of that tract—the Musalmān troops being fatigued and knocked up by the march, and a large number having been martyred and disabled on the first day—he held consultation with his Amīrs. They came to the conclusion that it was necessary to retreat, in order that, next year, after making ample arrangements, they might return again into that country⁸. When they retreated, throughout the whole route, not a blade of grass nor a stick of firewood remained, as they [the inhabitants] had set fire to the whole of it, and burnt it, and all the inhabitants of those defiles and passes had moved off from the line of route. During these fifteen days⁹ not a pound of food nor a blade of grass did the cattle and horses obtain¹, and all

our author's text are—اسب تکه—*asp-i tangahan*—they are still well known. Stewart, who had no printed text to go by, read the name pretty correctly—“Tanghan.” Hamilton says these horses are called *Tanyan* or *Tangun* “from *Tangusthan* the general appellation of that assemblage of mountains which constitutes the territory of Bootan,” &c. He must mean Tangistān, the region of *tangs* or defiles. Abū-l Faḡl also mentions these horses in his *Ā'IN-I-AKBARĪ*—“In the lower parts [پایین] of Bangālah near unto Kūj [Kūch], a [species] of horse between the gūit [gūnth] and the Turk [breed] is produced, called Tanghān,” which is also written Tāngahan, and gives the spelling of the word, but they are not born “ready saddled.” Compare Elliott *INDIA*, vol. II, page 311, and note 4, and see Dr. Blochmann's translation of the *Ā'IN*.

⁷ Some copies—the more modern—and the best Paris copy, leave out the name of this pass, and make دره—passes—of it, and, while all the oldest copies [and *Zubdat*] have Tīrhut, the more modern ones have Tībbat.

⁸ Although the Musalmān troops were, at length, victorious, their victory cost them so many lives, and so many men were disabled, that, on hearing of a force of 50,000 valiant Turks being stationed so near at hand, Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, held counsel with his chiefs, and it was determined to retreat next day. Our author appears totally unable to tell the truth respecting a Musalmān reverse, even though such reverse may be far from dishonour, and may have been sustained under great difficulties or through their being greatly outnumbered.

⁹ The fifteen days which the retreat occupied he seems to mean, as the same route in going took that number of days. *Zubdat-ul-Tawārīkh* says that the inhabitants also destroyed the roads—obstructed them, cut them up in some way.

¹ They must have brought some provisions and forage along with them, or

[the men] were killing their horses and eating them until they issued from the mountains into the country of Kām rūd and reached the head of that bridge. They found two arches of the bridge destroyed⁷ on this account, that enmity had arisen between both those Amīrs [left to guard it] and in their discord they had neglected to secure the bridge and protect the road and had gone off⁸ and the Hindūs of the Kām rūd country had come⁹ and destroyed the bridge.

On the arrival at that place of Muḥammad i Bakht yār with his forces he found no way of crossing, and boats were not procurable. He was lost in surprise and bewilderment¹⁰. They agreed that it was necessary to halt in some place¹¹ and contrive [about constructing] boats and floats, in order that they might be enabled to pass over the river. They pointed out an idol temple in the vicinity of that place [where they then were] of exceeding height, strength and sublimity and very handsome and in it numerous idols both of gold and silver were deposited and one great idol so [large] that its weight was by conjecture upwards of two or three thousand *mans*¹² of beaten gold. Muḥammad i Bakht yār and the remainder of his followers sought shelter within that idol temple¹³ and began to devise means for

obtained ~~some~~ food, or must have eaten each other. Perhaps our author means that many perished for want of sufficient food.

⁷ Two arches of any possible span—but not over seventy yards—would not have been such a difficult matter to repair so near primeval forests, and with a town or city as previously stated, close to the bridge. The town, however is not once mentioned on their return.

⁸ The *Zubdat-ut Tawārīkh* states that the two Amīrs, to spite each other abandoned guarding the bridge, and each went his own way. Budā'ūnī says they first fought, and afterwards abandoned the bridge.

⁹ This remark, and what follows at page 571 again, tends to show that the bridge in question was beyond the Kām rūd territory although, a line or two before, it is stated that they came into Kām rūd and reached the head of the bridge. See also page 561 and note⁴.

¹⁰ Where was Ali, the Meī, all this time? He is not again mentioned; but his kinsmen are; and the country people are not even referred to, although the Hindūs of Kām rūd are, see page 571.

¹¹ *Zubdat-ut Tawārīkh* says necessary to occupy some place *until* boats and floats could be constructed.

¹² The more modern copies have *misgāls*.

¹³ According to other authors, when the Muslims reached the bridge, they were filled with amazement and horror at finding two of its arches broken. The two Amīrs, who had been left to guard it, had not been on good terms for some time prior to being stationed there; and, as soon as their

obtaining wood and rope for the construction of rafts and crossing the river, in such wise that the Rāe of Kāmrūd became aware of the reverses and helplessness of the Musalmān army. He issued commands to the whole of the Hindūs of the country, so that they came pouring in in crowds, and round about the idol-temple were planting spiked bāmbūs in the ground, and were weaving them together, so that it [their work] was appearing like unto walls⁹

When the Musalmān troops beheld that state of affairs, they represented to Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār, [saying] — “If we remain like this, we shall all have fallen into the trap of these infidels. It behoveth to adopt some means

chief had left, their hostility broke out afresh, and such was their enmity that, rather than not prosecute their own designs against each other, they abandoned it. After they had departed, the Rāe of Kāmrūd, on becoming aware of it, sent his men, and destroyed the two arches. It is strange the names of these two Amīrs are not given by our author, as his informant, previously mentioned, must have known who they were.

Finding the bridge thus impassable, Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār determined to occupy some strong place until such time as materials could be obtained to enable them to effect the passage of the river. Here also we might expect to hear something of the town and its people, but, as I have mentioned in note³, page 561, it is doubtful whether our author meant it to be understood that Burdhan-kot was on the banks of the Bag-madī river, where this bridge was.

Spies brought information that there was an immense and exceedingly strong idol-temple near by, and that was occupied by the Musalmāns accordingly. Another writer states that they were ignorant, when they advanced, of the existence of this temple.

Budā'ūnī states that the Musalmāns only passed the night in the idol-temple, but this statement is absurd. Where were materials to be obtained from, during the night, to make rafts?

⁹ Tishū Lāmbū or Digūrchah, the seat of a Lāma in Lat 29° 7' N, Long 89° 2' E, a great monastery only 180 miles from Rang-pūr of Bengal [said to have been founded by Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār], answers nearly to the description of the idol-temple referred to, but it is on the southern not the northern bank of the Sānpū river, and a few miles distant, and our author says it was a Hindū temple. Perhaps, in his ideas, Hindūs and Buddhists were much the same. From this point are roads leading into Bhūtān and Bengal.

As soon as the Rāe of Kāmrūd became aware of the helpless state of the Musalmāns, and that they had sought shelter in the great idol temple, he gave orders for his people to assemble. They came in hosts, and began to form a stockade all round it, by planting, at a certain distance, not their “bamboo spears” as in Elliot [INDIA, vol II page 317], but bāmbūs spiked at both ends [the mode of making stockades in that country], and afterwards woven strongly together, which forms a strong defence. Ralph Fitch says, respecting Kūch “all the country is set with bamboos or canes made sharp at both ends and stuck into the earth,” &c.

whereby to effect extrication. With one accord they made a rush and all at once issued from the idol temple, attacked one point [in the stockade] and made a way for themselves, and reached the open plain and the Hindūs after them. When they reached the river bank the Musal māns halted¹ and each one, to the best of his ability sought means of crossing over. Suddenly some few of the soldiers² urged their horses into the river and for the distance of about an arrow flight, the water was fordable. A cry arose in the force that they had found a ford, and the whole threw themselves into the water and the Hindūs following them occupied the river's bank. When the Musal māns reached mid stream, [where] was deep water they all perished [with the exception of] Muḥammad i Bakht yār who with a few horsemen a hundred more or less succeeded, by great artifice, in effecting the passage of the river and all the rest were drowned.

After Muḥammad i Bakht yār emerged from the water information reached a body of the Kūngh and Mej. The guide, All the Mej had kinsmen at the passage and they

¹ *Muḥammad, son of Bakht yār seeing through the object of the Hindūs, issued from the idol temple at the head of his troops, and, with considerable difficulty made a road for himself and followers. Having done this, he took up a position and halted on the bank of the river Bag madī. Here he appears to have remained some days, while efforts were then made to construct rafts, the Hindūs not venturing to attack them in the open.*

² *This is related differently by others. The Musalmāns were occupied in crossing, it is said, or perhaps, more correctly about to make the attempt with such means as they had procured, when a trooper [some say a few troopers] rode his horse into the river to try the depth probably and he succeeded in fording it for the distance of a bow-shot. Seeing this, the troops imagined that the river after all, was fordable, and, anxious to escape the privations they had endured, and the danger they were in, as with the means at hand great time would have been occupied in crossing, without more ado, rushed in; but, as the greater part of the river was unfordable, they were carried out of their depth, and were drowned.*

After his troops had been overwhelmed in the Bag madī or Bak-mādī Muḥammad, son of Bakht yār, with the few followers emanuing with him, by means of what they had prepared [a raft or two probably], succeeded, with considerable difficulty in reaching the opposite bank in safety and, ultimately reached Dīw kot again. Apparently this river was close to the Mej frontier.

Budā'ūnī states that those who remained behind [on the river bank] fell martyrs to the infidels; and, that of the whole of that army but 300 or 400 reached Dīw kot. He does not give his authority however and generally copies verbatim from the work of his patron—the *Tabaqāt i Akbarī*—but such is not stated therein.

² In some copies of the text, one of the soldiers.

came forward to receive him [Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār], and rendered him great succour until he reached Dīw-kot

Through excessive grief sickness now overcame him, and mostly out of shame at the women and children of those of the Khalj who had perished, and whenever he rode forth all the people, from the house-tops and the streets, [consisting] of women and children, would wail and utter imprecations against him and revile him, so that from henceforth he did not ride forth again⁴ During that adversity he would be constantly saying "Can any calamity have befallen the Sultān-i-Ghāzī that my good fortune hath deserted me⁵!" and such was the case, for at that time the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, had attained martyrdom In that state of anguish Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār became ill, and took to his bed, and died

Some have related that there was an Amīr⁶ of his, 'Alī i-Mardān, a Khalj of great intrepidity and temerity, to whose charge the fief of Nāran-go-e [or Nāran-ko-e⁷] was made over When he obtained information of this disaster he came to Dīw-kot, and Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār was confined to his bed through sickness, and three days had passed since any person was able to see him⁸ 'Alī-i-Mardān in some way went in unto him, drew the sheet

⁴ Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh says "by the time he reached Dīw-kot, through excessive grief and vexation, illness overcame him, and, whenever he rode forth, the women of those Khalj who had perished stood on the house-tops and reviled him as he passed 'This dishonour and reproach added to his illness,'" &c

Rauzat-us Safā says his mind gave way under his misfortunes, and the sense of the disaster he had brought about resulted in hopeless melancholy

⁵ This was certainly just about the time of that Sultān's assassination

⁶ Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh has "one of the great Amīrs," &c The *izāfat*, in 'Alī i-Mardān, signifies 'Alī, son of Mardān See page 576

⁷ The name of this fief or district is mentioned twice or three times, and the three oldest copies, and one of the best copies next in age, and the most perfect of all the MSS, have نَارَكُوئی as above in all cases, and one—the best Petersburg copy—has a *jazm* over the last letter in addition, but all four have the *hamzah* The Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh also has نَارَكُوئی—Nāran-goe or Nāran-ko-e The next best copies of the text have نَارَكُوئی—in which, in all probability, the *i* has been mistaken for *ī* The I O L MS 1952, the R A S MS, and the printed text, have دِيَارَكُوئی—whilst the best Paris copy has this latter word, in one place, and نَارَكُوئی in other places, and another copy has نَارَكُوئی In ELLIOT, vol II page 314, it is turned into "Kúnf" in one place, and, sixteen lines under, into "Nārkotf"

⁸ Zubdat ut-Tawārīkh says "no one used to go near him"—the way of the world to desert one in misfortune

from his face, and with a dagger assassinated him. These events and calamities happened in the year 602 H.¹

VI. MALIK IZZ-UD-DIN MUHAMMAD SON OF SHERĀN¹
KHALJĪ, IN LAKHANAWATĪ.

* Trustworthy persons have related after this manner that Muḥammad i Sherān and Aḥmad i Sherān were two brothers two among the Khalj Amirs in the service of Muḥammad i Bakht yār, and when the latter led his troops towards the mountains of Kāmṛūd and Tibbat, he [Muḥammad i Bakht yār] had despatched Muḥammad i Sherān and his brother with a portion of his forces, towards Lakhan-or and Jāj nagar². When the news of these events [related above] reached Muḥammad i Sherān, he came

¹ This date shows that the territory of Lakhanawatī was taken possession of in 590 H. the year in which Malik Kṣṣ-ud Dīn, I bak, took up his quarters at Dihlī. The conquest of Lakhanawatī is accounted among the victories of Sulṭān Muḥizz ud Dīn, because it took place in his reign. Kṣṣ-ud Dīn, I bak, was at this time still a slave, and neither attained his manumission nor the title of Sulṭān until *some time after the death* of Muḥammad, son of Bakht yār. See note ⁷ page 558.

Some authors consider him an independent sovereign and say that he reigned² for twelve years. He certainly *ruled* in *quasi* independence for that period; but, from the expressions made use of by him in his last sickness, he evidently was loyal to Sulṭān Muḥizz ud Dīn, and he probably paid some *nominal* obedience to Malik Kṣṣ-ud Dīn, I bak, as the Sulṭān's Deputy at Dihlī. It is not to be wondered at that Muḥammad, son of Bakht yār neither *minted* coin in his own name, nor in the name of his sovereign's slave: whilst that sovereign was *alive*—the latter would have been an impossible act. See Thomas, PATHĀN KINGS, note page 111; and note ² page 559.

¹ Also styled, by some other authors, Sher-aṣṣ. Sher-ān, the plural of *sher* lion, tiger, like Mard-ān, the plural of *ward* man, is intended to express the superlative degree. The *īfāṣat* hero—Muḥammad i Sherān—signifies *son of* Sherān, as proved beyond a doubt by what follows, as two brothers would not be so entitled.

² Compare ELLIOT vol. II. page 314. The Paris copy of the text, the L. O. L. MS. the R. A. S. MS. and the printed text, have "to Lakhanawatī and Jāj-nagar;" but the rest have Lakhan-or or Lakh-or and Jāj nagar. No doubt Lakhan-or is meant in the copies first mentioned, and probably *o* substituted for, *y* by ignorant copyists.

Some writers state that Muḥammad i Sherān was *Hākīm* of Jāj-nagar on the part of Muḥammad i Bakht yār but such cannot be. Jāj nagar was an independent Hindū territory [see note ⁴ page 587] but most authors agree with ours that Muḥammad i Sherān was despatched against—or probably to hold in check—Jāj nagar during Muḥammad i Bakht yār's absence on the expedition into Tibbat and he was, doubtless, feudatory of Lakhan or [see note page 584], which lay in the direction of the Jāj-nagar territory

back from that quarter, and returned again to Dīw-kot, performed the mourning ceremonies [for Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār], and from thence [Dīw-kot] proceeded towards Nāran-go-e³, which was 'Alī-i-Mardān's fief, seized 'Alī-i-Mardān, and, in retaliation for the act he had committed, imprisoned him, and made him over to the charge of the Kot-wāl [Seneschal] of that place, whose name was Bābā⁴, Kot-wāl, the Safahānī [Isfahānī] He then returned to Dīw-kot again, and assembled the Amīrs together

This Muhammad-i-Sherān was a man of great intrepidity and energy, and of exemplary conduct and qualities⁵, and, at the time when Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār sacked the city of Nūdīah, and Rāe Lakhmanīah took to flight, and his followers, servants, and elephants became scattered, and the Musalmān forces proceeded in pursuit of spoil, this Muhammad-i-Sherān, for the space of three days, was absent from the army, so that all the Amīrs became anxious on his account After three days they brought information that Muhammad-i-Sherān had taken eighteen elephants along with their drivers in a certain *jāngal* [forest], and was retaining them there, and that he was alone⁶ Horsemen were told off, and the whole of these elephants were brought before Muhammad-i-Bakht-yār In fact, Muhammad-i-Sherān was a man of energy [combined] with sagacity⁷

³ Other writers state that Muhammad i Sherān, on hearing of the fate of their chief, Muhammad-i-Bakht yār, returned at once from Jāj nagai [from Jāj nagar towards Lakhman-or] with his force, proceeded to Dīw-kot, and performed the funeral ceremonies, and then marched from Dīw kot to Bār sūl—بارسل—and secured the assassin, 'Alī-i-Mardān, and threw him into prison After performing this act, he returned to Dīw kot again See note², next page In ELLIOT this is turned into "they returned from their stations, and came *dutifully* to Deokot," but شرطاً as in the printed text, does not mean "*dutifully*," but "mourning ceremonies"

⁴ Familiarly so styled perhaps

⁵ The Jahān-Ārā, which does not mention 'Alī, son of Mardān, at all, calls Muhammad-i-Sherān bloodthirsty, and greatly wanting in understanding, thus confounding him with 'Alī-i-Mardān

⁶ He had managed to take these elephants and their drivers on the day of the surprise of Nūdīah, but, being quite alone, he was unable to secure them, and had to remain to guard them until such time as aid should reach him Information of his whereabouts having reached Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār, he sent out a detachment of horse to bring him in with his spoil

⁷ Muhammad, son of Sherān, was an intrepid, high-minded, and energetic man, and, being the chief of the *Khalj* Amīrs, on their return to Dīw-kot, the

When he imprisoned Alī i Mardān and again departed [from Dīw kot], being the head of the Khalj Amīrs, they all paid him homage* and each Amīr continued in his own fief. Alī i Mardān however adopted some means and entered into a compact with the Koṭ wal [before mentioned] got out of prison, and went off to the Court of Dihlī[†]. He preferred a petition to Sulṭān Kuṭb-ud Dīn, I bak, that Kāc māz the Rūmī[‡] [native of Rūmīlā], should be commanded to proceed from Awadh towards the territory of Lakhanawatī and in conformity with that command [suitably] locate the Khalj Amīrs.

Malik Ḥusām ud Dīn, Iwaṣ the Khalj at the hand of Muḥammad i Bakht yār was the feudatory of Gangūrī [or Kankūrī?] and he went forth to receive Kāc māz the

principal Amīrs were assembled in council together and they chose Muḥammad i Sherān as their ruler and sovereign and they continued to pay homage to him. It seems strange that the city of Lakhanawatī is seldom mentioned, while Dīw koṭ is constantly referred to by various authors and, from what our author himself says at page 578, it would appear to have been the capital at this period.

* Some copies have "they all paid him homage," &c. and, after the word fief, insert "until."

† Alī i Mardān managed to gain over the Koṭ wal, and was allowed to escape. He succeeded in reaching Dihlī and presented himself before [the then] Sulṭān Kuṭb-ud Dīn I bak, who received the ingrate and assassin with favour. Both our author and other writers, in mentioning his escape in their account of Muḥammad i Sherān's reign, make it appear that Alī son of Mardān, at once succeeded in inciting Kuṭb-ud Dīn, I bak, against Muḥammad i Sherān, and inducing him to despatch Kāc māz to Lakhanawatī; but this is not correct. Alī son of Mardān, accompanied Kuṭb-ud Dīn to Ghaznī [where he reigned—in riot—forty days], and was taken captive by the troops of I yal-dūz, and released or escaped again before these events happened, as will be mentioned further on.

‡ The text differs here. Some copies have: So that Kāc māz, the Rūmī, received orders, on which he proceeded from Awadh to Lakhanawatī; but the majority are as above. The *Zubdat ut Tawārīkh*, however clears up the meaning of the last clause of the sentence:—That he, Kāc māz, should proceed into Lakhanawatī, in order that each of the Khalj Amīrs, who were in that part, might be located in a suitable place, and to make certain districts their fiefs. That work, however immediately after states that the Khalj Amīrs, having shown hostility towards him [Kāc māz], opposed him in battle, and were defeated, and that, in that engagement, Muḥammad, son of Sherān, was slain. Compare ELLIOT too, here.

§ Of the four best and oldest copies of the text, two have Gangūrī or Kankūrī—گنگوری—and two Gangūrī or Kankūrī—گنگوری—but this latter appears very doubtful. Five other good copies agree with the first two, but three others have respectively گنگوری—گنگوری—and گنگوری. Some other works, including the *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* state that Ḥusām ud Dīn, Iwaṣ, was the feudatory

Rūmī, and, along with him, proceeded to Dīw-kot, and, at the suggestion of Kāe-māz, the Rūmī, he became the feoffee of Dīw-kot. Kāe-māz, the Rūmī, set out on his return [into Awadh], and Muhammad-i-Sherān, and other Khalj Amīrs, assembled together, and determined upon marching to Dīw-kot³. Kāe-māz, whilst on his way back [hearing of this], returned again, and an encounter took place between the Khalj Amīrs and him, and Muhammad-i-Sherān and the Khalj Amīrs were defeated. Subsequently, disagreement arose among themselves, in the direction of Maksadah and Santūs⁴, and Muḥammad-i-Sherān was slain⁵, and there his tomb is

VII MALIK 'ALĀ-UD-DĪN, 'ALĪ, SON OF MARDĀN, KHALJĪ

'Alī-i-Mardān⁶, the Khalj, was a man of vast energy, vehement, intrepid, and daring. Having obtained release

of Kalwā ī or Galwā-ī—کالوائی—or Kalwā-īn or Galwā-īn—کالوائس—the *n* of the latter word is probably nasal

³ No sooner had Kāe-māz turned his back upon the scene than Muhammad, son of Sherān, and the rest of the Khalj Amīrs, determined to recover Dīw-kot out of the hands of Husām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwāz

⁴ These two names are most plainly and clearly written in four of the best and oldest copies of the text, with a slight variation in one of Maksidah for Maksidah [the Maxadabad probably of the old maps and old travellers]—مکسده and مکسده and سطورس for ستوس. Of the remaining copies collated, one has مکسده and سطورس two others مکسده and سطورس and the rest مطوس and مکید. The Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī has سطورس only

⁵ The Gauṛ MS. says he was killed in action after a reign of eight months, and, in this latter statement, the Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh and some other works agree, but the period seems much too short from the assassination of Muḥammad, son of Bakht-yār, to his death for reasons mentioned in the following note, or the country must have remained some time without a ruler before 'Alī-i-Mardān succeeded. Rauzat-uṣ-Ṣafā makes a grand mistake here. It says that Muhammad-i-Sherān, after having ruled for a short period, became involved in hostilities with a Hindū ruler in that part, and was killed in one of the conflicts which took place between them.

⁶ 'Alī-i-Mardān, that is to say, 'Alī, the son of Mardān, was energetic and impetuous, but he was not endowed with sense or judgment, and was notorious for boldness and audacity, for self-importance, haughtiness, excessive vanity and gasconade, and was cruel and sanguinary. After he escaped from confinement for assassinating his benefactor, Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār, when lying helpless on his death-bed, he proceeded to Dihlī and presented himself before Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, who, at that time, had acquired the sovereignty of Dihlī, and was well received. He accompanied Kuṭb-ud-Dīn to Ghaznīn at the time that he filled the throne of Ghaznīn, as our author says, "for a period of forty days," in carousal and debauchery. There 'Alī

from imprisonment at Nāran go e [or Nāran ko-e] he came to the presence of Sulṭān Kuṣb-ud Dīn I bak, and accompanied him towards Ghaznīn and he became a captive in the hands of the Turks of Ghaznīn. A chronicler has related in this manner⁷ that one day when he was out hunting along with Sulṭān Tāj ud Dīn Yal-duz, he began saying to one of the Khālī Amīrs whom they used to style Sālār [a leader chief] Zaffir⁸ "What sayest thou if with one arrow I should slay Tāj ud Dīn Yal-duz, within this *ghikār gāh* [chase] and make thee a sovereign?" The Sālār Zaffir the Khālī was a very sagacious person and he was shocked at this speech and prohibited him from

sell a captive into the hands of the Turks of Ghaznīn, the partizans of Sulṭān Tāj ud Dīn, I yal-dūz, at the time of Kuṣb-ud Dīn's precipitate retreat probably. Some authors, however state and among them the authors of the *Talakhāt-i Akbarī* and *Zakīyat-ul-Tawārīkh* that in one of the conflicts of that time he was taken prisoner by the Turks—*Talakhāt-i Akbarī* says, the Turk mām—and was carried off into Kāshghar where he remained *for some time*. He at length, managed to reach Hindūstān again, and proceeded to Dihlī, and presented himself at the Court of Kuṣb-ud Dīn, who received him with great favour and distinction. The fact of his having been a captive in the hands of his rivals—I yal-dūz's—partizans was enough to insure him a favourable reception. Kuṣb-ud Dīn conferred upon him the territory of Lakhanawāṣl in Gef, and he proceeded thither and assumed the government. It must have been just prior to this, and not immediately after the escape of All-i-Mardān, that Kāle mīla was sent from Awāth to Lakhanawāṣl or otherwise, between the defeat of Muḥammad I, son of Sherān, by the latter and Sherān's death, and the nomination of All-i-Mardān by Kuṣb-ud Dīn Lakhanawāṣl would have been without a ruler during the time that Kuṣb-ud Dīn took to proceed from Dihlī to Ghaznīn, where he remained forty days, and back to Dihlī again, and *eight months*, which is said to have been the extent of Muḥammad I Sherān's reign, seems much too short a space of time for this expedition, and All-i-Mardān's captivity in Kāshghar and his escape and return. The accounts of this period are not satisfactorily given in any work. [See page 526, and para. two of note⁶ for the year in which Kuṣb-ud Dīn had to make such a precipitous retreat from Ghaznīn]; and, moreover it appears that Kuṣb-ud Dīn did *not return* to Dihlī again, but continued at Lāhor up to the time of his death.

⁷ Here is another specimen of difference of idiom, though not so great as in some places, occurring in different copies of the text. This sentence is thus expressed in one set of copies: راي چن روايدك —راي چن كلف—In another — راي چن روايدك —In another — راي چن روايدك — راي چن كلف—and, in another — راي چن روايدك — راي چن كلف—

⁸ Compare ELLIOT vol. II. page 315. If we are to translate the name of the Sālār Zaffir [not *Zafar* which signifies *victory*], why not translate the name of Hindūstān Dīn, Iwaz, in fact, all the Arabic names in the book? It does not follow that this person was a *victorious general* but he was a chief whose name was ZAFFIR signifying, in Arabic, overcoming all difficulties, successful, triumphant, victorious, &c.

[the committal of] such a deed When 'Alī-i-Mardān returned from thence, the Sālār, Zaffir, presented him with two horses and sent him away⁹

When 'Alī-i-Mardān came back again into Hindūstān, he presented himself before Sultān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and received an honorary robe, and was treated with great favour, and the territory of Lakhanawatī was assigned to him He proceeded towards Lakhanawatī, and, when he passed the river Kons¹, Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, the Khāl, [feudatory] of Dīw-kot, went forth to receive him, and 'Alī-i-Mardān proceeded to Dīw-kot² and assumed the government, and brought the whole of the country of Lakhanawatī under his sway

When Sultān Ḳutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, passed to the Almighty's mercy, 'Alī-i-Mardān assumed a canopy of state, and read the Khutbah in his own name³, and they styled him by the title of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn He was a blood-thirsty and sanguinary man He sent armies in different directions, and put the greater number of the Khāl Amīrs to death The Rāes of the adjacent parts became awed of him, and sent him wealth and tribute He began granting investitures of different parts of the realm of Hindūstān, and the [most] futile bombast began to escape his lips Both in the assembly, and in the audience-hall, he would declaim about the country of Khurāsān, of 'Irāk, of Ghaznīn, and of Ghūr, and idle nonsense he began to give tongue to, to such degree, that they used [in jest] to solicit from him grants of investiture of Ghaznīn and of Khurāsān,

⁹ Another writer relates this somewhat differently He says that 'Alī-i-Mardān, one day, accompanied the suite of Sultān, Tāj-ud-Dīn, I-yāl dūz, when he went to the chase—but this is scarcely compatible with his being a captive—on which occasion he said to the Sālār Zaffir “What sayest thou to my finishing the career of the Sultān with one thrust of a spear, and making thee a sovereign?” Zaffir, however, was a man of prudence and integrity, and had no ambition of gaining a throne by assassinating his benefactor He therefore gave him a couple of horses and dismissed him, and he returned to Hindūstān.

¹ In some copies Kons as above, and in others Kos, without the nasal “ Some other writers call this river the Konsī and Kosī

² In some copies “from Dīw-kot” Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, appears to have been a kind of Vicar of Bray, from what is stated previously, and here

³ He also coined in his own name, according to the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī and Budā'ūnī

and he would issue commands accordingly [as though they were his own].⁴

Trustworthy persons have narrated after this manner that there was in that territory [Lakhanawati] a merchant who had become indigent and his estate was dissipated. He solicited from Allī Mardān some favour. Allī Mardān inquired [from those around] "From whence is that man?" They replied "From Šafahān [Iṣfahān]." He commanded saying "Write out the investiture⁵ of Šafahān as his fief and no one could dare, on account of his great ferocity and unscrupulousness to say "Šafahān is not in our possession. Whatever investitures he conferred in this way if they would represent It is not under our control" he would reply "I will reduce it."

So that investiture was ordered to be given to the merchant of Šafahān—that indigent wretch who lacked even a morsel and a garment of rags. The chief personages and intelligent men there present in behalf of that destitute man, represented saying "The feudatory of Šafahān is in want of resources for the expenses of the road, and for the preparation of equipage to enable him to take possession of that city and territory" and he [Allī Mardān] commanded a large sum of money to be given to that person for his necessary expenses.⁶ The nature of Allī Mardān's presumption cruelty and hypocrisy

Our author's mode of relation is not over plain. His vanity and bombast," says another writer "was such that he fancied Irān and Tūrān belonged to him and he began to assign their different kingdoms and provinces amongst his Amīrs. The fact is that he was mad; and it is somewhat remarkable that a subsequent Sulṭān of Dīblī, who was mad after the same fashion, should also have been of the Khālǰ tribe. Compare ELLIOT vol. II. page 316. The author of the *Gauṛ M.S.* in his *Innocency* says that after his [Kug̃-ad Dīn, Ibak's] death, for two years and some months, *the story* of this same Allī ud dīn was *acknowledged as far as Khurāsān and Iṣfahān, &c.* 111 Where Lakhanawati? where Khurāsān and Iṣfahān?

⁴ The word used in the text is *shigālī* (شغالى): such a term as "jāgir" is not used once in the whole work, because it is a comparatively modern term.

⁵ Our author relates this anecdote differently from others. The destitute merchant, who wanted something that would furnish him with food and raiment, refused to accept the investiture of Iṣfahān; and the Wazīr, who out of terror of Allī was afraid to tell him so, represented that the Hākīm of Iṣfahān was in want of funds for the expenses of his journey thither and to enable him to assemble troops in order to secure possession of his fief. This had the desired effect.

amounted to this degree, and, together with such conduct, he was [moreover] a tyrant and a homicide. The weak and indigent [people] and his own followers were reduced to a [perfect] state of misery through his oppression, tyranny, and bloodthirstiness, and they found no other means of escape save in rising against him. A party of the Khalj Amīrs conspired together, and slew 'Alī-i-Mardān, and placed Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, upon the throne.

The reign of 'Alī-i-Mardān was two years, or more or less than that⁷

VIII —MALIK [SULTĀN] ḤUSĀM-UD-DĪN, 'IWAZ⁸, SON OF ḤUSAIN, KHALJĪ

Malik [Sultān] Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, the Khalj, was a man of exemplary disposition, and came of the Khalj of Garmsir of Ghūr.

They have narrated on this wise, that, upon a certain occasion, he was conducting a laden ass towards the eminence which they call Pushtah Afroz⁹ [the Burning Mound],

⁷ Two years and some months was the extent of his reign, but most authors say two years. I do not know whether all the copies of Budā'ūnī's work are alike, but in two copies now before me he says plainly, that 'Alī-i-Mardān reigned two and thirty years. Perhaps he meant two or three years, but it is not usual to write three before two in such cases. The Gaur MS states that he reigned from the beginning of the year 604 H to 605 H, and yet says that Kuṭb ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, died in his reign!

⁸ Compare Thomas, "PATHĀN KINGS OF DEHLI," pages 8 and 112, and Elliot, INDIA, vol. II, page 317. The Arabic word 'Iwaz [ءوز] has a meaning, but "Auz" and "Awz" none whatever. One or two other authors state that he was the son of 'Iwaz, but this is doubtful. There is no doubt, however, of his father's name being Husam. His correct title is Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn. Malik Ḥusām-ud-Dīn was his name *before* he was raised to the sovereignty.

⁹ Two of the oldest copies of the text, and some of the more modern ones, are as above, and some other works confirm this reading, but one of the oldest and best copies, and the Zubdat-ut-Tawārikh, have Pusht for Pushtah. Both words are much the same in signification, however, as explained in the text itself, namely, "an ascent, a bluff, steep, eminence, hill, hummock, mound," &c., but Pashah [See Elliot INDIA, vol. II page 317] signifying *a flea, a gnat*, &c., is impossible. Pusht is the name of a dependency of Bādghais, and is very probably the tract here meant. Afroz is the active participle, used as an adjective, of افروز to inflame, to set on fire, to burn, to light up, to enkindle, &c., the literal translation of which is "the burning hill, or mound," and may refer to a volcano even at that time extinguished.

to a place within the limits of Wālishtān on the borders of the mountain tracts of Ghūr. Two Darweshes¹ clothed in ragged cloaks, joined him and said to him "Hast thou any victuals with thee? Iwaz the Khalj replied "I have." He had along with him on the ass, a few cakes of bread with some [little] dainty² by way of provision for the journey after the manner of travellers. He removed the load from the ass spread his garments [on the ground] and set those provisions before the Darweshes. After they had eaten he took water which he had among his baggage in his hand and stood up in attendance on them. After those Darweshes had made use of the victuals and the drink thus hastily produced they remarked to each other saying "This excellent man has ministered unto us it behoveth his act should not be thrown away." They then turned their faces towards Iwaz the Khalj and said

Husām ud Dīn! go thou to Hindūstān for that place, which is the extreme [point] of Muḥammadanism we have given unto thee"³ In accord with the intimation of those two Darweshes he returned again from that place [where he then was] and placing his family on the ass, came towards Hindūstān. He joined Muḥammad : Bakht yar and his affairs reached such a point that the coin of the territory of Lakhanawatī was stamped, and the Khuṭbah thereof read in his name, and they styled him by the title of Sulṭān Ghiyās-ud Dīn⁴. He made the city of Lakhana

Wālishtān is evidently the same tract as is referred to at page 319, which see. The oldest and best copies of the text, and some modern copies, are as above, but some of the latter have *والساق* and *الساق* and three others, including the best Paris copy have *رولساق*.

¹ They are thus styled in the original: there is not a word about *sakhs* in any copy of the text.

² Meat, fish, vegetables, or the like, eaten with bread to give it a savour: in Elliot: INDIA, vol. II., page 317 it is styled *traveller's bread* and the ass is turned into a mule!

³ In some copies, and in some other works, Khwājah, equivalent here to "Master" in others Sālār—head man, leader or chief. Another author says the Darweshes said: Go thou, O Khwājah, into Hind, for they have assigned unto thee one of the kingdoms of the region of Hind.

⁴ The text varies a little here. The oldest copy has *his family*" as above, whilst, of the other copies, some have *his children*, some *his wife*, and some *his wife and children*.

⁵ After the chief men had put the tyrant, Alī, son of Mardān, to death, they with one accord, set up Husām ud Dīn, Iwaz, son of Husain, who, originally was one of the petty chiefs of the Khalj country on the borders of

watī the seat of government, and founded the fortress of Basan-kot, and people from all directions turned their faces towards him⁶

Ghūr, a man of virtuous mind and high principles, and endowed with many excellent qualities, both of mind and body. He is said, by several authors, to have been very handsome, and they confirm all our author says about him in this respect

⁶ In ELLIOT, vol. II page 317, "He made the city of Lakhnautī the seat of his government, and built a fort for his residence!" The printed text has حصار سکوت—fortress of *Bas-kot*

From our author's remark here, it would appear as though Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwāz, had been the first to make the city of Gauṛ or Lakhanawatī his capital. Akdālah can scarcely have been built at this period or it would no doubt have been mentioned from its importance

Abū-l Faḡl states, in the Ā'IN-I-AKBARĪ, that Lakhanawatī, which some style Gauṛ, is named Jannat-ābād, but this is an error from what is stated below by others, and was the name applied to the Sarkār or *district*, not to the city. He continues "To the east of it is a great *kol-āb* [lake] in which is an island. To the north, at the distance of a *kuroh*, is a building and a reservoir, the monument of ancient times, which is called *Sārahāe-mārī* [سارهای ماری]. Criminals used to be confined in the building, and a good many died from the effects of the water which is very noxious."

The Haft-Iqlīm, says Gauṛ, in the olden time, was the capital of Bangālah, and that the fortress of Gauṛ was amongst the most reliable strongholds of Hindūstān. "The river Gang lies to the west of it, and, on the N E W and S sides, it has seven [sic in MS] ditches, and a citadel on the side of the Gang. The distance between [each] two ditches is half a *kuroh*, each ditch being about three *ṭanāb* [= 120 *gaz* or ells] broad, and so deep that an elephant would be unable to cross it. JANNAT-ĀBĀD is the name of the *tumān* [district] in which Gauṛ is situated."

The Khulāṣat-ut-Tawārīkh states that Lakhanawatī or Gauṛ is a very ancient city and the first capital of the country. To the east of it is a *kol-āb* [lake] of great size, and, should the dyke [confining it?] burst, the city would be overwhelmed. The emperor Humāyūn, when in that part, took a great liking to Lakhanawatī, and gave it the name of BAKHṬ-ĀBĀD.

Many fine buildings were erected in and around the city by Sultān Firūz Shāh i-Abū i Muzaffar, Shāh-i-Jahān, the Habashī [Abyssinian, yet he is included among the so-called "Pathāns"], one of which was the Chānd gateway of the citadel near the palace, a *hauz* [reservoir], and the famous *lāt* or *manārah*. Musalmāns' do not erect "Jaya Sthambas." The Chānd gateway was still standing some fifty years since, but hidden by the dense *jangal*, and is probably standing still. There were several *masjids*, one of which was founded by Sultān Yūsuf Shāh.

According to the Portuguese writers who "aided Mohammed [Maḥmūd] against Sher Khan a Mogol general [!] then in rebellion," the capital city *Gouro* extended three leagues in length along the Ganges and contained one million, two hundred thousand families [one million of people or two hundred thousand families, probably]. "VOYAGES AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE *Castanneda, de Barros, de Faria y Souza, Antonio da Silva Muneses, &c*"

The Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī says "Lakhanawatī acquired the by name of *Bulghāk pūr*—place of great sedition—from *ج'ال* signifying much noise, tumult,

He was a man of pleasing mien of exceeding handsome appearance, and both his exterior and interior were [adorned] by the perfection of mercy and he was magnanimous just, and munificent. During his reign the troops and inhabitants of that country enjoyed comfort and tranquillity and through his liberality and favour all' acquired great benefits and reaped numerous blessings. In that country many marks of his goodness remained. He founded *jamā* [general] and other *masjids* and conferred salaries and stipends upon good men among theologians, the priesthood, and descendants of the Prophet and other people acquired from his bounty and munificence, much riches. For example there was an Imām *zadah*⁷ of the capital city Fīrūz koh whom they used to style Jalāl ud Dīn the son of Jamal ud Dīn the Ghāznawī who to better his means⁸ left his native country and came into the territory of Hindūstān in the year 608 H. After some years, he returned again to the capital city Fīrūz koh and brought back with him abundant wealth and riches. Inquiry was made of him respecting the means of his acquisition of wealth. He related that after he had come into Hindūstān and determined to proceed from Dihlī to Lakhanawatī when he reached that capital Almighty God predisposed things so that he [the Imām and Imam's son] was called upon to deliver a discourse in the audience hall of Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn Iwāṣ, the Khalj. That

sedition, &c.—because, from ancient times, from the period that Sulṭān Muḥammad i Sām, of Dihlī, conquered it [Zīyī-ud Dīn, Narai], is *rather incorrect* here however], almost every Wālī to whom the sovereigns of Dihlī gave the government of Lakhanawatī, because of its distance from Dihlī, its extent, and the number of parties intervening, if he had not rebelled himself, others have rebelled against him, and killed or dethroned him."

⁷ There is not a word about his nobles.

⁸ *As not the Imām zādah* there were scores of Imām zādahs probably at Fīrūz koh. Imām signifies a leader in religion, a prelate, a priest.

⁹ Some copies have جمع—collection, amount, &c. and the more modern copies and the printed text ساع—signifying family followers, dependents, &c. instead of ساع—seeking benefit, and the like. In ELLIOT vol. II. page 318, it is rendered a *body of men*—He came with a body of men from his native country &c.!! He was merely a priest, and did not travel attended by a body of men."

¹ Compare ELLIOT vol. I. page 318 where this passage is translated the Almighty so I venerated him that *his name was mentioned* in the Court of Ghiyāṣ-ud-dīn !!

sovereign, of benevolent disposition, brought forth from his treasury a large chalice full of gold and silver *tangahs*, and bestowed upon him a present of about two thousand *tangahs*², and gave commands to his own Maliks and Amīrs, Grandees and Ministers of State, so that each one presented, on his behalf, liberal presents. About three thousand gold and silver *tangahs* more were obtained. At the period of his return home [from Lakhanawatī] an additional five thousand *tangahs* were acquired in gifts, so that the sum of ten thousand *tangahs* was amassed by that Imām, and Imām's son, through the exemplary piety of that renowned monarch of benevolent disposition. When the writer of these words, in the year 641 H³, reached the territory of Lakhanawatī, the good works of that sovereign, in different parts of that territory, were beheld [by him]

The territory of Lakhanawatī⁴ has two wings on either

² The Haft-Iqlīm states that the money of Bangālāh was confined to the *jital* [always written with ج—جـ] according to the following table —

4 *Jitals* 1 *Gandah*, 20 *Gandahs* 1 *Ānah*, 16 *Ānahs* 1 *Rūpī*

"Whatever the rūpī might be, whether 10 *tangahs* or 100 *tangahs*, it was reckoned as 16 *ānahs*, and there was no change whatever in the *jital* and the *gandah*." From what our author has stated in several places in this work, however, it is evident that the *jital* was current in the kingdom of Dihlī, and Muḥammadan India, as well as in Bangālāh. See page 603

Fiṣṭah [copying the Tārīkh-i-Firūz-Shāhī] states with respect to the *tangah* that "it is the name given to a *tolah* of gold stamped, and that a *tangah* of silver was 50 *pūks*, each *pūl* [i. e. a piece of anything orbicular] of copper [bronze?] was called a *jital*, the weight of which is not known exactly, but I have heard that it was one *tolah* and three-quarters of copper [bronze?]" Another writer states that there were 25 *jitals* to 1 *dām*

The word *tangah*—with *g* not with *k*—signifies a thin plate, leaf, or slice [ورق] of gold or silver, and appears to be an old Persian word. See Thomas PATHĀN KINGS OF DEHLI, pages 37, 49, 115, 219, and 230

According to some other writers, however, the following table is [also] used —

4 *Jitals* 1 *Gandah*, 20 *Gandah* 1 *Pan*, 16 *Pan* 1 *Kahāwan*, 16 *Kahāwan* [some call 20 a *Riddha Kahāwan*] 1 *Rūpī*

According to the same account, 20 *landīs* made a *jital*

Price, in his "RETROSPECT OF MAHOMMEDAN HISTORY," in reference to the revenue of Hindūstān, says the "Tungah," as far as he recollects, was considerably higher than the "Daum," and "conceives it was the *fifth* of a rupee"!

³ Two copies have 644 H, which can scarcely be correct, and the remainder 641 H. Farther on he says he was in that part in 642 H. Our author appears to have set out from Dihlī for Lakhanawatī in 640 H, reached it in 641 H, and returned to Dihlī again in the second month of 643 H

⁴ Of course Bang is not included, and our author mentions it separately

side of the river Gang. The western side they call Rāl [Rāḥ⁶], and the city of Lakhan-or⁶ lies on that side, and the eastern side they call Barind⁷ [Barindah] and the city

⁶ I can easily fancy a foreigner writing Rāl—र, or Rād—द, from hearing a Hindū pronounce the Sanskrit रार्ध—Rāḥ containing, as it does, the letter which few but natives of the country can properly utter.

⁶ The printed text followed in ELLIOT has Lakhanūtī, but that is totally impossible, since it lay *east* not west of the Ganges. Its right pronunciation is, no doubt, Lakhap-or.

Most of the best copies of the text have Lakhan or both here and in other places where the same town or city is referred to; but two of the oldest and best copies have both Lakhan-or and Lakh-or both here as well as elsewhere. It appears evident to me that the *n* in the first word is nasal, and that its derivation is similar to that of Lakhanawātī, from the name of Dasarata's son, Lakhmana, with the Hindī word अग्र—*or* affixed signifying limit, boundary, side, &c. = Lakhanapa's limit or frontier. In this case it is not surprising that some copyists left out the nasal *n*, and wrote Lakh-or having probably the name read out to them. From the description of the dykes farther on in Section XXII. In the account of the different Malik's of the dynasty where the invasion of Jāj-nagar by the Musalmāns is mentioned, and the invasion of the Musalmān territory by the Rāe of Jāj-nagar Lakhap-or lay in the direct route between Lakhanawātī and Katāin, the nearest frontier town or post of the Jāj-nagar territory; and therefore I think Stewart was tolerably correct in his supposition, that what he called and considered Nagor instead of Lakhap-or was situated in, or farther south even than Bīrbhūm. It is by no means impossible that Dr. Blochmann's supposition may be correct that Lakarkūndhah [the *Larara cunda* of Rennell] is the place in question. It is in the right direction, but seems not far enough south; and, if any indication of the great dyke or causeway can be traced in that direction, it will tend to clear up the point. Lakarkūndhah lies about eighty five miles as the crow flies from Gaur or Lakhanawātī, "right away from the river" but this Mr. Dowson, in ELLIOT appears to think a *proof* of its being the wrong way and he probably fancies that it should follow the Ganges. "Right away from the river" too, in the opposite direction, distant about eighty miles, lay Dīw Kot—Dīw and Dīb are the same in Sanskrit and Hindī—the total length from place to place, allowing for deviations, being a very moderate ten days' journey. There is no doubt whatever as to the correct direction of Jāj-nagar and its situation with regard to Lakhan-or and Lakhanawātī, as mentioned in note ⁶ page 557.

⁷ In some copies *Barind* but Barind or Barinda is correct. In one copy of the text the vowel points are given. I do not know the derivation of the Sanskrit word—रार्ध Rāḥ, but रार्ध—Barind or Wrind, signifies a *deep* [high?], and it is possible that the former may signify *low depressed* i.e. a subject to inundation; and Barinda [the Barinda and Barind of the Musalmān writers], *Arīk arūḥ*, not being subject to inundation. Hāmī' on says the part *low* to inundation is called Ilang and the other Barindra. See also the account of Malik Tamur Khān i-Khān in Section XXII. where Lakhap-or is styled Lakhanawātī Lakhan-or.

Barind, under the name of *the Furra* is well known to sportsmen, I am told, in the present day who apply it to the high tract of country N. W. of Rām-pār in the Rāj Shahr district.

Terry says, alluding to two villages, Barind a most spacious and

of Dīw-kot is on that side From 'Lakhanawatī to the gate of the city of Lakhan-or, on the one side, and, as far as Dīw-kot, on the other side, he, Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, [caused] an embankment [to be] constructed, extending about ten days' journey, for this reason, that, in the rainy season, the whole of that tract becomes inundated, and that route is filled with mud-swamps and morass⁸, and, if it were not for these dykes, it would be impossible [for people] to carry out their intentions, or reach various structures and inhabited places except by means of boats From his time, through the construction of those embankments, the route was opened up to the people at large⁹

It was heard [by the author] on this wise, that, when the august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn [I-yal-tīmish], after the decease of Malīk Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh [his eldest son], came into the territory of Lakhanawatī to suppress the sedition of Malīk Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn-i-Balkā, the Khalj¹, and beheld the good works of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, the

fruitful Province, but more properly to be called a Kingdom, which hath two very large Provinces within it, *Purb* [Pūrb] and *Patan* [Pachham], the one lying on the East, the other on the West side of the River *Ganges* * * * The chief Cities are *Rangmahat* and *Dehaka* "

⁸ Compare ELLIOT, vol. II page 319

⁹ These embankments, according to other writers likewise, were constructed through the perseverance and forethought of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz Another author states that the "former ancient rulers of Bang, the present capital of which is Dhākah, on account of the vast quantity of water which accumulates throughout the province in the rainy season, caused causeways to be constructed twenty cubits wide and ten high, termed *āl* [J], and, from the proximity of these *āls*, the people styled the province BANG-ĀL Rain falls without ceasing during one-half of the year in the rainy season, and, at this period, these *āls* appear above the flooded country "

A European writer, writing on the province "as at present constituted," says "There are several remarkable military causeways which intersect the whole country, and must have been constructed with great labour, but it is not known at what period One of these extends from Cooch Bahar [Kūch Bihār] through Rangamatty [Rangamatī] to the extreme limits of Assam [Ashām], and was found when the Mahommedans first penetrated into that remote quarter " He, of course, must mean the Muhammadans of Aurangzeb's reign

Hamilton states that one of these causeways extended from the Dīwah to the Brahmaputra

¹ In the list of Malīks at the end of Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-tīmish's reign, farther on, he is styled Malīk Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Daulat Shāh-i-Balkā, and, by some, is said to be the son of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, and, by others, a son-in-law Another author distinctly states that the son of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, was named Nāsir-ud-Dīn-i-'Iwaz, and that he reigned for a short time See also page 617

Khalj, whenever mention of Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, Iwāz's name chanced to arise, he would style him by the title of "*Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, Khaljī*" and from his sacred lips he would pronounce that there could be no reluctance in styling a man Sultān who had done so much good.² The Almighty's mercy be upon them! In short, Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn Iwāz, the Khalj was a monarch worthy, just, and benevolent. The parts around about the state of Lakhanawati³ such as Jāj nagar⁴ the countries of Bang Kāmruḍ and

² What extreme magnanimity! Reluctance or not, Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, Iwāz, had as good a title to be called Sultān as Shams-ud Dīn, Iyāl timish or any other who preceded or followed him; and, moreover he had never been a slave, nor the slave of a slave. Iyāl-timish was not his suzerain until he gained the upper hand. It was only Alī-i-Mardān who was *subject* to Kustūd-Dīn, Ibak.

³ Compare Dowson's ELLIOT vol. ii. page 319, where Jāj nagar is made to appear as being part of the Lakhanawati territory: there is nothing even in the printed text to warrant such a statement.

Dr Blochmann's surmises [CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE GEOGRAPHY AND HISTORY OF BENGAL, page 29] are quite correct with respect to Jāj nagar. It appears to have been named after a town or city of that name, subsequently changed in more recent times to Jāj pūr the meaning of *nagar* and *pūr* being the same; and in the days when our author wrote, and for many years subsequently it continued to be a kingdom of considerable power.

Before attempting to describe the boundaries of Jāj-nagar and generally to elucidate the subject, it will be well to describe the territory of Ḥaḍḥah Ḥatan-kah, or Gaḍḥah Katankah—for it is written both ways—which lay between it and the Muḥammadan provinces to the north.

The best account of it I find in the Maḍan-i Akhlār-i-Aḥmadī, of which the following is an abstract — The country of Ḥaḍḥah-Ḥatan-kah they call Gondwānah, because the Gonds, a countless race dwell in the *jungals* of it. On the E. by Ratān-pūr it reaches the territory of Chhār Ḥund; on the W. it adjoins the fort of Rāṣn of Bīshwah. It is 150 *kurs* in length, and 80 in breadth. On the N. it is close to the Bhājah territory [the Bhājī of the Aḥī-i-AḤARĪ], and S. is close to the Dakhān; and this tract of country they call Gaḍḥah-Ḥatan-kah. It is very mountainous, and has many difficult passes and defiles, but is exceedingly fruitful, and yields a large revenue. It has *forts* and *ḥaṭaks* [towns], so much so that trustworthy narrators say that it has 70,000 [the MS. has 7000 in figures and seventy thousand in word] inhabited *ḥayruds* [ḥayr—lit. a concourse of people, a village. It does not mean a city]. Ḥaḍḥah or Gaḍḥah is a great city and Ḥatan-kah is the name of a *mump* [district, place, village], and by these two names this territory is known. [Ḥatan-kah, however must have been remarkable for something or other for the country to be called after it.] The seat of government of this region is Chhār-gaṭh, and there are several Rājās and Rāīs in it."

Faizī, Sarhindī, in his History calls the country Jalp-han-jah instead of Chhār Ḥund; and both he and the Khwāṣṭ-i-Tawarikh say that it had 70,000 or 80,000 inhabited *ḥayruds* and they both agree generally with the above as far as they go; but they state that *Amulab* [Amulab] is the name of

Tirhut, all sent tribute to him, and the whole of that territory named Gaur passed under his control⁵. He acquired

⁵ In ELLIOT, vol. II, page 319, this passage is translated from the printed text —“The district of *Lakhnaur* submitted to him,” but the text is as above

one of the principal towns of Kadhah Katankah, and the first of importance reached by Āṣif Khān when he invaded it in Akbar's reign. The Rānī, Dur-gāwatī, issued from her capital, Chhūrā-gaṛh, to meet the Musalmāns, who had never before ventured into those parts. They halted at Damūh [دموہ], Lat 23° 50' N, Long 79° 30' E, between the capital and Āmūdah.

From the above statements, as given in the works just quoted, the tract of country adjoining Bihār on the S and Bangālāh on the W is Bhātah or Bhāṭī, which probably included Palamāo, Chhotah Nāg-pūr, and Gang-pūr, on the W, and the tract adjoining Bhātah on the W, and immediately joining the district of Ruhtās gaṛh on the N, was Chhār-Kund or Jhār-Kundāh, lying on the right bank and upper part of the Son, and stretching towards Ratan-pūr. Still farther W, between Ratan-pūr and the Narbadah, but running in a S W direction, and stretching from the left bank of the Son, on the one side, to Rāsīn of Mālwah, on the other, and S to the hills, the northern boundary of Birār, was Kadhah Katankah.

Terry, in his Voyage, says that the chief city of *Kandwana* [Gondwānah] is called *Karhakatanka* [کڑھکتنکا], and that the river *Sersily* parts it [Kandwana] from *Pitan*. More respecting the capital of Jāj-nagar will be found farther on.

Jāj-nagar appears, therefore, to have been bounded on the E by the range of hills forming the present W boundary of Ūḍisah-Jag-nāthh, Katāsīn, on the Mahā-nadī, being the nearest frontier town or post towards the Lakhn-or-portion of the Lakhnawātī territory. Farther N it was bounded towards the E by the river called the *Brammy* by some English writers, and *Soank* by Rennell. [I always adopt the native mode of spelling if I can find it, the fanciful transliteration of Gazetteer writers ignorant of the vernacular spelling notwithstanding], running to the W of Gang-pūr. Its northern boundary is not very clearly indicated [but see Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh's excursion farther on], but it evidently included Ratan-pūr and Sanbhal-pūr. On the W it does not seem to have extended beyond the Wan-Gangā, and its feeder the Kahan, but its southern boundary was the Gūdāwūrī, and S W lay Talingānah.

I am surprised to find that there is any difficulty with regard to the identification of Katāsīn, also called, and more correctly, Katāsinghah. Our author, farther on, says he himself went thither along with the Musalmān forces, and distinctly states that, “at KATĀSĪN, the frontier of the JĀJ-NAGAR territory commences.” This place is situated on the northern or left bank of the Mahā nadī, which river may have altered its course in some degree during the lapse of nearly seven centuries, some thirty miles E of Boada, in about Lat 20° was Long 84° 50', and some extensive ruins are to be found in its neighbourhood. He, the capital of the Jāj-nagar state, our author distinctly states, was na *Ūmurdān* or *Ūmarḍān*—اورمدن—according to the oldest and best copy of the text, and *Urmurdān* or *Armardān*—اورمردن—and *Uzmurdān* or *Azh*—اورمدن—in the more modern copies, and, in one, *Uzmurdān* or *Azh's* reign, اورمدان. The wilāyat—country or district—of Ūmurdān or Ūmarḍā, and, by the way, as well as the capital, town, or city of that name. They others, a named *Amar* [Amr], or *Amr* [Amr]—اورمکل—in Lat. 22° 40', Long 85° 15'—where are the remains of a famous temple of Bhawānī or Pārī, for a short

possession of elephants, wealth, and treasures, to a great amount.

It seems most strange that those who have run away with the idea that Jāj-nagar lay *out* of the Ganges and the Megnāh, in *south-eastern* Bengal—in Tiparāh of all places—never considered how it was possible for Ugh Khān, son of Suljān Ghilyāṣ-ud Dīn, Tughlak—not that monarch himself—to invade Taling [Talingānah] and Tiparāh, if the latter were Jāj-nagar in one and the same short campaign, or that Hoṣhang, Suljān of Mīlwhā, during a short expedition or *rahl* rather could have reached *south-eastern* Bengal in search of elephants. To have done so, he would have had to pass right through, and return again through, the extensive territory of an independent sovereign equally powerful with himself [he had only 1000 horse with him on the occasion in question], and to have crossed and recrossed two or three mighty rivers, besides many others of considerable size, or he forded the Bay of Bengal perhaps to reach the supposed Jāj-nagar.

ELPHINSTONE, too, on the authority of HAMILTON (Hindustan, vol. i. page 178), who says that *Tjprah by Alahommedan & strains* i called *Jage nagar* "has fallen into the same error—and, not content with this, even the map accompanying his History has Jāj-nagar in large letters in a part of India where no such territory ever existed! Hamilton would have had some difficulty I think, in naming the "Mahommedan Historians—who made such assertions. The name of *our* would much surprise me.

The way in which Jāj-nagar is mentioned in different places, by different writers, and under different reigns, clearly indicates its situation. Ugh Khān, son of Suljān Ghilyāṣ-ud Dīn, Tughlak, on his second campaign into the Dakhan, having reached Dīw-pūr [Dhārgharh], advanced into Taling [Talingānah], took Bīdr and invested Arangul [i.e.] now Warangul. Having captured it, and given it the name of Suljān pūr before returning to Dhillī, *he went for amusement or diversion* [سر] *into* JĀJ NAGAR. He merely crossed the frontier of Talingānah.

Hoṣhang, Suljān of Mīlwhā, taking with him 1000 picked horsemen disguised as horse-dealers, set out from Mīndhū or Mīndhūn, and *entered the JĀJ NAGAR territory in quest of elephants*. He managed to seize the Rāe of Jāj-nagar by stratagem, obtained a number of elephants, and brought him along with him, partly for his own security on his way back to Mīlwhā; and, on reaching the frontier of the JĀJ NAGAR state [on the side of Mīlwhā], he set the Rāe at liberty.

The Lubbat Tawārīkh-i Hind states that Jāj-nagar is a month's journey from Mīlwhā, but from *what part* of Mīlwhā is not told.

The first ruler of the Sharḡī dynasty of Jūnpūr—the *emir* who is turned into a "Pathān" by the archaeologists—extended his way as far as the territory of Kol to the south; and, on the east as far as Lāhūr; and compelled the rulers of LAKHANAWATĪ and JĀJ NAGAR to pay him tribute.

In 650 H. Suljān Ghilyāṣ-ud Dīn, Sultan, set out toward Lakhnawāt to reduce Tughlū, his rebellious governor of Bāghān, who had defied the armies sent against him. On the approach of the Suljānī army Tughlū, who had been making preparations for retreat, retired toward the territory of JĀJ NAGAR. On the Suljān's arrival at Lakhnawāt, no trace of the rebel could be found; but, a few days subsequently, when he had gone he was seen in person in the direction of Jāj-nagar, and he arrived at a place some seventy *ḏ* from that territory, with a parcel from the *valued* guard of his

The august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn wa ud-Dunyā [I-yal-timish], on several occasions, sent forces from the capital,

army, having gained information of his whereabouts, surprised Tughrl encamped with his forces on the banks of a river, at and around a large stone reservoir, and slew him. The next march would have brought him to the JĀJ-NAGAR territory. The river, no doubt, was the boundary.

The Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī of Ziyā-ud-Dīn, Baranī, differs from this account, and says—according to the Calcutta printed text—that Tughrl fled to Hājī-nagar—حاجیکر—and, in some places, Jājī-nagar—حاجیکر but there is no ی in JĀJ-NAGAR, and, if Ziyā-ud-Dīn's text is correct, it is a different place altogether. “Thé Sultān, following in pursuit by successive marches, in a certain number of days, arrived on the frontier of Sunār-gānw [or kingdom of Bang], the Rāc of which—Dutwāj by name [sic]—paid homage to the Sultān, and stipulated that, in case Tughrl evinced a desire to fly towards the sea [و also means river], he should prevent his doing so. Proceeding by successive marches, the Sultān had reached within 60 or 70 kos of JĀJ-NAGAR, when information of Tughrl's whereabouts was obtained,” &c. From this statement it would seem that the place in question, whether Hājī-nagar or Jājī-nagar, was beyond Sunār-gānw, but it is not said whether any great river was crossed, neither is it stated that the Sultān marched eastwards, and *he might*—and, in case JĀJ-NAGAR is correct, as stated in the extract above, *he must*—have turned to the south-west on reaching the frontier of Sunār-gānw. I am inclined, however, to think that *Sangarah*, mentioned in the fourth para. below, is correct, and not Sunār-gānw. Where the Sunār-gānw frontier commenced we know not, but it must have been a territory of some extent, as it was ruled, subsequently, by a “Sultān.” A district of this name is also mentioned by Ziyā-ud-Dīn as lying near *Talungānah*.

Be this as it may, however, the following extract, taken from the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz-Shāhī of Shams-i-Sarāj, Alfi, Tabakāt-i-Akbarī, and others, will, I think, tend to settle the question respecting the situation of the JĀJ-NAGAR [यज नगर] territory —

In 754 H [Alfi, 755 H] Sultān Fīrūz Shāh set out for Bangālah to reduce its ruler, Ilyās, Hājī [Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn], to subjection. On Sultān Fīrūz Shāh's reaching the vicinity of Pandūah, Ilyās evacuated it, and threw himself into Akdālah [also written Akdalah], “a mouza” near Pandūah, on one side of which is the water [a river?], and on the other an impenetrable *jungāl*, and considered one of the strongest fortifications of Bangālah [Westmacott, in the Calcutta Review for July, 1874, places Ekdala [Akdālah] some forty-two miles on the Māldah side of the river Tangan, and north of Gaur or Lakhana-waṭī—“the later city of Gour,” as he styles it], and so situated that, in the rainy season, the whole country would become flooded, and not a piece of elevated ground would be left for the Sultān even to pitch his tent on. Another writer calls it an island or insular fortress. He came and encamped, according to one of these works, on the bank on the other side of the water facing it, but the others state that he encamped his forces near the place on the same side. As he had to change the position of his encampment after a short time, this movement led Ilyās to imagine that the Sultān was about to retire, and he sallied forth with his troops and attacked the forces of Fīrūz Shāh, but sustained a complete overthrow, and had to retire into his stronghold again. The rains having commenced, Fīrūz Shāh had to abandon the investment, came to terms with Ilyās, and retired towards his own dominions by the Mānik-pūr ferry.

Dihl towards Lakhnawati, and acquired possession of Bihar and installed his own Amirs therein. In the year

On several occasions H. I. sent presents to the Sulṭān, and others were for war of the Sultan in return until in the year 591 H. when H. I. having despatched his officers, Sulṭān H. I. sent Shih sent him present in return; but information having reached him from Bihar of H. I.'s death, and of his son, Sikandar's ascending, H. I. sent Shih asked to be permitted to be stopped, and in 601 H. he returned to Lakhnawati with an army of 80,000 horse and 400 elephants. The rainy season, he passed the rainy season at Zafarabad, and founded the city of Jhāṣur. Sikandar on his approach, retired to the fortress of Akdilah, before which Sulṭān H. I. sent Shih laid down. But after a few days, an accommodation was come to, and the territory of Sankarāpūr was given up to Sikandar, and H. I. sent Shih retired towards Jhāṣur. On the Sulṭān reaching Pandit (this town that Akdilah was northward & eastward of it, and beyond it), seven elephants and other valuable property sent by Sikandar as part of his tribute reached his camp.

In the course of an Atlas, sheet No. 112, in the paragraph of "Dihl" it is stated—*and come Dihl 1/2 of Dihl 1/2 from between Lakhnawati and Dihl 1/2 are called Dhamdama, and rest is an old fort, and the east of it three lakhs tanks. The river is called a country of Dhamdama—* again, or a river, and it is under the name of Akdilah is not mentioned in the way he wrote time after the Khaj dynasty passed away that the name of Dihl 1/2 was changed to Akdilah after 700. Dr. H. Schmann, the author of the Dihl 1/2—general—general—with (see) in the which I did not find in the Atlas sheet referred to, but I show I think from the context is given of the great highway at the northernmost extremity of which Dihl 1/2 is at page 54, it has been stated, that Dihl 1/2 must be a plain near the east (Dihl 1/2).

Since this note was written, I find that a number of the *Journal of Asiatic Research*, Vol. III 1872, contains an account of the site of Akdilah with a map showing its situation, as given and by W. M. M. in a previous number; and I believe the situation to be very nearly identical with the Dhamdama I have referred to, but have not examined the map in question.]

On his reaching Jhāṣur the rains again set in (700 H.), and he stayed there during the rainy season, and in Zi Ḥijjah of that year set out by way of Dihl towards Jhāṣur which was at the extremity of the territory of Gadhah Khatankah (گدگه). When the Sulṭān reached Jhāṣur (جھڑ—opposite Mānik pūr), Malik Jhāṣur Dihl, brother of Zafar Khān, was left behind with the troops and the heavy equipage, and he advanced with a left through Dihl towards Jhāṣur. On his reaching Sankarāpūr or Sankarāpūr (سنگر) (Sankarāpūr), which copies wholesale from the Talakāt-i Akbari, has, in my copy of the text—means probably for Sankarāpūr—but Firishah, who also copies from the former has Sankarāpūr. See H. SCHMANN page 30. Can it be the present Sir Gajah, so called? Rājā Sankar (سنگر—Firishah), Rājā of Sankarāpūr, fled, and his daughter fell into the Sulṭān's hands, and he called her daughter (adopted her), and protected her. Firishah styles her Shikar Khātūn, an impossible name for a Hindū, unless she became a convert to Islam, and was afterwards so named. [I do not know what H. SCHMANN's version may contain, but Dow has left out a great deal here.] Ahmad Khān, who had fled from Lakhnawati, and had reached the fort of Rantabūh (رنتابوہ) (Rantabūh in Jhāṣur Khatankah)—at 23 14 Long. 82 S.—is probably meant not the celebrated stronghold of Rantabūh on the way presented himself before Sulṭān

622 H. he [I-yal-timish] resolved upon marching into Lakh-anawatī, and Sultān Ghīyāṣ-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, moved his

Fīrūz Shāh. Having passed the river Mahā-nadrī, Mahān-darī, or Mahān-adrī [مہاندري—sic in MSS—Budā'ūnī مدري—Fīrīṣhtah مہندري—the river which falls into the Son doubtless is meant], he reached the city or town of Banārsī [بنارس—Shams-i-Sarāj and Alfī have Banāras—بنارس—and Budā'ūnī Bārānī—باری], which is the capital and abode of the Rāe of JĀJ-NAGAR [Shams-i-Sarāj has Rāe of Jāj-nagar-Ūdīṣah] The Rāe fled towards Taling [Talingānah], and, the Sultān *not* pursuing him [Fīrīṣhtah says pursuing], proceeded to hunt elephants in the vicinity [Shams i-Sarāj says the Sultān remained some time at Banāras, and the Rāe took shelter in one of the islands of *the*, or *on a*, river] [See the Asiatic Journal, vol xiv, July to December 1822, page 438, in which is a good account of this tract of country, entitled "Notes on Bīrār"], during which time the Rāe despatched emissaries and sought for peace, sending at the same time three elephants, besides rarities and precious things [Shams-i-Sarāj says after his return from Padmāwatī] Hunting as he went along, the Sultān reached the territory of Rāe Bhānu Dīw [Shams-i-Sarāj, Bīr-bhān Dīw—بیرہاں—Alfī, Pīr-māhī Dīw—پیرمہمی—perhaps Bīr-Māhī], who sent him some elephants He then *returned from thence* with the object of hunting, came to Padmāwatī—South Bihār probably—which is a part abounding with elephants, captured thirty-three, and killed two which could not be secured

The Tabakāt-i-Akbarī, Fīrīṣhtah, and Budā'ūnī, quote a verse composed on the occasion by Malīk Ziyā-ud-Dīn, thus showing to what extent the two latter—particularly Fīrīṣhtah—copied from the former, but Fīrīṣhtah appears somewhat confused in the latter part of his account, or has made considerable verbal alterations for some purpose, whilst Budā'ūnī [MS] says the Sultān left Bārānī [بارانی—Banārsī?], and proceeded from thence to Bādwatī—بادوتی—[Padmāwatī] and Bram-Talā [برہم تالا] to hunt elephants

From Padmāwatī Sultān Fīrūz Shāh returned to Karaḥ in Rajab, 762 H

JĀJ-NAGAR is mentioned on several other occasions in the history of the Dakhan, and its whereabouts distinctly indicated Sultān Fīrūz, Bahmanī, entered it in 815 H, and carried off a number of elephants In the account of Nizām Shāh, of the same dynasty, JĀJ-NAGAR and ŪDĪSAH are mentioned as totally separate territories In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, son of Humā-yūn, a famine having arisen in his dominions, people migrated in order to obtain food into MĀLWAH, JĀJ-NAGAR, and GUJARĀ'ī, and, shortly after, the Rāe of Ūdīṣah, aided by the Rāe of JĀJ-NAGAR, *invaded Talingānah by way of the Rāj-mandrī district*

Now, if any one will look at the map, and take what has been mentioned into consideration, where else can Jāj-nagar possibly lie than in the tract I have indicated? Certainly not on the east side of the Bay of Bengal

It may not be amiss here to say a few words respecting the ancient boundaries of Bangālāh as described by different authors, although little remains to be said after Dr Blochmann's elaborate paper on the subject before referred to

The Jāmi'-ut-Tawārīkh of Faḫr Muḥammad says that the territory which in after times was styled Bangālāh, according to such writers as have written about it, consisted of Bihār, Gauḍha or Gauṛ or Lakhānawatī, Bang, and JĀJ-NAGAR. During the campaign in Bangālāh, in Aurangzeb's time, against his brother Shāh Shujā', the Afghān Zamīndār of Bīrbhūm and Jāt-nagar is said to have joined him According to the Ā'in-i-Akbarī, the Sūbah of Bangālāh from Gadhī to the port of Chāt-gānw [Chittagong] is 400 *km oh* in breadth, and, from the mountains bounding it on the north to the uncultivated tract [بیابان]

vessels [war boats?] up the river'. A treaty of peace was concluded between them and the Sulṭān [I yal timiṣh] extorted thirty-eight elephants and eighty *laks* of treasure, and the *Khusbah* was read for him and the coin stamped in his name'. When the Sulṭān [I yal timiṣh] withdrew,

¹ Another writer says he had all the boats on the river removed and secured, in order to prevent Shams and Dīn, I yal timiṣh from crossing with his forces to the Lakha swastika of the C. C.

² Some histories, including the *Tahsil-i-Akhar* say the two Sulṭāns did once meet in battle. But the latter is a modern one, and it could be observed a long time. A peace was entered into, and Sulṭān Ghīyāṣ ud Dīn was given as an acknowledgment of vassalage for the sake of peace which he himself was afterwards obliged to observe. Another writer says Ghīyāṣ ud Dīn was engaged in several expeditions to carry on war against Shams and Dīn, I yal timiṣh (the latter a common name given to a number of persons); but at length peace was concluded on the terms of vassalage.

The *Tahsil-i-Malik* is that the river was in *lakh* and

lakh Malik (also written *Malik*—مالک) 200 in breadth; but, as the territory of Uḡlāsh was annexed to it on the settlement of the province in Akbar's time, and its extension into a *Sulṭān*, its length became increased 43 *lakh* and its breadth 20. The tract of country to the W. of Banglāsh is named *Uḡlāsh* or *Uḡlāsh* which accounted a *lakh* of the country (*Uḡlāsh*), and *Malik* is the name of its ruler. To the north is a territory, called *Uḡlāsh* (Uḡlāsh) a *lakh* of the country, and called *Uḡlāsh*. At the mouth is the territory of the *Uḡlāsh* of *Uḡlāsh* and a *lakh* of the *Uḡlāsh*, and to the left of it *Uḡlāsh*. To the E. and S. of *Uḡlāsh* is an extensive country named *Uḡlāsh* (turned into *Uḡlāsh* by Europeans), and the port of *Uḡlāsh* led to it. In the *Uḡlāsh* of *Uḡlāsh* from the river (and to the *Uḡlāsh* of the *Uḡlāsh* of *Uḡlāsh*) they have drawn (and) a wall, and account it the boundary of *Uḡlāsh*.

The *Uḡlāsh* says *Uḡlāsh* is 300 *lakh* in length and 200 in breadth, each *lakh* being one *mil* (1). On the E. it is bounded by the sea, on the W. it has the *Uḡlāsh* of *Uḡlāsh* gash, which adjoins the *Uḡlāsh* of *Uḡlāsh* on the N. it is bounded by *Uḡlāsh*, and on the S. by the *Uḡlāsh* of *Uḡlāsh* (turned into *Uḡlāsh* by Europeans), which lies between *Uḡlāsh* and *Uḡlāsh*.

The *Uḡlāsh* of *Uḡlāsh* agrees generally with the other two works, but states that *Uḡlāsh* is 400 *lakh* from E. to W.—from *Uḡlāsh* to *Uḡlāsh*—and 200 from N. to S.; that it has the *Uḡlāsh* of *Uḡlāsh* on the W. on the S. the high hills of *Uḡlāsh*—*Uḡlāsh* (in two other MSS. *Uḡlāsh* and *Uḡlāsh*), and the sea on the E.

The *Uḡlāsh* says it was divided [in Akbar's reign] into 24 *lakh* and yielded a revenue of 52 *lakh* 4 *lakh* and 59,319 *lakh*.

The *Uḡlāsh* states that it was divided [in Jahāngir's reign] into 22 *lakh* (or *lakh*), and its revenue amounted to 5 *lakh* 97 570 rūpī, which, at 40 *lakh* the rūpī, are equivalent to 23 *lakh* 9 *lakh* and 2800 *lakh*. There must be a mistake somewhere as this amount of Jahāngir's revenue is not half that of Aurangzeb's time while Akbar's revenue greatly exceeds Aurangzeb's.

According to the *Uḡlāsh* of *Uḡlāsh* it was divided [in Aurangzeb's reign] into 27 *lakh* and yielded 46 *lakh* and 27 *lakh* of *lakh*.

he conferred Bihār upon Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Jānī; and Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, marched into Bihār from Lakhanawatī, and [again] took possession of it, and treated it with severity, until, in the year 624 H, the august⁸ Malik, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, son of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn [I-yal-tīmish], at the instigation⁹ of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Jānī¹, assembled the forces of Hindūstān, and marched from Awadh and proceeded into Lakhanawatī. At this time Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz-i-Husain, the Khalj, had led an army from Lakhanawatī towards the territory of Kāmrūd and Bang, and had left the city of Lakhanawatī

further—in which the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Akbarī and some others agree—that I-yal-tīmish conferred a canopy of state and a dūr-bāsh [see note ⁵, page 607] upon his eldest son, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, declared him heir-apparent, bestowed Lakhanawatī upon him, and left him⁶ in Awadh with jurisdiction over those parts. Maḥmūd Shāh may have been left in Awadh with charge of that part, but not of Lakhanawatī certainly, for Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, ruled over his own territory up to the time of his death. The son of I-yal-tīmish was probably left in Awadh to watch for a favourable time for invading or seizing the Khalj dominions, which he soon found an opportunity of doing.

⁸ He is styled شهيد in several copies, but it cannot be correct, considering, he died a natural death, according to our author's own account, as given at page 630. The word شهيد no doubt, is an error for سعيد—august, &c.

⁹ Compare Elliot, INDIA, vol. II page 219

¹ In the account of Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, page 629, and here also, in some copies of the text, and in some other works, he is styled 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī. He is, no doubt, the personage referred to in the list of relatives and chiefs at the end of Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-tīmish's reign, under the title of Shāh-zādah, or Prince of Turkistān, but he only served I-yal-tīmish—he was no relative. Soon after Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-tīmish, returned to Dihlī, Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, marched into Bihār, and regained possession of it, compelling Malik Jānī to fly into Awadh. The Khalj ruler held possession of it for some time, until the year 624 H, when Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, I-yal-tīmish's eldest son, who held the government of Awadh, incited by Malik Jānī and some other chiefs, and taking advantage of Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz's absence on an expedition against the infidels on his eastern frontier in Bang and Kāmrūd, with the greater part of his forces, suddenly and without any previous intimation, invaded his dominions with a great army, including forces sent by his father for the same purpose. As soon as Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, received information of it, he made all haste back to defend his kingdom, but whether part of or all his army returned with him is doubtful, and no aid from without could reach him, except through Hindūstān. The enemy had already taken the capital, and, in a great battle subsequently fought between him and the invaders, Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, with most of his chiefs, were taken captive and afterwards put to death. Some state that he was slain in the battle. A son of his [by some accounts a kinsman]—Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Daulat Shāh-i-Balkā—subsequently regained and held sway over the territory for a time, and Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-tīmish, had to proceed in person against him with a great army.

unprotected. Malik Nāṣir ud Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh took possession of it and Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn Iwāz i Husain, the Khālī on account of that disaster returned from that force [which he had led into Kāmūd and Bang?] and sought an engagement with Malik Nāṣir ud Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh. Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn Iwāz i Husain and the whole of the Khālī Amīrs, were taken prisoners and Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, Iwāz, was martyred. His reign extended over a period of twelve years¹

¹ According to our author S. 'Alī Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, Iwāz the Khālī, was the last of the Mutul Saḥb of Hind; and he is the person respecting whom I am inclined to have been betrayed. In such an event it is not page 610. According to the C. of B. he reigned twelve years, from 606 H. to 617 H. and was succeeded by his son, 'Alī ud Dīn, Iwāz who reigned for a short time and whose name has been already mentioned in note 1 page 556. See also pages 617 and 621. The errors which happened after the decease of S. 'Alī Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, Iwāz are involved in great obscurity; but the above data are not correct.

637 In concluding this portion of the Section on the Khālī dynasty of Lahia Awatl, I would mention that I am not personally acquainted with Lahia; but I venture to hope that these notes, imperfect as they are, will aid in future research. The district officers will be able to follow up the inquiry with facility.

SECTION XXI.

ACCOUNT OF THE SHAMSĪĀH SULTĀNS IN HIND

THE frailest of the servants of the Divine threshold, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Jūrjānī—God grant him the attainment of his wishes¹ states that, when the eternal will of God, the Most High and Holy, has willed to imprint on the forehead of a servant the signs of dominion and the light of power, and the mother of time becomes pregnant with an embryo of such a character, the gleam [characteristic] of such a burden will shine upon her brow¹

When the time of her delivery arrives, and that lord of felicity becomes enveloped in the swaddling of his birth-place², joy, at the sight of that birth, becomes manifest in all things, and, from the period of his nativity to the time of his removal from this abode of service to the mansion of bliss, whether in activity or in repose, all his actions will be a source of gladness unto mankind, and of honour to both high and low. If his neck should be placed in the collar of servitude, his master becomes the possessor of affluence, and, if his footsteps venture upon journeys and in travelling stages, he will cause his companions to become the masters of prosperity, as in the case of the Patriarch Yūsuf. When Yūsuf was sold to Malīk the son of Du'ar, at his

¹ Our author here follows the life of men destined for sovereignty from the conception, and applies to them, somewhat blasphemously, the theory of the *nūr* [light, &c.] of Muhammad. The theologians assert that the first thing created was the light of Muhammad. It shone forth from Adam's forehead until Eve became pregnant by him of a son, when it was transferred to her. When she gave birth to the son [which? Cain or Abel?], it, of course, dwelt in him, and thus it was transferred, as the theologians aver, from the foreheads of the fathers to the wombs of the mothers, until it assumed flesh in Muhammad. Our author has altered the theory in applying it to kings, in as far as Dīn, or of light, which emanates from the child [محمول], shines forth from the territory: "the mother of time"

against her words, when the child is born

invocation twenty [sons like] pearls² befitting a king & of strung upon the thread of his line, and, notwithstanding in he came [as a slave] into the dwelling of Aziz he made in the end his [Aziz's] spouse Queen of Misr and for as much as the infant in the cradle bore testimony to the purity of his garment's skirt—*a witness of the family & rectitude*—at length in his [Aziz's] service Yûsuf became the Wazir of that kingdom

I SULTÂN UL-MULAZZAM SHAMS-UD-DUNYA WA UD-DIN
ABU L-MUZZAFAR, IYALTIMISH, THE SULTÂN

Since the Most High and Holy God from all eternity had predestined that the states of Hindûstân should come under the shadow of the guardianship of the great Sultân the supreme monarch, Shams-ud Dunya wa ud Din the shadow of God in the world, Abû l Muẓaffar Iyaltimish the Sultân the right arm of the Vicegerent of God the aider of the Lord of the Faithful³—God illumine his convictions and weight the balance with the effects of his equity and beneficence and preserve the dynasty of his descendants on whom of those who have passed away be peace! and may the Navirahî Mahmudîyah sovereignty perpetually continue in security and safety from the troubles of the end of time, and from the accidents and vicissitudes of the world!—that just and munificent Sultân, upright benefi-

² I do not know what account of Yûsuf our author may have read, but this is different to what I obtained in Tabari and other writers of authority and very different to the account given in the *Qur'ân* (Chap. xii), and to his own account of Yûsuf in the first section of this work. Yûsuf was sold for twenty pieces of silver.

³ Written in some few copies of the text and by some other historians *سالمش*—Iyaltimish and *سالمش*—Iyaltimish in some works; but the above appears the correct mode of spelling. My oldest MS gives the diacritical points. The first part of this compound word, which it evidently is, is the same as in Iyalt Arsalin, Iyaltur &c.; and the latter part of it is the same as occurs in Iyaltimish and the like. See note² page 133. Hods'bnf says he was so called from having been born on a night during an eclipse of the moon, and that the Turks call a child born on such an occasion Iyaltimish. I doubt this, however for the reasons just mentioned in the beginning of this note.

⁴ Yamlad Khalifah U'llah, Nayir Amir-ul-Muminin. See pages 617 and 624.

⁵ The sovereignty of his son, our author's patron—Nasir ud Din, Mahmud Jalal.

, a zealous and steadfast warrior against infidels, the coronizer of the learned, the dispenser of justice, in pomp like Farīdūn, in disposition like Ḳubād, in fame like Kā-ūs, in empire like Sikandar, and in majesty like Bahrām, was, Yūsuf like, from out of the Ilbarī [or Albarī] tribes of Turkistān, delivered over to merchants, until, from one degree to another, he was raised to the throne of empire and seat of dominion, so that the back of the Muhammadan religion, through his sovereignty, waxed strong, and the development of the Ahmadī faith, through his valour, acquired pre-eminence. In intrepidity he turned out another impetuous 'Alī, and, in liberality, a second Ḥātim-ī-Tā-ī. Although the beneficent Sulṭān, Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn—on whom be peace¹ displayed to the world the bestowal of hundreds of thousands, the august and beneficent Sulṭān, Shams-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn—may he rest in peace¹—in place of every hundred thousand of his, used to bestow a hundred [times a] hundred thousand, both in capacity and in computation, as, both in this world and in the next, may be accounted [in his favour]

Towards men of various sorts and degrees, Ḳāzīs, Imāms, Muftīs, and the like, and to darweshes and monks, land-owners and farmers, traders, strangers and travellers from great cities, his benefactions were universal. From the very outset of his reign, and the dawn of the morning of his sovereignty, in the congregating of eminent doctors of religion and law, venerable Sayyids, Maliks, Amīrs, Sadrs, and [other] great men, the Sulṭān used, yearly, to expend about ten millions⁷, and people from various parts of the world he gathered together at the capital city of Dihlī⁸, which is

⁷ What com, whether *tangah* or *jītal*, is not stated—there is a vast difference between them.

⁸ An author, describing Dihlī, states that, in the year 440 of Bikrāmajīt, Rājah Anang-pāl Tūn or Tūnār—the *n* is nasal [This is the word which, written *تون* in some works, instead of *تونار* and *تونور*, has been mistaken for *pūr* and *pūra*—*پور*. See note⁹, page 84, para. 2, and ELLIOT, vol. II, pages 47, 426, and 427, and Thomas PATHĀN KINGS OF DEHLI, page 57]—founded the city of Dihlī, near to Indra-prastha. Subsequently, in the year 1200, or a little later, of the same era, Rāe Pithorā founded a city and fortress which were named after himself. Outside this fort, to the east, he raised a lofty structure which is *still styled* the *Mahall* of Rāe Pithorā. In the fortress Sulṭān Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and Sulṭān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, dwelt. The Shahr-ī-Zaghān [?] or Ghīyās-pūr was founded in 666 H., and Gilū Khārī *گیلو خاری*—not "*Kila Garkī*," as Cunningham calls it] in 686 H.,

the seat of government of Hindūstān and the centre of the circle of Islām the sanctuary of the mandates and inhibitions of the law the kernel of the Muhammadi religion the marrow of the Ahmadi belief and the tabernacle of the eastern parts of the universe—Guard it O God from calamities and molestation! This city through the number of the grants and unbounded munificence of that pious monarch became the retreat and resting place for the learned the virtuous and the excellent of the various parts of the world and those who by the mercy of God the most High escaped from the toils of the calamities sustained by the provinces and cities of Ajam and the misfortunes caused by the [irruption of the] infidel Mughals made the capital—the asylum of the universe—of that sovereign their asylum refuge resting place and point of safety and up to the present day those same rules are observed and remain unchanged and such may they ever continue!

From a number of credible persons* it has been heard narrated after this manner that, when the beneficent Sultan Shams-ud Din was young in years and was called by command of the Most High from the territory of Turkistān and the families of the Ilbari [tribe] to the empire of Islam and dominion of Hindūstān it so happened that his father who was named Ilam Khān¹⁰ had numerous kindred relations, dependents, and followers and [that] this [future] sovereign from his earliest years, was endowed with comeliness, intelligence and goodness of disposition to a great degree, so much so that his brothers began to grow envious of these endowments. They therefore brought him away from his mother and father under the pretence that he should get sight of a herd of horses¹. Like as in the case of Yūsuf they said

but it must have been begun or have been a suburb long before as it is mentioned certainly over fifty years before by our author. Tughlak Shāh, the Jū Khān, and Firuz Shāh, now called the Aḥmad of Firuz Shāh were founded subsequently besides many other additions of minor extent made. I have not space to say more.

* Often referred to, but their names never mentioned.

¹⁰ Others say his father was the head or chief of a small community among the divisions or clans of the Ilbari tribe in Turkistān. His name is written Ilam—إلام—Khān by some writers, and Iyāl—إيال—Khān by others.

¹ Some say he was taken by his brothers to some garden, under pretence of going thither for recreation and diversion.

‘Why, O father, dost thou not intrust Yūsuf to us, seeing that we are true friends of his’ Send him along with us to-morrow into the pastures that he may divert himself, and we will be his protectors²,’ and, when they brought him where the herds of horses were, they sold him to certain merchants, and some say that his uncle’s sons were among the party that sold him³ The merchants brought him towards Bukhārā, and sold him to one of the kinsmen of the Ṣadr-i-Jahān⁴ [the chief ecclesiastic] of Bukhārā, and, for some time, in that family of eminence and sanctity, he remained. The most beneficent of that family used to nourish him in the hall of his kindness, like his own children in infancy

One of the trustworthy has related⁵, saying “‘I heard from the blessed lips of that monarch himself, who said, “On a certain occasion, one of the [above-mentioned] family gave me a small piece of money, saying ‘Go into the market and buy some grapes and bring them’ When I set out for the market, I lost by the way that bit of money, and through my youthful age, out of fear at what had happened, I fell crying Whilst thus lamenting, I was joined by a good Darwesh who took me by the hand, and purchased for me some grapes which he gave me, and he made me promise [saying] ‘When thou attainest unto power and dominion thou wilt ever regard devotees and ascetics with reverence, and watch over their weal’ I gave him my promise, and all the prosperity and blessings, which I acquired, I acquired through the compassionate regard of that Darwesh”’ The probability is that never

² KUR’ĀN, Chap. 111

³ Others say that his brothers and brothers’ sons were concerned in this affair, and that the merchants were of Bukhārā

⁴ See Dowson, in Elliot INDIA, vol. II page 320 I, who says—“When they brought him to the drove of horses they sold him to the dealer The horse-dealers took him to Bukhārā, and sold him to one of the relations of the chief judge of that city” &c. The printed text here is perfectly correct and as rendered above, with the exception of merchant for merchants in the first sentence The word *bāzargān* does not mean “horse-dealer” any more than *ass dealer*, for it signifies a merchant or trader

Ṣadr also does not mean judge only it has other meanings

⁵ Being himself in this Sultān’s service, our author might have made himself acquainted with the events of his early days, instead of trusting to “one of the trustworthy,” and particularly as he stood so high in the monarch’s favour

was a sovereign of such exemplary faith and of such kind heartedness, and reverence towards recluses devotees, divines and doctors of religion and law from the mother of creation ever enwrapped in the swaddling bands of dominion?

I found that piously and saintly family a merchant whom they used to call the Bukhārā Hājī purchased Shams-ud-Dīn. Subsequently another merchant whom they were wont to style Jamal ud-Dīn, Muḥammad of the Tight Tunic, purchased him of the Bukhārā Hājī and brought him to the city of Ghaznī. At that period no Turk superior to him in comeliness, commendable qualities, agreeable manners and of such indications of intelligence and sagacity had they brought to that capital. He was mentioned in terms of commendation to the Sulṭān i-Ghīāṣ Muḥammad son of Sam and command was given [by the Sulṭān] that they should name his price. He along with another Turk, was in one team and the latter Turk they were in the habit of calling Ibak. The sum of a thousand and *dirhams* of pure *kubul* gold was specified for the two.

"The former, when another relative of Sultan Shams-ud Din, by the title of an ancestor, Sultan Iqbal Khan was greatly concerned for a Turkish slave girl in the prison, whom he had purchased, and who he believed, later was a waif, small from some latent disease, effected his object. The girl perished in several instances. One day he was seated in his hall and filled with some perfume, diffused by the hand of that same slave-girl, when he felt some tears fall on his head from above. On looking up, he found that she was weeping. He inquired of her thereon. She replied: 'Once I had a brother who had just such a mark upon his head as you have, and it reminds me of him.' On making further inquiries it was found that the slave-girl was his own sister. They had both been sold as slaves, in their early childhood, by their inhuman half-brothers; and thus had Almighty God saved him from committing a great crime. Sultan states in his work. I heard this story myself from the Emperor Akbar's own lips, and the monarch stated that this anecdote had been orally traced to Sultan Ghias-ud Din Ballban himself."

⁷ Compare F-110 RT, Vol. II, page 331. Our author must certainly have had a recent birth in his family about the time he penned this account, or he has been expecting one, since he uses so many swaddling bands.

* The *Mushtakhat-i Tawarikh* states that, by some accounts, the kinsman of the *Ṣadr-i Jahān* of B. khān sold Shams-ud Dīn to Sulṭān Muḥammad Dīn, and that some say Buḥārī ud Dīn put a veil on him, and took him to Hama.

* A few copies had two thousand, but one seems to be correct. Another neither says the sum was 1000 *haddid* nor a second that it was 1000 for each, and Haddad says *a lak of tings*. It is not to be supposed that the Sultan fixed the price. There were buyers whose business it was to value

The Khwājah [merchant or master], Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, of the Tight Tunic, declined selling him [Shams-ud-Dīn] for that amount, and the Sultān commanded that no one should purchase him, and that [the sale] should be prohibited.

The Khwājah, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, after that he had stayed at Ghaznīn a year, determined to proceed to Bukhārā, and he took Shams-ud-Dīn along with him thither, and, for another three years, he remained in Bukhārā. After that he was brought to Ghaznīn a second time, and continued there for the period of another year, because it was not permitted that any one should purchase him, until Sultān¹ Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, after the holy war of Nahrwālah and the conquest² of Gujarāt, along with Malīk Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain-i-Khar-Mīl³, proceeded to Ghaznīn, and heard his story. Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn solicited permission from Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, to purchase him. The Sultān replied "Since a command has been issued that he should not be purchased at Ghaznīn, let them take him to the city of Dihlī and there he can be purchased⁴."

Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn gave directions to Nizām-ud-Dīn, Muhammad⁵, to remain behind at Ghaznīn, for the purpose of transacting some affairs of his, and, after his own determination of returning to Hindūstān, requested him, on his return, to bring along with him to Dihlī, Jamāl-ud-Dīn of the Tight Tunic, in order that the purchase of Shams-ud-Dīn might be there effected. According to Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn's command, Nizām-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, on his return, brought them [the two slaves] along with him to the capital, Dihlī, and Malīk Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn purchased both

slaves, and another writer says "the brokers fixed the price of the two as our author states."

¹ Malīk Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn then, and still a mamlūk or slave.

² For the events of this so called conquest, see the notes to the account of Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak. The word used signifies victory, taking a city, &c., as well as conquest. The Mir'āt-i-Jahān-Numā more correctly says, after taking Nahrwālah and chastisement [بند] of Bhīm Dīw. See notes¹ and ², p. 516.

³ 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of Khar-mīl probably, although he may have had a brother named Nāsir-ud-Dīn. See page 516.

⁴ The idiom varies considerably here in the different sets of copies of the text. Another writer says "buying or selling him in Ghaznīn is not proper, after commands to the contrary let them take him into the Dihlī territory and there sell him."

⁵ See note², page 516, paragraphs 6 and 7.

the Turk for the sum of a hundred thou and *jitals** The other Turk named I bak received the name of *Tim ghāy* and was made Amlr of Tabashindali and subsequently in the engagement which took place between Sulṭ in Tāj ud Din Yal-dur and that beneficent of his time—Sulṭan Kuṣb-ud Din I bak he was killed Shams ud Din I yal timish was made Sar i Jan-dār [chief of the Jan-dars or Guards¹] to Kuṣb-ud Din who styled him on and retained him near himself and he continued to rise in office and in dignity daily and Kuṣb-ud Din discerning within him proofs of rectitude and integrity both in movement and at rest outwardly as well as inwardly by the light thereof advanced him from one position to another until he raised him to the office of Amlr i Shikār [Chief

Huntsman] Subsequently, when Gwāliyūr was taken⁸, he became Amīr of Gwāliyūr, and, after that, he acquired the fief of the town of Baran and its dependencies. Some time after this, as proofs of tact, energy, valour, and high-mindedness were unmistakeably displayed by him, and the beneficent Sultān, Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, noticed and marked all these [accomplishments] in him, he conferred upon Shams-ud-Dīn the fief of the territory of Budā'ūn⁹.

When the Sultān-ī-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, son of Sām, returned from his campaign against Khwārazm, and when, in the engagement at And-khūd, a reverse befell the troops of Khutā¹, and the Khokhar² tribes had begun to rebel and manifest contumacy, he moved from Ghaznīn for the purpose of making war on that unbelieving people³. Malīk Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, in conformity with the Sultān's orders, led the [available] forces of Hindūstān to the scene of action⁴, and Shams-ud-Dīn, with the contingent troops of Budā'ūn, accompanied him⁵.

During the engagement [which ensued], in the height of the conflict, Shams-ud-Dīn, in all his panoply, rode right into the water of the river Jīlam [Jhīlam] in which those active rascals⁶ had made their place of shelter, and displayed great valour, and by the wounds inflicted by [his men's⁷] arrows discomfited them, and his warlike feats,

⁸ After it was surrendered rather. See page 546. Another writer states that Baran and its dependencies were added to his fief of Gwāliyūr.

⁹ At this time, and for some time after, the fief of the territory of Budā'ūn was the highest in the Dihlī kingdom.

¹ Our author in all the copies of the text, and the printed text likewise, both here, as well as under the reign of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, makes the false statement, which his own words prove untrue, that the forces of Khutā were defeated, when Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was so utterly overthrown with the loss of his whole army before Andkhūd [Iddakhūd], and would have been taken captive but for the intervention of Sultān 'Uṣmān of Samrḳand. Compare ELLIOT, vol. II page 322.

✓² See note 1, page 481.

³ These people were converted to Muhammadanism, according to Firīshṭah, who perhaps had no authority for so stating, previous to this. See same note, last para, page 484.

⁴ See note 1, page 481, para 4.

⁵ Shams-ud-Dīn, according to another writer, having assembled together a considerable force from Budā'ūn and the Koh-pāyah, joined his master, Malīk Kuṭb-ud-Dīn.

⁶ In some copies "ribble rout" or "set of vagabonds," &c. They appear to have taken shelter in one of the islands of the Jhīlam.

⁷ The original merely mentions that "by arrow wounds he caused those

while in that water reached such a pitch, that he was despatching those infidels from the height of the waters to the lowest depths of Hell — They were drowned and cast into the fire [of hell]”

During that feat of agility and gallant exploit the eye of the Sultan, Ghazi Muḥizz ud Din Muhammad son of Sām fell on these proofs of boldness and valour and he directed inquiry to be made respecting his quality. When the royal mind became enlightened on the subject of who he was, he sent for Shams-ud Din and distinguished him by conferring a special dress of honour upon him and commanded Malik Kusbud Din Ibak saying, “Treat Iyaltimish well for he will distinguish himself” The Sultan further directed that they should draw up the deed of his freedom and rewarded him with his royal countenance and conferred upon him the felicity of the free.

When Sultan Kusbud Din Ibak died at Lohor the Sipah Salar’ (Commander of Troops) All-i Ismaili who was the Amir-i Dad (Lord Justice) of the capital city Dihli in concert with other Amirs and high officials wrote letters

[The above text refers to a letter which alone may have been discharged. It is not clear that he feared the Sultan, but that he was of the 12th century or 13,000 of them, and was subsequently made Amir-i Dad.] The statement of the Dakhlanī historian, however, “for the sake of the day.”

Two different words of the same signification are here used in the text of copies which agree with each other in the same sense. The different copy is evidently due to the cause of these differences in the text which are very numerous throughout the work.

* Hordn, chap. lx. v. 25.

There was no such European term in those days as a commander-in-chief, and, if there were, there would have been a great number of commanders, for the term Sipah Salar applied to several persons often at one and the same time. One of the oldest copies of the text calls All-i Ismaili [i.e. All son of Ismail] Amir-i Dad, an Amir-i son. The best early copy leaves out the word Sipah Salar altogether, and that reading would remove all difficulty but it is solitary in instance for all the others have Amir-i Dad. Dad certainly means justice equity &c. and perhaps the person in question may have heard complaints and disposed of them with the aid of Muslims and Kāfirs; but the command of troops seems incompatible with the office of judge. Some other authors say the Sipah Salar All-i Ismaili, and the Amir-i Dad, and other grandees and officials, invited him to come to Dihli and assume the sovereignty and some say All-i Ismaili was governor of Dihli and they style the other Amir-i Dad. Another writer says Amir of Dihli which is more probable. Firishtah according to the revised text has Amir-i Dad, the Dihli. The latter word is at hand here. See note 4 page 529.

to Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, at Budā'ūn, and besought him [to come thither and assume authority] Having come, he ascended the throne of the kingdom of Dihlī in the year 607 H, and took possession of it As the Turks and Kuṭbī Amīrs from different parts had gathered together before Dihlī, and some of the Turks and Mu'izzī Amīrs had also united with them, and were intent upon resistance ² [to this usurpation of authority on the part of I-yal-timish], they left Dihlī, and came out, and they [all] combined in the immediate neighbourhood, and broke out into sedition and rebellion ³ The august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn, with the cavalry of the centre [contingents forming the centre division of the Dihlī troops] and his own immediate followers, issued from the city of Dihlī, and, in front of the plain of Jūd, overthrew them, and put most of the leaders [of the party] to the sword ⁴

² Compare ELLIOT, vol. 11, page 323

³ The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir says, in its usual inflated style, that "the Sar-i-Jān-dār, who was a Turk [he was not named '*Sarjāndār Turkī*,' as in ELLIOT, vol. 11, page 237—for Sar-i-Jān-dār is the office this Turk held, see note 7, page 603], who was the head of all sedition, and who put forth his arm to shed Musalmān blood, with a body of sanguinary Turks [the Turks in the service of the Ghūrīān Sultāns were Musalmāns], broke out into rebellion Although the Sultān had been often urged to repress their outbreak, he refrained, for some time, from doing so At length he resolved to reduce them, and with a considerable army," &c.

This is no other than the affair mentioned under the account of Sultān Ārām Shāh, which see. What our author here means to say is, that those Turks and Mu'izzī and Kuṭbī Amīrs, and men of note, then in Dihlī, did not join the Shamsī party, and they left the city and joined the partizans of the late Sultān's son, or, rather, adopted son, Ārām Shāh The Amīrs and Turks, however, were not finally reduced till some time after See next page.

Another writer states that most of the Kuṭbī Amīrs submitted, but that some of them, in concert with several Mu'izzī Amīrs who were in Dihlī and parts around, rose, collected together, and came to an engagement with Shams-ud-Dīn and his party, but their efforts were without avail, and they were defeated and put to the sword

The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir states that the battle was fought close to the Bāgh-i-Jūn [Jūd?] near the capital, but other authors I have been quoting from time to time agree with the more modern copies of the text, and say it occurred in the Jūn plain [بازوaste plain, &c.], but all the oldest copies have as above The Bāgh-i-Jūd, not Jūn, is often mentioned by our author

The Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh says the defeated Amīrs were put to death at different times See page 529, and note 4

⁴ Some few modern copies and the printed text have "and directed that their heads should be brought under the sword," but there is not a word about their 'h v s e m e r' Tārīkh-i-Jahānī says two of the principal Amīrs, Alā Sunḥar

Subsequently to this, Sulţān Tāj ud Dīn Yal dūz from Lohor and Ghaznā entered into a compact with him and sent him a canopy of state and a Dur bashī⁴. Between Sulţān Shams ud Dīn and Malīk [Sulţān] Naṣir ud Dīn Kaka Jah, contention used continually to arise for the possession of Lohor Tabarhundaḥ and Kūhṣīm and in the year 613 H., the former inflicted a defeat upon Naṣir ud Dīn Kaka Jah.

Upon several other occasions in different parts of the territories of Hindūstān⁵ hostilities arose between him [Shams ud Dīn] and the Amīrs and Turks but as the favour of the Most High was his aid and defender. He used to award victory to him and all those who used to revolt against him or rebel against his authority used to be reduced. The Divine assistance and protection having for a considerable time been extended towards him Sulţān

Shams-ud-Dīn brought under his jurisdiction all the different parts of the kingdom, and the dependencies of the capital; Dihlī, together with Budā'ūn, Awadh, Banāras, and the Siwālīkh

Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, being obliged to evacuate [his territory] before the Khwārazmī army, retired towards Lohor ⁷, and between him and Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, hostilities arose about the boundaries [of their dominions], and an engagement took place between their respective armies at Tarā'in ⁸, in the year 612 H, and Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn was victorious. Sultān Tāj-ud-Dīn, Yal-duz, was taken prisoner, and, in accordance with his [Shams-ud-Dīn's] command, they brought Yal-duz to Dihlī, and sent him [from thence] to Budā'ūn, and there he was buried ⁹.

Subsequently in the year 614 H., Shams-ud Din sought an engagement with Mahi [Sultan] Nasir ud Din Kabir¹ and the latter was overthrown and when the calamities consequent upon the appearance of Chingiz Khan the Mughal, fell upon Khurasan in the year 618 H.² Sultan Jalal ud Din Khwarizm Shah, deserted by the army of infidels, retired in the direction of Hindustan. The edition of the Khwarizm Shahs reached the limits of [the province of] Lohor³ and Sultan Shams ud Din marched from Dihli towards Lohor⁴ with the forces of Hindustan and Sultan Jalal ud Din Khwarizm Shah, having turned aside⁵

from the host of Hindūstān, marched away towards Sind and Sīwastān ⁶.

After these events, in the year 622 H, Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn marched an army towards the territory of Lakhana-watī, and [Sultān] Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, Khaljī ⁷, placed the neck of service within the yoke of subjection, and presented thirty elephants and eighty *laks* of treasure ⁸, and read the Khutbah, and stamped the coin, in the sacred name of the august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn

✓ In the year 623 H, the Sultān determined to take the fort of Rantabhūr, which, for its exceeding strength, solidity, and impregnability, is famous and notorious throughout all

numbering 700 men, from the neighbourhood of Balkh, and that the ruler of Multān [Kābā-jah] made peace with Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and, what is more astonishing, that 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Kai-Kubād, the son of the king of Hind, gave Jalāl-ud-Dīn his daughter in marriage, and the latter maintained power in Hind for three years and seven months. Here is a perfect jumble of events, and the Khokhar chief has been mistaken for the "King of Hind."

A European writer however [D'Ahsson] makes still greater blunders. He says that, when Jalāl-ud-Dīn heard that Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, was moving "to the assistance of Kubacha," he went to meet him, but, instead of fighting, I-yal-timish proposed peace and the hand of his daughter, which were both accepted by the Sultān! See note ⁵, para 2, page 293. Here Burāk, the Hājib, governor of Kirmān, is mistaken for I-yal-timish!

⁶ One would scarcely conceive, from this, that Sultān Jalāl-ud-Dīn annexed great part of the Panjāb and Sind, and that he remained nearly three years in those parts, and only left them, on the despatch of a great army of Mughals against him, and the fact of his presence being much required in 'Irāk. See the reign of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, pages 285—299

⁷ Elphinstone, led astray by some translation probably, for no History makes such a statement, makes several terrible errors here. He has "In the same year with this expedition to Sind [it took place *two years after* the Lakhana-watī affair, in 624-5 H], Altamsh marched against BAKHTIĀR KHILJĪ [Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār, who is here referred to, had been then *dead twenty years*], who looked upon Behār and Bengal as his own conquest, and, though he professed obedience to Kutb u dīn (*to whose daughter he was married*), openly disclaimed all dependence on his successor. [It was I-yal-timish—his *Altamsh*—*not* Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār, who married Kutb-ud-Dīn's daughter.] Altamsh was successful in this undertaking, he deprived BAKHTIĀR of Behār, (the government of which he conferred on his own son,) and obliged him to hold Bengal under the crown of Dehli. BAKHTIĀR made a subsequent attempt to retrieve his losses, was defeated by the prince who governed Behār, and lost his life in the conflict." Thus Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār, Muhammad, son of Sherān, 'Alī, son of Mardān, and Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz—four different rulers are made ONE. This truly is pretty history "to teach the young idea" ¹. See pages 574 and 594, and note ²

⁸ There is not a word about "*current coin*" in the text, but the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī and some authors who copy from it say, 80,000 silver *tanqahs*. See note 7, page 584

Hindus in . They have narrated in the Chronicles of the people of Hind after this manner that seventy kings and more had appeared [at various times] at the foot of its walls and not one of them had been able to reduce it . After some time¹ however in the year 6311 it was taken by the hands of the Sultān's servants² through the favour of the Creator . A year subsequent to this, in 63411, he marched against the fort of Mandawar³ within the limits of the Siwalikhi [territory] and its capture likewise the Almighty God facilitated for him and he came back and much booty fell into the hands of the servants of his dynasty .

Subsequently in 63511, the august Sultan Shams ud Dīn Iyāl timī h came with an army from the capital city Dihli into the territories of Cchchrah and Multān and the writer of these words the Maulāna 'Inshā'ī Sarāj in the

month of Rajab, in the year 624 H⁴, had reached the territories of Sind, Ūchchah, and Multān, from the side of Ghūr and Khurāsān⁵. On the 1st of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 625 H⁶, the august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-tīmish, reached the foot of the walls of the fort of Ūchchah. Malīk [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, had his camp pitched before the gate of the kasbah [town] of Ahrāwat⁷, and the whole of his fleet and boats, on board of which the baggage and followers of his army were embarked, were moored in the river in front⁸ of the camp, when, on a Friday, after [noon-day] prayers, swift messengers arrived from the direction of Multān and gave information that Malīk Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Aī-yitim⁹, the feudatory of Lohor, had appeared before the walls of Multān¹.

The august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn, having set out by way of Tabarhindah towards Ūchchah, the capital of Malīk [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, he fled to his fleet, and, taking along with him all his forces, retired towards

⁴ See note², page 544, where he contradicts this statement, and mentions other dates. Chingiz Khān died in 624 H. Several authors, including that of the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī and his *protégé*, Budā'ūnī, leave out this expedition of I-yal-tīmish against Kabā-jah, but drown the latter in 614 H, having confounded the first hostilities between them with the last. See note⁴, page 532.

⁵ At page 541 he says he came "from Khurāsān by way of Ghaznīn and Banīān."

⁶ In his notice of Malīk Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Aī-yitim, in Section XXII, our author also says 625 H, but at page 541 he says 624 H. Under the account of Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-GAZLAK Khān, in the same Section, our author contradicts his statement here made, and says that this Malīk *was the first of the nobles* of the Dihlī dynasty with whom he came into contact, and that he arrived before Ūchchah with troops *fifteen* days before Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn's arrival, and that he—the author—came out of Ūchchah and went to his camp to obtain an interview with Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn on the 16th of Ṣafar, 625 H. At the bottom of the same page, however, he makes another statement, and gives 628 H as the date, and, over leaf, a different statement.

⁷ This place is not now known, and the correct pronunciation may be Ihrāwat. In some copies it is written Ahrawat, in others Ahūrat, and in one Harāwat, but it is evidently the same word, with the first letter left out by the copyist. The courses of the rivers in this tract have greatly altered since these days.

⁸ This is the meaning of the word پیش here used, but *facing* or *opposite* would be more appropriate, as, wherever the camp might have been pitched, it would have its *front*, not its rear, to the land.

⁹ In the account given of this chief, in the next Section, the vowel points are given with the word ایم. Some few copies have what appears like ایتم—but what is supposed to be, is but the end of the letter م carelessly written.

¹ He succeeded in getting possession of that stronghold by capitulation, and the dependencies at once followed.

Bhakar with orders to his Wazir, the Amir ul Mulk Husain i Ahar¹ to convey the treasure contained within the fort of Uchchah towards the fort of Bhakar. Sultan Shams ud Din pushed forward the van of his forces to the foot of the walls of Uchchah under the [two] great Mahiks at the head of those troops, one [of whom] was Malik Izz ud Din, Muhammad i Salari who was the Amir i Hajib [Lord Chamberlain] of the Court, and the other Malik Taj ud Din, Sanjar i Garlak Khan² Sultan Shams³ who was the Malik of Tabashindah. Four days after this the Sultan himself with the rest of the army, the elephants baggage and followers arrived before the walls of Uchchah and the camp was pitched⁴. The Wazir of his kingdom the Nizam ul Mulk Muhammad Junaidi and other Maliks, were then despatched towards the fort of Bhakar in pursuit of Malik [Sultan] Nafir ud Din Kabajah.

For a period of three months hostilities went on at the foot of the fortress of Uchchah and, on Tuesday the 28th⁵ of the sacred month Jamadi ul Awwal in the year 615 H⁶ that fort surrendered on terms of capitulation. Malik [Sultan] Nafir ud Din Kabajah in that same month

¹ The Tadhkirat-Nazir ul Amir Maqsim i Talhausi [of Bhakar or Bhakar] it is written both ways) in correctly style him the Nizam ul Mulk, Muhammad i son of Ahar. Amir ul Mulk, usually the eye of the State—like Nizam ul Mulk—has not a name but a title given to Wazirs. Ahar is the name of an Arab tribe of the tribes of Sindh, of which came the celebrated Mawla-i-nazir ul Amir Maqsim i Talhausi. Their followers are styled Ashghari. The Wazir came doubtless of that family. Ashghari is not correct. Compare List of Wazirs and ib. page 325.

² Or Garlak; it is written both ways.

³ "Sult ul Shamal" signifies that he was the Mamluk of Sultan Shams ud Din, Iyal timish and rose to rank in his service. A notice of him and others will be found in Section XXII.

⁴ The arrival of the Sultan upon the scene has been already mentioned above.

⁵ Some copies of the text have "one month," but it is, no doubt, incorrect; and in some the date is the 27th of the month; but in no copy is it the 29th, although some modern copies have Jamadi-ul Akhir.

⁶ The Tadhkirat Akbari, Bada'uni, Munshikh-i-Tawarikh, and some others, all mention these events as taking place in 614 H; and they are all wrong. In this case it is hardly probable that the copyists of all these works could have written 614 for 624, although one might have done so.

The Tazkarat-ul Mulk states that Kabajah's son, Malik Ali-ul Din Bahrām Shih, had concluded a peace on behalf of his father with Iyal timish and, after some days, Kabajah himself left Bhakar to return to Uchchah, when he was [accidentally] drowned.

of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, in the same year, threw himself from the walls of the fortress of Bhakar into the Panj-āb, and drowned himself. Some time previous to this, he had despatched his son, Malīk 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, to the presence of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yāl-tīmish, and, subsequently to that, the treasures and the remainder of the followers of Malīk [Sultān] Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Kabā-jah, reached the presence of the Court, the Asylum of the World.

That country [Sind], as far as the shore of the ocean, was acquired, and Malīk Sīnān-ud-Dīn, Chatī-sar [or Jatī-sar],⁸

⁸ The three oldest and best copies of the text have Chatī-sar—چترسار—and Jatī-sar—جترسار—respectively. Of the other copies, taking the best in rotation, one has چسر—which is evidently intended for one of the two former, because the three points, which look like that of چ—are intended to mark س—thus س—in distinction to ش—and to prevent it being mistaken for the latter letter, another has جس—جیس—and the rest حش—which has been read as Habash, which means an Abyssinian. The Sūnrahs were, however, not Africans, but of Rāj-pūt descent. Alfī has حسر—but not very distinct, and Jūmī'-ut-Tawīrīk has حسر without points.

who was Wali [ruler] of Dlwai presented himself at the Shamsi Court and when the blessed mind of that monarch became disengaged through the successes [gained] in that territory he turned his face towards the sublime seat of government the city of Dihli.

The author of this book and writer of these pages gained the presence of the sublime Court of that monarch of the orthodox on the first day that the royal camp was pitched before the walls of the fort of Uchchlah* and having found favour in his sacred sight when the royal camp moved back again from before the walls of Uchchlah the author was directed to deliver discourses within the enclosure of the sublime tents and in association with the victorious retinue of that beneficent sovereign he arrived at the city of Dihli in the month of Ramazan 6511.

At this time, emissaries from the Khalifah's Court, bearing honours rich and ample, had reached the limits of Nāg-awr, and, on Monday, the 22nd of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 626 H, they reached the Capital² The city was decorated [for the occasion]³ and this sovereign, and the Maliks, his sons—may they rest in peace!—and other Maliks, his suite, and Slaves likewise, were honoured through this act of policy [on the part] of the Khalifah's Court

After so much festivity and rejoicing, in the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, of the before-mentioned year [626 H]⁴,

were taken possession of with Sīwastān and Lūk, as far as the shores of the ocean, and that the Khuṭbah was read for the Sultān, and the coin was stamped with his titles and name through *all* the countries of Hindūstān [!], and in the territories of Ḳuṣḍār and Mukrān! The Wazīr, according to Mīr Ma'sūm, was left in charge of the government of Sīnd, and remained in that country up to the year 630 H, when he returned to Court, leaving Nūr-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad, in charge of Sīnd

Our author, however, in his notice of Mahk Taj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gazlak Khān, who accompanied the Wazīr in his advance upon Bhakar, states that he, not the Wazīr, was left in charge of the newly-acquired territory, and he is, doubtless, correct The Wazīr had other duties to perform, and Mīr Ma'sūm has evidently mistaken the one for the other

No doubt the new governor extended the Shamsī authority in those parts, but it was very temporary, and ceased almost with the reign of I-yal-tīmish Lūk is the place referred to at page 200, and has no connexion either with the town, district, or mountains of Lakkī in Sīnd There is, I think, some connexion between the Lak tribe of Kurds, at that time, and subsequently, located in the southern part of Sijistān, and Kirmān, mentioned at page 317, note⁵

² Budā'ūnī, who differs from all other writers, here, and contrary to the work of his patron, says these were 'Arab envoys from Mīsr, bearing with them a dress of honour and honorary titles [a diploma conveying them], but the 'Abbāsī Khalifah of Baghdād, not of Mīsr, was the sender—the Khalifah, Abū Ja'far-i-Manṣūr, entitled Al-Mustansir B'illah, the 36th 'Abbāsī—the Ubaidī Ismā'īlī Khulāfat of Mīsr terminated in 567 H

³ When the inhabitants of eastern cities are ordered to decorate their houses on the occasion of rejoicings such as above indicated, the tradespeople, in particular, deck out their shops by hanging out rich shawls, brocades, fine dresses, all kinds of costly articles of merchandize, and even the ornaments and trinkets of their women. Lamps and flags, attached to cords, are drawn across the streets, and the doors and lower parts of private dwellings painted in the gayest colours procurable The Ṭabakāt-i Akbarī, followed by Firūhtah and others, says Kubbahs—arches, domes, &c.—were erected on this joyful occasion

According to the translation of this passage in our author in ELLIOT, vol. II page 326, the city was only "*adorned with their presence*," but the printed text, in this instance, is quite correct, and, like the other copies of the text, has أُكْتُبَ which means "to prepare," "to adorn," and the like

⁴ Several copies of the text, including the printed text, with but two exceptions, have كَلَمَت—dress of honour—for حَدَمَت—service, also action, pro

the Khalj, rebelled in the territory of Lakhanawatī Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn led the contingents of Hindūstān into that country, and, in the year 628 H, that rebel was secured. The Sultān conferred the throne of Lakhanawatī upon Malīk 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī,—on whom be peace!—and, in the month

the list at the end of this reign, is styled Malīk Ikhṭiyār-ud-Dīn, Daulat Shah-ī-Balkā, Malīk of Lakhanawatī—he set out on his return to the capital, Dīhlī, and, on the way, received intimation that, through the decease of Malīk Tāy-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-ī-GAZ-LAK Khān, at Ūchchah, that province and its dependencies had been conferred upon him. Then he says, that, after the decease of the son of I-yal-timīsh, and that sovereign's proceeding himself into Lakhanawatī to suppress the outbreak of Balkā, the Khalj, he conferred the throne of Lakhanawatī upon Malīk 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī [the same who is styled, in the list at the end of this reign, "Shāh-zādah of Turkistān"], and that, on his removal from or loss of that dignity—but no date is given—Malīk Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-ī-Yughān-Tat, got it. He greatly distinguished himself in those parts, and, on one occasion, captured a number of elephants in the territory of Bang, which he despatched to Dīhlī. For this affair he received the title of Yughān-Tat. He held the government until 631 H, when he died in Lakhanawatī. On his death, Malīk 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Tughrīl-ī-Tughān Khān, was made governor of Lakhanawatī, and there he was at the time of I-yal-timīsh's death, after which events arose which I shall have to refer to subsequently, but, I may mention that, up to this time, the territory on both sides the Gang was not under his authority, and that he only held the Barindah side.

I will now state what other writers say on this subject. After Sultān Ghiyāsh-ud-Dīn, 'Iwāz, was put to death by Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, son of I-yal-timīsh, the former's son, styled Nāsir-ud-Dīn-ī 'Iwāz, by some, and Husām-ud-Dīn-ī 'Iwāz, by others, but these latter no doubt mean Balkā Malīk, the son of Husām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwāz, which was the father's name before he took the title of Sultān Ghiyāsh-ud-Dīn [see page 580], assumed the sovereignty over his father's dominions, and held it some time, and, after the death of Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, who held mere nominal authority over Lakhanawatī for one year, and, according to the Gaur MS, and Jāmī'-ut-Tawārīkh [not Rashīd-ud-Dīn's], from 618 H to 619 H, although both those works state that he died in 626 H, affairs assumed such an aspect that I-yal-timīsh had to march into that country with the forces of Hindūstān "to quell the sedition." No particulars are given respecting these operations, nor is the fate of Balkā Malīk mentioned, but, as most writers state that he fell into the power of I-yal-timīsh, his fate may well be supposed.

Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh, in one place, says I-yal-timīsh entered the Lakhanawatī territory in 627 H, and, in another place, that, in 628 H, he succeeded in taking the son of Husām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwāz, after which he gave the throne to 'Izz-ul-Mulūk, Malīk 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, and, in this, other writers agree.

The Jāmī'-ut-Tawārīkh, as well as Zubdat, says that 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, reigned for three years and some months, but the former and the Gaur MS have "from 620 H to 623 H." Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-ī-Yughān-Tat, succeeded, on the removal of 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, and ruled up to the time of his death, which happened in 631 H, but the Gaur MS says he ruled nine years—from 624 H to 632 H—till he died. Malīk 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Tughrīl-ī-Tughān Khān, succeeded, and held the government for nearly fourteen years. Further mention of the feudatories of this province will be found in the next Section.

prayers, prescribed for the festivals, were said, in which number of places, on the greater festival of Uzḥā, this servant of the state, who is Minhāj-i-Sarāj, was commanded to read the Khuṭbah for the Uzḥā festival, and the appointed prayers, at a spot opposite the northern face of the fortress of Gwāliyūr¹, on which side the town is, and he was honoured with the presentation of a valuable dress of honour

The fortress was kept under investment, until Tuesday, the 26th of the month Ṣafar, 630 H, when the stronghold of Gwāliyūr was acquired. During the night, the accursed Mangal Dīw evacuated the fort and fled, and about seven hundred Gabrs² were directed to be brought to public execution before the entrance of the sublime pavilion. After that, Amīrs and eminent men were appointed [to different offices]. To the Majd-ul-Umrā, Ziyā-ud-Dīn, Junaidī, the Sultān gave the office of Amīr-i-Dād, the Sīpah-Sālār [Commander of Troops], Rashīd-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, was directed to assume the office of Seneschal, and the Maulānā, the writer of this book, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, was nominated to the offices of Kāzī, Khatīb, and Imām, and appointed to preside over all matters of the law, and a rich dress of honour, and an ample present, were conferred upon him³. May the Most High God become the sustainer of the purified soul and fragrant body of that victorious, beneficent, and just sovereign, and patron of the enlightened! On the 2nd of the month, Rabi'-ul-Ākḥir, of this same year⁴, the Sultān withdrew from before the fortress of Gwāliyūr, and placed the camp at about the distance of a league from the foot of the walls in the direction of Dihlī, the capital, and, at that

'Īd-i-Fitr, and the Uzḥā is on the tenth day of the last month of the Muhammadan year, in commemoration of Ibrāhīm's offering up his son Ismā'il, who, according to their creed, was offered and not Ishāq.

¹ Compare ELLIOT, vol II page 327. Our author, as there stated, could scarcely have repeated prayers "*at the fort of Gwalior on the northern side*" before the fort was taken. The town is situated to the N W of the fortress.

² The word used is Gabrs, not "*persons*," and does not necessarily refer to Pārsīs, but is here applied to infidels or pagans, and, therefore, an essay on "Fire-Worship" in these parts is wholly unnecessary. Some writers say 300 Gabrs, but the printed text has 800.

³ Compare ELLIOT.

⁴ In this year, 630 H, I-yāl-timīsh purchased Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, Balbān, who, subsequently, in the year 664 H, succeeded this Sultān's son on the throne of Dihlī.

Sultān led the hosts of Islām towards Mālwah, and took the fortress and town [or city] of Bhīlsān, and demolished the idol-temple which took three hundred years in building, and which, in altitude, was about one hundred ells. From thence he advanced to Ujjain-Nagarī, and destroyed the idol-temple of Mahā-kāl Dīw. The effigy of Bikramajit who was sovereign of Ujjain-Nagarī, and from whose reign to the present time one thousand, three hundred⁷, and sixteen years have elapsed, and from whose reign they date the Hindū-ī era, together with other effigies besides his,

of Dihlī, but to have been founded by him also. The word Kuṭb was quite sufficient *proof* in their imaginations, but it is totally incorrect. The minārah is styled the LĀTH OF KUTB ṢĀHIB, after a celebrated Muhammadan saint, Khwājah Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Bakht-yār, Kākī, the Ushī [native of Ush near Baghdād], whom the Afghāns claim as their peculiar saint by the title of "the Afghān Kuṭb or Pole," the reason for which does not appear, but he probably resided for a time in the Afghān country. He came into Hind, and, first, proceeded to Multān during the reign of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Kabā-jah. Subsequently, he went to Dihlī. Such was his sanctity and the veneration in which he was held, that Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timīsh, himself, came forth from the city to receive him and do him reverence, and accompanied him into Dihlī. The Khwājah, however, took up his residence at Gilū-kharī on account of the scarcity of water in the city. When Shaikh Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Buṣṭāmī, who was the Shaikh-ul-Islām, died, I-yal-timīsh wished him to take that office, but the Kuṭb-i-Afghān declined it. He died on the 24th of the month of Rabī'ul-Awwal, 633 H. See the Mir'āt-ul-Afaghānah, Makḥzan Afghānī and Tārīkh-i-Murassa' [Puṣhto] of Afzal Khān, Khatak. Dorn, in his translation of Ni'mat-Ullah's work [Part II, pages 2—57], gives 603 H as the date of his death, but, in a note, says he thinks the number *ten* has been left out, but it was *thirty*, not ten. The correct date is 633 H.

It may be asked, How is it that the name of Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, is inscribed on the minārah, and certain dates recorded? to which the very natural reply may be given, that gratitude led I-yal-timīsh to record, on the monument of his erection, the name of his own master, benefactor, and father-in-law. The first date, 589 H, refers to the occupation of Dihlī as the Muhammadan capital, the second, 592 H, to the foundation, probably, of the Kuṭbī *masjid*, the third date, 594 H, to its completion, and the fourth, 629 H, evidently refers to the year in which I-yal-timīsh founded the MINĀRAH OF KUTB ṢĀHIB.

The insertion of the name of Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, Muḥammad-i-Sām, as the Sultān-us Salāṭīn or Lord Paramount at the time of the conquest, is also natural, but it is passing strange—if the copy of the inscription as given by Thomas [PATHĀN KINGS, pages 21-22] is correct—that the name of his brother—Mu'izz-ud-Dīn—the conqueror of Rāe Pithorā, and establisher of the Muhammadan rule at Dihlī, should be *left out*. I cannot but think that the inscription is not correctly given. See also APPENDIX A, pages iv and v.

A writer in the BENGAL ASIATIC JOURNAL, vol. xx., page 353, many years back, endeavoured to correct the great error I have referred to. He says — "The Qotb Minār has not its name from Qotb(aldyn) Aybak as Ritter supposes, but from the *Saint*—Qotb aldyn Baktyar Kākī who is buried not far from it." See also note ², page 658.

⁷ In some copies two hundred

which were formed of molten brass, together with the stone [idol] of Mahā Kāl were carried away to Dihlī the capital.

In the year 633 H., the Sultan led the forces of Hindūcān towards Bānīn [or Bānyān] and during that march, weakness overtaken his blessed person and, when through bodily affliction he came back from thence, on Wednesday, the first of the month Shāban early in the forenoon, the time chosen by the Astrologers, seated in a covered litter* he entered the capital of his Kingdom the illustrious city of Dihlī. After nineteen days his illness having increased on Monday the 20th of Shāban† in the year 633 H., he was removed from the abode of mortality to the everlasting mansion‡. His reign extended to a period of twenty-six years. God only, know his understanding!

Titles and names of the Sultān

US-SULTĀN-UL-MU'AZZAM,

SHAMS-UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DĪN,

ABŪ-L-MUẒAFFAR, I-YAL-TIMISH,

NĀṢIR-I-AMĪR-UL-MŪMINĪN³

heretics on the congregation in the great *masjid* in the year 634 H. under the reign of Rāḡiyat, it is strange that he is silent about the attack by the same heretics on Sultān I-yal-timish, which is related by other writers. I-yal-timish, who was considered a pattern of orthodoxy, and a most pious and God-fearing ruler, was in the habit of going, without any ostentation, to the great *masjid* on the Musalmān sabbath to say his prayers along with the congregation, and to listen to the Imām's discourse. The Mulhids of Dihlī, aware of his custom, plotted to take his life; and a body of them armed, whilst the people of the congregation were occupied in their own devotions, flocked into the *masjid*, drew their swords, and attempted to reach the place where the Sultān was, and martyred several persons in so doing. The Sultān, however, succeeded in getting safely away, although the Mulhids endeavoured to follow him. The people now crowded the roofs and walls and gate-ways of the *masjid*, and with arrows, bricks, and stones, annihilated the heretics. I-yal-timish is said to have afterwards put a number of this sect to the sword in revenge for this attempt upon his life.

³ In the work I have before referred to the following is said to have been the inscription on one of I-yal-timish's early coins,

Reverse—سر خدا ديار محفرت دملی سد اثنا عشر و ستایق
Obverse—قمع الکفر و الصلاة سلطان ممش الدین خلوص احد

according to which 612 H. was the *first* of his reign. The inscriptions may be thus rendered.—Reverse.—“This Dīnār [was] struck in the capital [city] Dihlī, in the year 612.” Obverse.—“The Destroyer of paganism and error, Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, in the first [year] of his reign.” Budā'ūnī says his title was Yamīn-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn, but this is only one of the many titles given him by our author. See note 4, page 597, and note 3, page 614.

Offspring

Sultān Raḡīyyat.
 Sultān Muḡizz ud Dīn Bahram Shāh
 [Malik] Kuṡb-ud Dīn Muḡammad
 Malik Jalil ud Dīn, Masūd Shāh
 Malik Shihab-ud Dīn Muḡammad
 Sultān Nāṣir ud Dīn, Maḡmūd Shāh of Lakhnawāḡ
 Sultān Rukn ud Dīn, Firūz Shāh
 Sultān Naṣir ud Dīn Maḡmūd Shāh
 Malik [Sultān] Ghuyāṡ-ud Dīn, Muḡammad Shāh
 Sultān Ala ud Dīn Masūd Shāh son of Rukn ud Dīn
 Firūz Shāh.

Length of his reign —

Twenty six years.

Advis of His Court

Kaḡl Saḡd ud Dīn, Girdāḡil.
 Kaḡl Jalil ud Dīn, Gharnawl.
 Kaḡl Naṣir ud Dīn, Kasill.
 Kaḡl Kabir ud Dīn, Kaḡl of the Army

Heir of the Kingdom

The Nīrām ul Mulk Kamal ud Dīn [Muḡammad ?]
 I Abū Saḡid Junaidi

Standards

On the right Black On the left Red

Motto on his august signet

‘ Greatness appertaineth unto God alone ‘”

Capital of his Kingdom

The city of Dihli

*His Maliks**

Malik Firūz, I yal timūsh the Sālar Shāh zadah [Prince]
 of Khwarazm*

* Or “Greatness belongs to God” [is exclusively His attribute]. Qur’ān: chap. 45 verse 36.

* These names are only contained in a few copies of the text, and do not agree in all points. The above are contained in the two oldest copies, and the others agree except where otherwise mentioned.

* This is the person mentioned at page 109, but he should be more correctly styled Malik zādah as he was not a Prince, but merely connected, on the mother’s side, with the Khwarazmī Sultān, Muḡammad, father of Jalil-ud

Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, Shāh-zādah [Prince] of Tur-kistān

Malik Ḳuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, son of Abī 'Alī, Malik of Ghūr⁷

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz⁸.

Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān

Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Daulat Shāh-i-Balkā, son of Ḥusām-ud-Dīn, 'Iwaz, Khaljī, Malik of Lakhnawati⁹

Malik-ul-Umrā, Iftikhār-ud-Dīn, Amīr of Karah

Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Ḥamzah-i-'Abd-ul-Malik

Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Būlād [Pūlād]-i-Nāsirī

The Malik of Ghūr, Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Mādīnī, Shansabānī

Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Mardān Shāh, Muhammad-i-Chā-ūsh [the Pursuivant]¹

Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn of Bindār [or Pindār], the Chā-ūsh.

Malik Nāsir-ud-Dīn-i-Tughān, Feoffee of Budā'ūn²

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Tughrīl, Ḳuṭbī [Bahā-ī]

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Bakht-yār, the Khalj³

Dīn. After the Ghūrīs took Nīshāpūr in 596 H [see page 380], he came into Hindūstān with his cousin, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Bināl-Tigīn, afterwards ruler of Nīmroz of Sijistān. See pages 199—202

⁷ The same who commanded the right wing of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Utsuz's, army when that ruler of Ghūr lost his life. See page 416 He is called Ḥasan in some copies of the text in this place. He was not Malik of Ghūr but one of the Ghūrīān Maliks. He is mentioned many times in this work

The best Paris copy and the I O L MS No 1952, which generally agree, have, after the above, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Sālār-i-Harabī Mīhdī, which name is again mentioned in the List preceding the reign of Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Muḥmud Shāh, farther on.

⁸ Instead of this name, in the Paris copy, comes Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn-i-'Abd-ul-Jalīl, brother's son of Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Amīr-i-Koh [Kārah?], while the I O L MS has Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, brother's son of the Malik-ul-Umrā, Iftikhār-ud-Dīn, Amīr-i-Koh

⁹ In two copies styled Ī-rān Shāh-i-Balkā, the Khalj

¹ In one copy, Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Harīṣ-i-Mardān Shāh, and Mīrān Shāh, and, in another, as two different persons Chā-ūsh has probably been read by the copyist as Harīṣ, but, in another, Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Mīrān Shāh, son of Muhammad-i-Chā-ūsh, Khaljī

² This must be meant for Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Tughrīl-i-Tughān Khān, who held the fief of Budā'ūn in 630 H

³ This is a specimen of the dependence we can place on our author's names and statements. If he refers here to the conqueror of Bihār and Lakhnawati, he was *dead five years before* I-yal-timīsh was raised to the throne, in fact, before I-yal-timīsh's former master received his manumission. The word Khalj occurs in every copy containing these names, with the exception of one, which

Malik Karā Sunḡar : Naḡir

Malik Naḡir ud Dīn, Arḡṡum : Bahā'ī

Malik Aḡid ud Dīn Tez Ḥḡīn : Kuḡbi

Malik Husam ud Dīn Aḡḡūl Bak Malik of Awadh*

*Malik Izz ud Dīn All Nāḡawrī Siwalikhl

Letters and Conquests.

Budīn Banaras and defeat of Kāc Man* fortress of Rantabhūr [or Ranthabhūr] Jalor victory over Taj ud Dīn Yal-dūz and taking him prisoner occupation of Lohor victory over the hostile Amirs in front of the Bāgh : Jūd [the Jūd Garden] Tabarhindah Sursutl Kubrīm victory over Naḡir ud Dīn Kabājih* subjugation of Lalhanawatl and its territory taking of Kinnauj i Shēr-qash Lalchir or Alchir* [?] Tirhut Gwalizūr Dandarih Gūyah [or Kūyah] and* Sialkot Janjer [?] and Mūndādah or Mūdah* [?] Ajmir Bihar occupation of the

fort of Bhakar, Ūchchah and Multān, Sīwastān, Dībal, fort of Thankīr, fort of Bhilsān, Mālwah and the expedition against the unbelievers and extortion of tribute, fort of Ujjain-Nagarī and bringing away of the idol of Mahā-kāl, which they have planted before the gateway of the *Fāmī' Masjid* at the capital city of Dihlī in order that all true believers might tread upon it².

II MALIK-US-SA'ID, NĀṢIR-UD-DĪN, MAḤMŪD SHĀH, *SON OF SULTĀN SHAMS-UD-DĪN, I-YAL-TIMISH.

Malik Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, was the eldest son of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, and he was a beneficent, intelligent, sensible, and sagacious Prince³, and was endowed with great energy and gallantry, and was munificent, and benevolent

The first fief which the Sultān conferred upon him was the district of Hānsī⁴, and, after a considerable time, in the year 623 H, the territory of Awadh was entrusted to his charge. In that country that Prince performed numerous commendable actions, and carried on holy war, as by the tenets of the faith enjoined, so that his praise for manliness and boldness became diffused throughout the area of Hindūstān

The accursed Bartū [or Britū], beneath whose sword above a hundred and twenty thousand Musalmāns had

² One copy of the text, not one of the oldest three, but a good copy, has Jāj-nagar here entered as one of the victories or conquests!

The greater number of the above so-called victories and conquests are not even *mentioned* in the reign of I-yal-timish, and several of those that are were effected by his Maliks, but neither these nor the remainder are all mentioned in the account given of their lives. What our author often calls a victory may be judged of from the mention of Kuhrām, Budā'un [which I-yal-timish held the fief of], Kinnau, and several other places, which were taken in Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's reign either by himself, or Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak.

³ Our author styles him "Bādshāh," which signifies a prince, as well as a king. If he had any claims to be accounted a "sovereign," beyond the assignment to him of a canopy of state by his father, he should have been included among the kings of Lakhanawatī, or styled sovereign of Awadh, for he never reigned at the capital, Dihlī. His "reigning" over Lakhanawatī may be judged of from note⁵, page 617. He never coined money in his own name.

⁴ The Tāj-ul-Ma'āṣir says Lahor was his first fief. See also note⁴, page 532.

attained martyrdom* he overthrew and sent to Hell and the refractory infidels, who were in different parts of the country of Awadh he reduced and overcame and brought a considerable number under obedience.

From Awadh he resolved to march into Lakhnawatl, and the forces of Hindūstan[†] by command of the Sulṭān in his father were nominated to serve under him and Malik[‡] of renown such as Pulān[§] and Malik Alā ud Dīn Janī all of them proceeded towards Lakhnawatl in attendance on him Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn Iwāz the Khālī had marched forces from Lakhnawatl with the intention of [entering] the territory of Ilāṣ and had left his head quarters empty [of defenders] When the august Malik Nāṣir ud Dīn 'Ishāmūd Shāh reached that territory with his forces the fortress of Ilāṣ and the city of Lakhnawatl fell into his hands.

When the news reached Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn Iwāz the Khālī he set out for Lakhnawatl from the place where he then was Malik Nāṣir ud Dīn 'Ishāmūd Shāh, with his forces proceeded against him and defeated him and captured Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, Iwāz, with all his kinsmen and the Khālī Amir his treasures and elephants[¶] He had Sulṭān Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn Iwāz put to death, and appropriated his treasures. From Lakhnawatl Malik Nāṣir ud Dīn 'Ishāmūd Shāh sent sums of money in the shape of presents to all the Ulama the Sayyids devotees, recluses and pious men of the capital Dihlī and other cities and towns. When the dresses of distinction from Baghdad the capital of the Khilāfat reached the presence

* Who this Hindū chief was we have no means of discovering. I fear as other subsequent writers do not notice these events at all. He is styled in some of the best copies as above which I probably meant for Prithu—*پریو*—but, in others, the word is written *پریو*—which may be Harīsh, Harīsh, or Harīshah, &c., but *پ* is often written for *پ* by copyists.

† By the "forces of Hindūstan" are meant the contingents of the feudal states east of the Jūn and Gang. The word Hindūṭān I used by our author with reference to the Antarbah Do-Abah generally but, sometimes, to the tracts east of the Gang as well.

‡ In some copies of the text *پریو*, *پریو* and *پریو*. The best copies are as above but no such person is mentioned anywhere in the whole work, and I think it may be the nick-name of some chief, who might be recognized under his right name unless it refers to the tenth in the List page 626.

These events, and those which followed have been detailed at length in note [†] page 617.

of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, from among them he selected one dress of great value and despatched it to Lakhanawatī along with a red canopy of state, and Malīk Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, became exalted by [the bestowal of] that canopy of state, the dress of honour, and great distinction

All the Malīks and grandees of the kingdom of Hind had their eyes upon him, that he would be the heir to the Shamsī dominions, but the decree of destiny, according to [the saying]—"Man proposes, but God disposes"⁹—harmonizes not with human conceptions¹ A year and a half afterwards, his sacred person became afflicted with disease and weakness, and he died¹ When the news of his decease reached the capital [city of] Dihlī, all the people manifested great grief thereat May Almighty God make the Sultān of Islām, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, as he is the heir to his name and title, the heir, during his lifetime, of the whole of the Malīks and Sultāns of that dynāsty, for the sake of His prophet and the whole of his posterity!

III SULTĀN RUKN-UD-DĪN, FĪRŪZ SHĀH², SON OF THE SULTĀN [I-YAL-TIMISH]

Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, was a beneficent sovereign, of handsome exterior, was endowed with gentleness and humanity to perfection, and in bountifulness and liberality he was a second Hātīm

His mother, Shāh Turkān³, was a Turkish hand-maid, and the head [woman] of all the Sultān's *haram*, and

⁹ "L'homme propose, mais Dieu dispose"

¹ He died in 626 H Our author, subsequently, refers to him as the "martyred" Malīk. [ملك شهيد an error, probably, for ملك معبد—august Malīk], at least such are the words in the various copies of the text, but *why* he does not say, neither does he state how or where he died. Subsequent writers who depended upon our author for information dismiss this Prince in a few words, but Firūzshah states that he died in or at Lakhanawatī, but this, like a good many more of his statements, requires confirmation.

- In the work I have previously referred to, the following is given as the inscription on the first coins of this monarch —

Reverse—تخت را چون گذاشت شمس الدین پای او روی نشرد رکن الدین

Obverse—فر دهلې خلوس ميمت مانوس احد مطابق ۶۳۳ هجرى

which may be thus rendered —Reverse —"The throne when left by Shams-ud-Dīn, his foot thereon placed Rukn-ud-Dīn" Obverse —"Comed at Dihlī in the first year of his reign with prosperity associated, 633 H"

³ In some copies styled "Khudāwanda-i-Jahān, Shāh Turkān"

great was the bounty, benevolence and charity, of that Malīk^h towards Ulama, Sayyids, priests and recluses.

In the year 6511^h Sulṭān Kūkn ud Dīn Firūz Shāh obtained the sief of Budāūn and a green canopy of state and the Ain ul Mull Husain i Ashṭarl who was [had been?] Wazir of Malīk. [Sulṭān] Naṣir ud Dīn Kabājah, at this time, became the Wazir^h of Sulṭān Kūkn ud Dīn Firūz Shāh.

When Sulṭān Shams ud Dīn returned to the capital Dihlī from Gwalhyūr after the capture of that fortress and country the territory of Lohor which had been the seat of government of the Khurau Malīkī^h [dynasty] was conferred upon Sulṭān Kūkn ud Dīn Firūz Shāh and on Sulṭān Shams-ud Dīn's return from his last expedition from the river Sind and Banlān he brought along with him, to the capital his son Rukn ud Dīn Firūz Shāh, for the people had their eyes upon him since after [the late] Malīk Naṣir ud Dīn Iḥmūd Shāh he was the eldest of Sulṭān Shams ud Dīn's sons.

When that august Sulṭān passed from the kingdom of this world to the throne of the world to come the Malīks and grandees of the kingdom by agreement seated Kūkn

ud-Dīn upon the throne, on Tuesday, the 21st of the month Shā'bān, 633 H¹, and the diadem and throne acquired beauty and splendour from his dignity², and excellence, and elegance, and all rejoiced at his accession, and donned honorary dresses [to testify their joy]

When the different Maliks returned³ from the capital [to their various posts], Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, opened the door of his treasures, and gave himself up to pleasure, and began to expend, in the most profuse fashion, the funds of the Bait-ul-Māl⁴ in an improper manner. Such was his excessive appetite for pleasure and sensual enjoyments, that the business of the country, the concerns of the state, and the regulation of the affairs of the kingdom fell into a state of disorder and confusion, and his mother, Shāh Turkān, began to assume the decision and disposal of state affairs, and used to issue [her] commands. Perhaps it was by reason of this, that, during the lifetime of the august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn, she had experienced envy and jealousy on the part of [some of the] other ladies of the *haram*⁵, that she [now] brought misfortune upon that party among the inmates of the *haram*, and, by tyranny and cruelty, destroyed several of them. The minds of men in authority became troubled at their [the mother's

¹ Two copies of the text, one an old one, have Tuesday, the 29th of Shā'bān. Tabaḳāt-i-Akbarī has Saturday, 633 H, without date or month, and, of course, Firāghat has the same.

² Their joy was soon turned into grief. His dignified behaviour, and the "adornment and splendour" the crown and throne derived from him is related farther on.

³ When they "returned home," ELLIOT vol. II. page 330. The original is مراجعة نمودند—there is not a word of *home*—a word unknown in the East.

⁴ See note ⁵, page 62.

⁵ She, on the contrary, envied and was jealous of the others through their having taken her place. No sooner did she obtain an opportunity than she had the noble women—free-born women—who had been married to the late Sultān, put to death with much degradation, and the other Turkish concubines—women held in esteem by I-yal-timish—she treated with great ignominy, and wreaked upon them retribution for many years of envy and jealousy which she had nourished towards them. Our author's own words respecting her, farther on, contradict this statement as to her benevolence, unless charity towards recluses and the like—in his opinion—covered the multitude of her sins.

There is no authority whatever beyond what our author says here for styling this concubine "Queen Mother," and, at page 638, he himself says, Raziyyat's mother was the *chief wife* of I-yal-timish. See Thomas PATHÁN KINGS, page 105, and Elliot INDIA, vol. II. page 330.

and sons] conduct, and in the face of all these acts, they caused a son of the [late] Sultān who was styled *Kaush-ud Dīn** and a youth of great worth and promise by their directions to be deprived of the sight of both eyes and afterwards had him put to death. From these causes the hostility of the Malīk in different part began to be manifested.

Malik Ghiyas ud Dīn Muḥammad Shāh† son of Sultān Shams ud Dīn who was younger in years than Rukn ud Dīn Ibrūz Shāh, displayed his hostility in Awarāḥ, and took possession of the whole of the treasure of Lakhana-wāḥ which was being conveyed to the capital and after that sacked and plundered several of the towns of Hindū-
stan. Malik Izz ud Dīn Muḥammad Salūr who was the feudatory of Budaun broke out into rebellion and, in another direction Malik Izz ud Dīn Kabīr Khān‡ Aḥīz scoffee of Multān Malik Saif ud Dīn Kūjl, who was feu-

* The younger of Shams-ud Dīn Iyāz-un-niḥ was, quite a child, by another name Malik Saif-ud Dīn Iyāz-ud-Dīn, was feudatory of Cutch which was Sultan Iyāz-un-niḥ's territory. When Rukn-ud Dīn Ibrūz Shāh and Malik were warring together Malik Saif-ud Dīn Iyāz-ud-Dīn, being a feudatory of Multān, advanced into the Punjab and appeared before Multān. Saif-ud Dīn Iyāz-ud-Dīn marched out of Cutch, but he was a feeble and idle and overthrew him. This was a great victory, as at the death of Iyāz-un-niḥ, Multān had sprung up in alliance with the Sultan of Delhi. The date of the victory must have been at the end of 633 H. or early in 634 H. In the former year Malik Iyāz-ud Dīn had begun to collect money from his Ghazāl, Kāpū, and Bāḥā.

† What became of him is not known. He was probably put to death. Malik Saif-ud Dīn, Tāj-ud-Dīn, was put in charge of the city of Awarāḥ by Sultan Rājyāt.

‡ At this period the feudatories of Lakhana-wāḥ and Lakhna-ur were contending together and the latter was defeated and slain by the former and his fief seized. See next Section.

* In the account of him, in next Section, our author says he was removed from Multān by Sultan Ḥakīm-ud Dīn, Ibrūz Shāh, and the fief of *Sind* was conferred upon him in stead of Multān.

† Ibrīshah, according to the revised text "by Ibrīshah and Munchi Mirkheirat Ali Khān," makes a terrible mess of the names of persons here [Ibrīshah, of course, is sufficiently ridiculous in this matter and makes them totally unintelligible] although he had the *Tabaḥṣṣūt-i Akhbar* in which they are pretty correct, to copy from. He could not have taken them from our author's work. For example; Salār is turned into Salār Ali-ud Dīn, Jānī is turned into Sher Khān and Kabīr Khān into Kabīr Khānī—with the *ya* and *nishat* signifying of or relating to a Khān, Khān-āfī &c. as if they were merely officers or slaves of a Sher Khān and a Kabīr Khān, instead of the words being their own titles; and, in the same work, the word *ya* as in Izz-ud Dīn, is invariably turned into *ya*!

datory of Hānsī, and Malīk 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, who held the fief of Lohor, united together, and began to act with hostility and contumacy⁹ Sultān Rūkn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, with the determination of coercing them, moved an army from the capital The Wazīr of the kingdom, the Nizām-ul-Mulk, Muhammad, Junaidī¹, became frightened, and fled from Gīlū-kharī², and retired towards Kol, and from thence joined Malīk 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Sālārī, and both of them joined Malīk Jānī and Malīk Kūjī

Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, led his army towards Kuhrām The Turk Amīrs and the slaves of the household, who were serving with the centre [the contingents forming the centre]³, followed the example, and, in the

⁹ Another writer says, that 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, feudatory of Multān, was incited to usurp the sovereignty of Dihlī, and was advancing for the purpose, but, before he could reach Kuhrām, the other nobles seized Rukn ud-Dīn, and set up his sister Malīk Ikhtiyār-ud Dīn, Yūz-Bak-i-Tughrīl Khān, who then held the office of Amīr-i-Majlis, was also concerned in this outbreak, but the ringleader appears to have been Malīk 'Izz ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, whose contumacy was continual

¹ Styled Kāmal-ud-Dīn, [Muḥammad] 1 Abū-Sā'id, Junaidī, in the list at the end of Sultān Shams-ud Dīn's reign, page 625

² Firishtah's text makes him "advance" to Gīlū-kharī, as if it were a place many miles away, instead of being a suburb of the capital, Dihlī

گیلوکھری—One of the many new "cities," so called, adjoining and included in the name of Dihlī, but more correctly a new suburb It has been generally stated by Muḥammadan writers, that it was founded by Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Kai-Kubād, in 686 H, but that cannot be correct from what our author says in his account of Ulugh Khān farther on, where he styles it "the Shahr-i-Nau of Gīlū kharī" When it was founded "the river Jūn or Jaman flowed close under its walls, but now the river is some two *kuroh* to the east of it The tomb of the venerated Musalmān saint, Shāh Nizām-ud-Dīn, the Budā'ūnī, is situated in Gīlū-kharī "

³ Compare ELLIOT vol. II. page 331 We have so little information respecting the organization of the Dihlī armies before the time of the Mughal emperors that it is difficult to understand what is really meant here, as well as in several other places, by the mere word "*kalb*" All the Musalmān armies appear to have been arranged in the field, after one and the same fashion—a centre, which was the king's post, a right and left wing, an advance guard or van, supports, &c. The 'Arabic word *kalb* signifies "heart, soul, kernel, marrow, middle," &c, and, with respect to an army, the "centre," which, according to the arrangement above-mentioned, would be perfectly intelligible with regard to an army in the field, but here might be understood, by the reader, as if the centre division of a *corps d'armée*, under a regular military organization, was stationed at Dihlī, which is not the case, but, from what I gather from the Tārīkh-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, and other works, it evidently refers to the contingents which formed the *kalb* or centre of the Dihlī forces when in the field These contingents were furnished by numerous feudatories,

vicinity of Mansūr pūr and Tarāin¹ they martyred the Taj ul Mulk Mahmūd the Dabir [Secretary]² the son of the Muḥsinī Mamlūk³ and Bahā ud Din Ḥasan [Ḥusain]⁴ ; Ashraf Karīm ud Din I Zahid [the hermit] Ziyā ul Mulk [ud Din]⁵ the son of the Nizām ul Mulk Muḥammad Iḥsānī Nizām ud Din Shāfūrkhān⁶ the Khwājā Kashf ud Din Mulkānī Amir Iḥṣān ud Din the Dabir [Secretary] and a number of other Tājik officials⁷ and, in the month of Rabīʿ ul Awwal, in the year 634 H. Sulṭān Farīdāt who was the eldest daughter⁸ of Sulṭān Shams ud Din entered upon open hostility with the mother of Sulṭān Kuln ud Din Firrūz Shāh at Dillī and he as a matter of necessity returned again towards the capital. His mother had conspired against Sulṭān Farīdāt to put

her to death. The people of the city, upon this, rose, and attacked the royal Ḳaṣr [Castle], and seized the mother of Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh.

When Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, reached the city², insurrection had [already] broken out therein, and his mother had been made prisoner. The centre contingents [of the Dihlī forces] and the Turk Amīrs all entered Dihlī and joined Sultān Rāziyyat, pledged their allegiance to her, and placed her on the throne. Having ascended the throne, she despatched a force consisting of the Turkish slaves and Amīrs to Gīlū-kharī, so that they made prisoner of Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, and brought him into the city³. He was imprisoned and confined, and, in that prison, he was received into the Almighty's mercy. This circumstance of his seizure, imprisonment, and death⁴ occurred on Sunday, the 18th of the month Rabī'-ul-Awwal, in the year 634 H, and his reign was six months and twenty-six days⁵.

Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, in munificence and liberality, was a second Hātīm, and what he did, in expending wealth, in conferring so many honorary dresses, and the superfluity of presents, no king, at any time, or in any reign, had done the like of, but his misfortune was this, that his inclinations were wholly towards buffoonery, sensuality, and diversion, and that he was entirely enslaved by dissipation and debauchery, and most of his honorary dresses and his presents were made to such people as musicians and singers, buffoons and Ganymēdes⁶. His excessive waste of money was to such degree, that, while

² Two modern copies of the text have Gīlū-kharī

³ Whilst all this was going on at Dihlī, the feudatories of Lakhanawātī and Lakhn-or were having a private war of their own. See account of Malik No. VII, in the next Section.

⁴ If all this happened in one day, it is very certain that he must have been put to death. Some copies have *قتل* instead of *مات*.

⁵ Some copies have "twenty-eight days" from the 20th of Sha'bān, 633 H, the date of I-yāl timish's decease, to the 18th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 634 H, is exactly six months and twenty-seven days.

⁶ This is the person from whose dignity and elegance "the crown and throne acquired adornment and splendour". One author states, that, during the short time he reigned, he and his mother managed to empty the treasury, and to spend all the wealth accumulated during the reign of Kutb ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, and Shams ud-Dīn, I-yāl-timish.

In a state of intoxication seated on the back of an elephant he would drive through the bazar of the city, scattering *singals* of red gold which the people in the street used to pick up, and gain advantage by. He had a passion for frolic, and for riding elephants* and the whole class of elephant drivers derived immense benefit from his riches and good nature. It was not in his nature and disposition to injure a human being and this fact was the cause of the wane of his dominion.

It is essential above all things that overrulers should have justice in order that their subjects should dwell in tranquillity and repose and that they possess beneficence so that their subjects may be satisfied and contented and revelry and merriments and companionship with the base and ignoble becomes the means of an empire's ruin. The Almighty pardon him!

RA SULTA RAZIYAT-UD-DIN RAZIYAT-UD-DIN DAUGHTER OF SULTAN RAZIYAT-UD-DIN

Sultan Raziyyat—may she rest in peace!—was a great sovereign and aacious just beneficent the patron of the learned a dispenser of justice the cherisher of her subjects, and of warlike talent* and was endowed with all the admirable attributes and qualifications necessary for kings.

* LLLI R : vol. II. page 332—He was very fond of *gimn* with and riding on elephants." Rather fourth *gimn*.

Raziyyat is a meaning less *Raziyyat** and *R* 4 mean nothing. Sultān, from *sal*, signifies to have power to rule &c.—a sovereign—and is therefore equally applicable to a female as a male and does not appear to have had anything to do with affectation of the superior sex nor her assumption of a *hermaphrodite* of male attire when she rode forth. Her name or title, like that of most other Muhammadans in these pages, is pure Arabic, the feminine form of the by no means uncommon name of RAZIYAT-UD-DIN. See THAMANI LATHIYAT KINAY, page 108.

The following is said to have been the inscription on the first coins of this queen regnant, in which she is styled *Qudsia ul Uloom*—the great, or illustrious among women:—

Qudsia ul Uloom (Qudsia ul Uloom) Qudsia ul Uloom

Reverse—Qudsia ul Uloom

which may be translated—Reverse—The illustrious among women, the Queen of the Age Sultan Raziyyat, daughter of Shams-ud-Din, Iyad ul-Mugh.

Qudsia ul Uloom—Collected at the city of Delhi 643 H the first of the reign."

* Compare LLLI R : vol. II. page 332.

but, as she did not attain the destiny, in her creation, of being computed among men, of what advantage were all these excellent qualifications unto her ?

During the lifetime of the august Sultān, her father, she exercised authority, and possessed great grandeur, on this account, that her mother, Turkān Khātūn, was the greatest [of the ladies] of the sublime *haram*¹, and her place of residence was the royal palace, the Kushk-i-Firūzī [Firūzī Castle]² As the august Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn used to notice in her indications of sovereignty and high spirit, although she was a daughter, and [consequently] veiled from public gaze, when he returned after acquiring possession of Gwāliyūr, he commanded the Tāj-ul-Mulk, Mahmūd, the secretary—on whom be peace¹—who was the Mushrif-i-Mamālik³ [Secretary of the State], to write out a decree, naming his daughter as his heir-apparent, and she was made his heiress [accordingly]

Whilst this decree was being written out, those servants of the state, who had access to the presence of the Sultān, made representation, saying “Inasmuch as he has grown-up sons who are eligible for the sovereignty, what scheme and what object has the Sultān of Islām in view in making a daughter sovereign and heir-apparent ? Be pleased to

¹ This proves what our author meant by the word مهر with respect to Rukn-ud-Dīn, Firūz Shāh’s mother, namely, that, in point of time or age, she was the oldest of Iyal-timūsh’s concubines Rāziyyat Khātūn was his eldest child and, in all probability, her mother was Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak’s daughter

Our author is about the only authority available for the events of this period—all other works, since written, merely copy from him and add from their own fertile imaginations—and there is no *authority* for stating [Thomas PATHÁN KINGS, page 104] that Rāziyyat was “brought up under a *greater* degree of freedom from the seclusion enjoined for females by the more severe custom of ordering Muslim households,” for our author here states she was “*veiled from public gaze*,” and it was *only* just before the end of her reign that she assumed the dress of a male, which, really, is not very different from that of a female—the addition of a head dress and tunic—as our author states Dow, as usual, misinterpreting Firūzshāh, who copies from the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī, which copies our author, incorrectly states that “*on her accession*, changing her apparel, she assumed the imperial robes” The “imperial robes” equally with the rest are all his own.

² In ELLIOT, it is made “the chief royal palace in the Kushk-firozī !”

³ Tāj-ul-Mulk signifies the crown of the state “Tāju-l-Malik” nothing The word مُشْرِف—mushrif—signifies an examiner or authenticator of records and other writings, but not a *wasir* certainly دبیر—dabir—a secretary, a clerk, a scribe. مدبر—mudabbir—an administrator, director, counsellor, &c. Compare ELLIOT vol II page 333

remove this difficulty from our minds, as this deed does not seem advisable to your humble servants." The Sultan replied: "My sons are engrossed in the pleasures of youth and none of them possesses the capability of managing the affairs of the country, and by them the government of the kingdom will not be carried out. After my death it will be seen that not one of them will be found to be more worthy of the heir apparentship than she my daughter." The case turned out as that august monarch had predicted.

When Sultan Raziyyat ascended the throne of the kingdom all things returned to their usual rules and customs but the Warir of the kingdom the Nizam ul Mulk Muhammad Junaidi did not acknowledge her and Malik Ali ud Din Jani Malik Saif ud Din Kaji Malik Izz ud Din Kahir Khan, Ayaz Malik Izz ud Din Muhammad Salari and the Nizam ul Mulk Muhammad Junaidi¹ assembled from different parts before the gate of the city of Dihli and commenced hostilities against Sultan Raziyyat and this opposition continued for a considerable time. At this period Malik Nur at ud Din Tavasali² the Mu'izz who was scoffee of Awadh marched with his forces from that province for the purpose of rendering aid to Sultan Raziyyat in conformity with [her] commands towards Dihli the capital³. After he had crossed the river Gang,

The Tuhfat ul Ma'ali says: "The reason why Iyaztunish named her a girl, occurs, it was, that his son, Nizam ul Din, Malik ul Shih—the second son of this name—was a year in years; and the Sultan remarked to his minister at the time that although in the form of a woman, she was in reality a man."

¹ He is styled by some more modern writers, Chandia. If he were a native of Chandel or that that was a by name of his, but it is incorrect. He had been Iyaztunish warir for a considerable time.

² These are the same who, as stated in ILLUSTRATION 14 Tark.

³ He had been viceroyalty of Awadh by Raziyyat after Ghiyath-ud Din, Muhammad Shah's rebellion. See page 633.

⁴ Previous to these events, the feudatory of Kinna J Malik Tamur Khan-Khān, was defeated by Sultan Raziyyat into the Cawlihar territory and Malik Shah in command of a force and the expedition was successful, but no particular is given. The same Malik when feudatory of Awadh, penetrated as far as the Tilhat territory and compelled the Rāes and Rānahs, and independent Hind tribes in that part to pay tribute. He plundered the territory of Ishidghān [anglicised Ishatgong] in Nepal on several occasions, but no other particulars nor dates are given, but they all happened before this period.

the hostile Maliks⁹ who were before the city of Dihlī unexpectedly advanced to meet him, and took him prisoner, and affliction overcame him, and he died¹. The stay of the hostile Maliks before the gate of Dihlī was prolonged for a considerable time, but, as the good fortune of Sultān Raziyyat was at the point of ascendancy, the Sultān issued from the city, and directed her sublime tent to be pitched at a place on the bank of the river Jūn, and, between the Turk Amīrs who served at the stirrup of sovereignty, and the hostile Maliks, conflicts took place upon several occasions. At last, an accommodation was arranged, but in a deceptive manner, and by the subtle contrivance of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, Sālārī², and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, who, secretly, went over to the Sultān's side, and, one night, met before the entrance to the royal tent, with this stipulation, that Malik Jānī, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Kūjī, and the Nizām-ul-Mulk, Muhammad, Junaidī, should be summoned, and be taken into custody and imprisoned, in order that the sedition might be quelled.

When these Maliks became aware that the state of affairs was on this wise, they left their camp and fled. The Sultān's horsemen followed in pursuit, and Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Kūjī, and his brother, Fakhr-ud-Dīn, fell into their hands, and, subsequently to that, they were put to death in prison. Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, was killed within the limits of Pāyal³, at a village named Nakawān⁴, and his

⁹ There is nothing about "hostile *generals*" in the whole passage.

¹ He appears to have been suffering from illness when Sultān Raziyyat summoned him to her aid.

Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, who was so ambitious, and, afterwards, gave so much trouble, was taken prisoner by the hostile Maliks upon this occasion, but was subsequently released by them. He was treated with great honour by Sultān Raziyyat. Compare ELLIOT here also.

² The Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī, which copies so much from our author, asserts, however, that it was Sultān Raziyyat, who, by her able contrivance, succeeded in upsetting and confounding the disaffected Amīrs. Firishtah, of course, agrees.

³ ELLIOT, Bābul, BRIGGS, from Firishtah, Babool, FIRISHTAH, text, Bābal —بابل—and DOW, omitted altogether. Pāyal, or Pāyil, is the name of a very old place, giving name to the district, with a very lofty brick fort visible from a great distance—I mention it as it appeared about a century since—on one of the routes from Dihlī to Lūdīānah. The ṬABAKĀT-I-AKBARĪ gives the name of the district correctly, but leaves out the name of the place. It is in Long 76° 5', Lat 30° 40'.

⁴ In some copies Nakāwān or Nāgāwān [نکاوان], but the majority of the best

herd was brought to the capital, and the Nizām ul Mulk Muhammad, Junaidi retired to the hills of Sir mūr Bardar⁴, and there after some time, he died

Now that the affairs of Sulṭān Kaṣṣiyat's government became arranged, she gave the office of Wazir to the Bḥwajah Muhazzab⁵ who was the deputy of the Nizām ul Mulk, and he likewise received the title of Nizām ul Mulk. The charge of the army as her lieutenant, was conferred upon Malik Saif ud Din Ibak i Bihak⁶ who received the title of Kutlugh Khān and Malik Izz ud Din Kabir Khān i Ayar received the sief of Lohor and the kingdom became pacified, and the power of the state widely extended. From the territory of Lakhanawati to Diwal and Damillah⁷ the Malik and Amirs manifested their obedience and the Sultan's government. Suddenly Malik Saif ud Ibak i Bihak⁸ and the charge of the army was

the text are a short. The I O L. V. No. 1052 and that of the U.S. have 14. 34

her on which the reign of Sulṭān Kaṣṣiyat, respecting this tract of

of the 10th century, Clays—by Ibn Khān, and by his trans-
lation, respectively. Clays Chama and Mibdy

of V. 10—which is meaningless—certainly does mean
but in I. 10. 11. vol. II. page 334. the passage is
the 10th century on an upright. The whole of the
Mulk and he likewise received the title of Nizām ul
not mean officer and Muhazzab—i.e. Muhazzab.

Why not translate it always, and also translate
the regulator of the state &c. and all other proper
same fashion? They all have meanings, the same

The amusing part of it is that four pages farther on, page
the war. *Mahmūd al-Muḥammad al-Muḥammad*, and

at "upright officer" than whom no greater rascal I mentioned
only, not his reward in the *ḥaṣṣ* Haus rān. See pages 631—653,

and 662, for the doings of that "upright officer"

The word is written *ḥaṣṣ* and *ḥaṣṣ* and I doubtful.

The *Taḥṣīl al-Mulk* here copies our author nearly word for word, even
rightly copies the former in the same way. The *Tagharat ul Mulk* too or
brought (or) substance she reduced the disaffected Malik to submission
from the Malik of Lakhanawati became obedient to her authority. "force
Malik Izz-ud Din, Tughril i Tughān Khān, on her accession, despatched re-
sultaries to the capital, and, to testify his homage was continually from our
crings of great value from Lakhanawati. On this account Sulṭānre a new
conferred upon him a canopy of state and standards, and great but he is not
a period Malik Muḥayyid ud Din, Hindū Khān, held the sief of official in
which was conferred upon him by Sulṭān Kaṣṣiyat. as a kinsman of

bestowed upon Malīk Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, Ghūrī⁹, and he was appointed to [march and relieve] the fortress of Rantabhūr, because the Hindūs, after the decease of the august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yāl-tīmish, hallo for a considerable time, invested that preserved town and stronghold¹. Malīk Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, conducted the forces to that part, withdrew the Musalmān Amīrs [and their troops²] out of that fortification, destroyed the works, and retired, and returned to the capital again

At this time, the Malīk-i-Kabīr [Great Malīk] Ikhṭiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn², became Amīr-i-Ḥājīb, and Malīk Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Yā-kūt, the Ḥabashī [An, Manian or Ethiopian], who was Lord of the Stables, adān-i-Ayāzpur³ in attendance upon the Sultān, so that, one night, Amīrs and

⁹ This great noble, whose name will be found in the list at the end of I-yāl-tīmish's reign, is styled Husain as well as Hasan in several copies indiscriminately, but the first appears correct. Much more about him will be found in the last Section. He was forced to leave Ghūr through the power of the Mughals

¹ After he had raised the investment and relieved the place, the garrison was withdrawn, and no effort made to hold the place. The reason does not appear, and their giving up a strong place like this which had defied the efforts of the Hindūs so long seems strange. It was soon restored, however, by the Hindūs. What a flourish might have been made of this affair in the Rājput annals! It is mentioned in several places farther on

² Firishtah has not copied the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī correctly here, and turns him into Alb-Tigīn in the "revised text," and Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Yā-kūt, is turned into a Amīr-ul-Umrā, which, although such a title did exist from Akbar's time downwards, was *entirely unknown* in these days

³ I think the character of this Princess has been assailed without just cause. Thomas says [PATHĀN KINGS, page 106] — "It was not that a virgin Queen was forbidden to love—she might have indulged herself in a submissive Prince Consort, or revelled almost unchecked in the dark recesses of the Palace Harām—but wayward fancy pointed in a wrong direction, and led her to prefer a person employed about her Court [he was Amīr-i-Ākhur, or Lord of the Stables—Master of the Horse—a high office only conferred upon distinguished persons], an Abyssinian moreover, the favours extended to whom the Tūrki nobles resented with one accord."

in uphinstone, who draws his inspiration from Briggs, is *more* correct in his

³ Edition of her character [and both Dow and Briggs are more correct than — in their rendering of Firishtah's words here] and says [page 324, very old] — "But her talents and virtues were insufficient to protect her from visible/ir weakness. It was shown in the extraordinary [?] marks of favour since—on showered [?] on her Master of the Horse, who, to make her Akbar's more degrading, was an Abyssinian slave [Who says he was a the place. It was, he was only a slave like most of her other Maliks and

⁴ In some copies not appear that her fondness [?] was *criminal*, since the

Maliks began to be envious thereof, and it so chanced to happen that Sulṭān Rāziyyat laid aside the female dress and issued from [her] seclusion and donned the tunic, and assumed the head-dress [of a man] and appeared among the people and when she rode out on an elephant, at the time of mounting it all people used openly to see her.

At this period she issued commands for her troops to proceed to Gwaliyūr and bestowed rich and valuable presents. As disobedience was out of the question, this servant

of the victorious kingdom, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, in conjunction with the Malik⁵-ul-Umrā [the chief of Amīrs] Ziyā-ud-Dīn, Junaidī, who was the Amīr-i-Dād [chief magistrate] of Gwāliyūr, and with other persons of note, came out of the preserved fortress of Gwāliyūr on the 1st of the month Shā'bān, 635 H, and returned to Dihlī, the capital, and, in this same month, Sultān Raziyyat committed to the charge of this servant [the author] the Nāsiriāh College at the capital, to which was added the Ḳāzī-ship of Gwāliyūr⁶

In the year 637 H Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, who was the feudatory of Lohor, began to show a rebellious spirit⁷ Sultān Raziyyat led an army towards

the rebel Wazīr, who refused to acknowledge Sultān Raziyyat, may have been suspected of disaffection. No cause for rebellion appears, neither is any rebellion mentioned, and, on our author's arrival at Dihlī, another office was bestowed upon him, *in addition* to his Ḳāzī ship of Gwāliyūr, which he still held. See Thomas PATHĀN KINGS, page 105

"In 631 H some emissaries from Balkā Khān, son of Tūshī [Jūi], son of Chingiz Khān, arrived at the Court of Sultān I-yal-tīmish from Ḳifchāk, bringing presents for him, but, as that Sultān had refrained from holding any intercourse whatever with the Mughal Khāns, and was wont to send their agents out of his territory when they came, he would not put these emissaries to death, and desired to dismiss them kindly. They were sent to Gwāliyūr, however, [this was one way of dismissing them kindly], and the party, being all Musalmāns, used to present themselves in the Masjīd there every Friday, and said their prayers behind the author of this book [he acting as Imām], until the reign of Sultān Raziyyat, when the author, after six years' absence, returned to Dihlī from Gwāliyūr, and was promoted, by the favour of that sovereign. At this time directions were given for these emissaries of Balkā Khān to be removed to Ḳinnauj, and there detained, and there they were kept until they died."

⁵ In some copies, Majd-ul-Umrā, but the above seems the correct title. Majd signifies glory, grandeur—the glory or grandeur of Amīrs does not sound very correct. It was an honorary title merely.

⁶ In this case he—"the pardoned" rebel—must have performed one of these two offices by deputy.

⁷ In the account of this Malik our author states that Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz began to act contumaciously in 636 H, in which year Sultān Raziyyat advanced at the head of her troops into the Panjāb against him. He retired before her towards the Indus, until he reached the neighbourhood of the Sūdharah [he could not go much farther, for immediately to the west he would have fallen into hostile hands]. When the royal troops crossed the Rāwī, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz made his submission, but he was removed from the fief of Lāhor, and Multān was placed in his charge, and the feudatory of the latter—Malik Karā-Kush Khān—sent to Lāhor.

In this year, 636 H, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Hasan, the Karlugh, hard pressed by the Mughals, had to abandon his territories, and he re-^{turned} ~~re~~ towards the territory of Multān and Sind, in hope, probably, of being ^{criminal}, ~~successful~~ on

that part from Dihli and followed in pursuit of him. At last an accommodation took place and he presented himself and the province of Multan which Malik Ikhtiyār ud Dīn Karā Kush Khān i Aet kin held was made over to the charge of Malik Izz ud Dīn Kabir Khān i Ayaz. Sulṭān Kaṣṣiyat returned again to the capital on Thursday the 19 h of the month of Shaʿban* 637 H.

Malik Ikhtiyār ud Dīn Altūnlah who held the fief of Tabarhindah³ broke out into rebellion and secretly some of the Amīrs of the Court abetted him in this treason. Sulṭān Raṣṣiyat on Wednesday the 9th of the sacred month Ramaṣān of this same year [637 H.] set out from the capital with numerous forces⁴ for the purpose of putting down Malik Altūnlah's rebellion. When she reached that place [Tabarhindah]⁵ through circumstances which supervened the Turk Amīrs rose against her and put to death⁶ Amīr Jīmāl ud Dīn Ya kūt the Habashī seized Sulṭān Kaṣṣiyat and put her in durance and sent her to the fortress of Tabarhindah⁴.

1) That on the former occasion Ikhtiyār was a eldest son, whose name is not mentioned, taking possession of Kaṣṣiyat's province in the Panjāb, presented himself before her was well received, and the fief of Baran east of Dihli, was conferred on him. Soon after he never he left without leave and with all the exactness known, and joined his father who still was able to hold Multan, and soon after the King had gained possession of Multan. At this period Malik Maṣṣiyat-ud Dīn, Hūndā Khān, held the fief of Ochchah.

* Jamatīn, in some copies of the text.

² Altūnlah was only lately made feudatory of Tabarhindah, for when Raṣṣiyat came to the throne she gave him his first fief, that of Baran. Briggs styles him "one of the Turkey *trai* of Chāḥ-i-y"—a nice blunder but I have leaves this part of the sentence out. See last para. of note² page 643, and the meaning of Chāḥ-i-yān in next Section.

³ In some copies of the text, with the forces composing the *ḥaḥ* or centre, the signification of which has been given in note² page 634.

⁴ Not "on the way" rather as in *Talabāt-i-Akharī* and *Irishṭah*.

⁵ Our author says "in style", here equivalent to his being put to death unjustly. Raṣṣat uṣ-Ṣaḥī says, Ya kūt commanded her troops, a very unlikely thing when the Turk Maliks and Amīrs hated him so greatly. He *may* have commanded Raṣṣiyat's own personal followers. Raṣṣat uṣ-Ṣaḥī, indeed, says so. For the detail of these events see the account of Malik Altūnlah in the next Section.

⁶ *Talabāt-i-Akharī* and *Naḥṣānī* have *Tarhindah*—طهرند—In all cases, and *Irishṭah* [revised text], wherever this place is mentioned under whatever reign it may be, has *Pathindah*—طهند—*Pathadah*—طهد and *Bathindah*—بهند.

Among the events which happened in the beginning of Sultān Raziyyat's reign, the greatest was that the Ḳī-rāmīṭah and Mulāhīdah heretics of Hīndūstān, incited by a person, a sort of learned man, named Nūr-ud-Dīn, a Turk⁵, whom they used to style Nūr, the Turk, collected together at Dihlī, from different parts of the territory of Hind, such as Gujarāt, and the country of Sīnd, and the parts round about the capital, Dihlī, and the banks of the rivers Jūn and Gang. In secret they pledged themselves to be faithful to each other, and, at the instigation of Nūr, the Turk, they conspired against Islām. This Nūr, the Turk, used to harangue, and the mob would collect around him. He used to call the 'Ulamā of the orthodox people⁶ *Nāsībī* [setters-up], and to style them *Murjī*⁷ [procrastinators], and used to incite the common people to animosity against the orders of 'Ulamā of the sects of Abū-Ḥanīfah and Shāf'ī until a day was fixed upon. The whole of the fraternities of the Mulāhīdah and Ḳī-rāmīṭah entered the *Fāmi' Masjid* of the city of Dihlī, on Friday, the 6th of the month of Rājab, in the year 634 H, to the number of about one thousand persons, armed with swords and shields. Having divided into two bodies, one body, from the side of the Ḥiṣār-i-Nau [the new Citadel], entered the gateway of the *Fāmi' Masjid* on the northern side, and the second body, passing through the Bāzār-i-Bazāzān [the Bāzār of the Cloth-Merchants], entered the gateway of the Mu'izzī College under the supposition that it was the *Fāmi' Masjid*, and, on both sides, fell upon the Musalmāns with [their] swords. A great number of people, some by the swords of those heretics, and some [trodden] under people's feet, attained martyrdom.

On an outcry having arisen from the city on account of

⁵ He was not called "Nūr Turk," but he was a *Turk*, and his *name* was Nūr-ud-Dīn.

⁶ That is the *Sunnīs*, in contradistinction to the *Shī'as* and other schismatics. Neither *Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī*, *Budā'ūnī*, nor *Fīrīṣhtah*, refer to this "outbreak," but other writers do. The fact of *Fīrīṣhtah*'s being a *Shī'a* may account for his eschewing the matter.

⁷ The name of one of the heretical sects among the Muhammadans, who procrastinate, and consider good works unnecessary, and faith sufficient, and that all Musalmāns will be saved, as hell is only reserved for infidels. See Sale *KUR'AN*, Preliminary Discourse, for an account of these different sects of schismatics, pages 122, 130, and 131.

this outbreak the warriors of the city such as Nāṣir ud Dīn, Aīyīm the Balaramī and Amīr Imām ī Nāṣir the Poet and other armed men from different directions rode fully equipped [as they were] with cuirass and other defensive armour steel cap, spear and shield into the *Jāmi Masjid* by the *ṣinādrī* entrance* and plied their swords upon the *Mulāhidāh* and *Karamīsh* heretics and the Muslims who were on the roof of the *Jāmi Masjid* poured down stones and bricks upon them and sent the whole of the *Mulāhidāh* and *Karamīsh* to hell, and quelled that outbreak. Thanks be to God for the blessing of safety and the honour of religion!

When they imprisoned Sulṭān Raḡīyyat within the stronghold of Tabarhūndah Malīk Iḥṭiyār ud Dīn Al tūnlāh entered into a matrimonial contract with her and espoused her† and marched an army towards Dīhlī, in order to take possession of the Kingdom a second time. Malīk Izz ud Dīn, Muhammad Sālār and Malīk Karī Kugh rebelled and quitted the capital Dīhlī and went and joined them.

Sulṭān Muizz ud Dīn Bahram Shāh (Raḡīyyat's brother) was [at this time] seated on the throne and Iḥṭi

* Compare LIT. T. vol. I. p. 235.

† The Tazkarat al-Mulk and some other works say that Malīk Iḥṭiyār ud Dīn Al tūnlāh contracted marriage with Sulṭān Raḡīyyat, *ṣinādrī*. He then took up her cause. It was no honour to him because he imagined he would get the upper hand. (The poet or poetess) Izzat now managed to raise a considerable force consisting of Khokhar (the large tribe appear to have extended, at that period, a considerable distance east of the Dīhlī, and the great losses to be obtained in the Talwarānī of the Khokhar are often mentioned), Jais, and others of the tribes about Tabarhūndah, and some Amīrs likewise from the *ṣinādrī* tribe, went over to her. The Tabaṭṭarī Akbarī and Zuhlat ul Tawārīkh also mention Khokhar, but Hingṭah, here as well as elsewhere not knowing the difference between *ḡḡḡḡ* and *ḡḡḡḡ* turns the former into Chahars, a people in his time in some repute and when a chief or two of the tribe were serving the Mughal emperors.

LAFINGSTON states that *Arwa*—he refers to Raḡīyyat—when force failed her had recourse to art and *she so far gained over Altūnlāh by the influence of love or ambition that he agreed to marry her* &c. I wonder what *authentic history* that I recorded in, or how proved? The reason of the change in Malīk Altūnlāh's policy is apparent, as shown by a Muhammadan writer in a following note. Others had obtained power at Dīhlī and he had been left out in the cold after being made a tool of, and now therefore he who formerly rebelled against Sulṭān Raḡīyyat became out of revenge, her champion.

† Half brother apparently

yār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, having been assassinated, Baḍr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, the Rūmī, had become Amīr-i-Ḥājib. In the month of Rabi'-ul-Awwal, in the year 638 H, Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, led² an army out of Dihlī for the purpose of resisting Sulṭān Raziyyat and Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūniāh, and they were routed, and, having reached Kaithal, the troops along with them all abandoned them³, and Sulṭān Raziyyat and Malik Altūniāh fell captive into the hands of Hindūs, and attained martyrdom.

Their defeat took place on the 24th of the month, Rabi'-ul-Awwal, and the martyrdom of Sulṭān Raziyyat took place on Tuesday, the 25th of Rabi'-ul-Awwal⁴, in the year 638 H. Her reign extended over a period of three years, six months, and six days⁵.

² The author of the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī, who seems to know—without naming any authority—better than those persons who were eye-witnesses of what they relate, and other authors who preceded him, asserts that Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, sent an army against Raziyyat under Malik 'Izz ud-Dīn, Balban [in some copies Tigin], who afterwards attained the title of Ulugh Khān, and Firishṭah, of course, follows. The amusing part of it is that our author's patron was neither styled 'Izz-ud-Dīn, at this time, nor at any other, and he had not attained such a high position at that period as to be put in the command of an army, as may be gathered from the account of him in the next Section. He was, at first, Khāsāh-dār to Sulṭān Raziyyat, and, afterwards, during her reign, became Amīr-i-Shikār. The above-mentioned work also places this defeat and death of Raziyyat in 637 H—a year too soon.

³ The Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh, as well as the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī, makes two affairs of this, and says that it was after the first defeat, but gives no date for it, that Raziyyat raised a force of Khokhars and other tribes, and that the second defeat took place near Kaithal, on the 4th of Rabi'-ul-Awwal, 638 H, after which the Khokhars and others abandoned her, and she and her husband fell into the hands of the Hindūs, who put them to death on the 25th of the same month. See further details of these transactions in the account of Malik Altūniāh in the next Section.

⁴ In some copies, Saturday, the 29th of Rabi'-ul-Ākḥir, but the date cannot be correct. See also the account of Malik Altūniāh in the next Section, where the 25th of Rabi'-ul-Ākḥir is given as the date.

⁵ IBN-BATŪTAH, who is sometimes quoted as an authority on Indian history, says [Lee's translation] that Raziyyat's brother, having "polluted his reign by killing his *brothers*, was, therefore, *killed* himself. Upon this, the army agreed to place his sister, El Malika Razīa, upon the throne, who reigned four years. This woman usually rode about among the army, *just as men do*. She, however, *gave up the government*, on account of some circumstances that presented themselves. After this, her younger brother, Nāsir Oddin, became possessed of the government, which he held for twenty years"!! So much for Ibn-Batūṭah's authority on Indian history.

Like as Minhāj-i-Sarāj's, for thee the creation's prayer is this —
 'O God! mayest thou on the kingdom's throne to eternity continue
 Straight like the spear may the universe during thy reign become,
 So that, save in the hair-tuft of thy standard, no one may disorder
 behold⁸ ' ”

When Malik Ikẖtiyāi-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn, became Deputy⁹, by virtue of his deputy-ship, he took the affairs of the kingdom into his own hands, and, in conjunction with the Wazīr, the Nizām-ul-Mulk, the Khwājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-'Iwaz, the Mustaufī¹, assumed control over the disposal of state affairs²

After a month or two had passed away, this fact began to press heavily upon the noble mind of Sulṭān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, and a sister of the Sulṭān, who had been married to the son of the Qāzī, Naṣīr-ud-Dīn³, and had, at her own request, been repudiated⁴ by him, the Deputy [Ikẖtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn], having taken to wife, assumed the triple *naubat*, and stationed an elephant at the entrance of his own residence⁵ [out of parade], and the grandeur of his

⁸ I have translated and inserted this strophe here, not for any particular merit it possesses, but to show the style of our author's unctuous and flatulent poetical effusions. Although his work was completed twenty one years after this event, and the true character of the Prince he composed those lines upon was then known to him, whatever good opinion he may have had of him at the time of his accession, he did not think it necessary to omit this piece of fulsome adulation to this "Sulīmān in dignity," this "second I jal-timish." This translation will not be again burdened with any more of our author's own poetry.

⁹ On account of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh's youth, as was determined when the Malik's agreed to raise him to the throne. He was to act as Deputy one year.

¹ Mustaufī is not a proper name. It signifies the head clerk of a department, an auditor, &c, and to the office previously held by "the upright officer," as Muhazzab has been translated, or by his father or ancestors. See Blochmann's translation of the Ā'īn for the meanings of such words, and compare Elliot. INDIA, vol II page 338.

² That is, he, in concert with the Wazīr, ruled the country, whilst the "Sulīmān," whose commands swayed "the *jinn* and mankind," was king in name merely.

³ Turned into Ikẖtiyār-ud Dīn by Firīshṭah—in the "revised text"—who turns the Malik of that name into Alb-Tigīn¹.

⁴ She had been repudiated by her own desire from aversion to her husband. In such cases the wife resigns the dowry and all presents made to her, &c.

⁵ In the account of this Malik in the next Section, our author states that he applied for permission to use the *naubat*—already described in note³, page 383—on becoming Deputy. At this period kings only were allowed to have elephants in this way, unless specially granted, as in Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balbān-i Kashlū Khān's case, mentioned in the account of him in the next Section.

affairs and the execution of his mandates lasted until the month of Muḥarram of the year 638 H., when unexpectedly on Monday, the 5th of that month, by command of the Sultan a decree was delivered within the *ḥaṣr* named Saṣed (the White Castle). After the termination of the discourse the Sultan Muḥarrar ud Din Bahrām Shāh from the upper part of the palace despatched two reckless Turks after the manner of *ḥāḥ* so that in front of the dais in the royal Audience Hall of the *ḥaṣr* Saṣed they martyred Malik Iḥṣiyar ud Din Aet-kin by the wound of a knife*. They inflicted on the Wazir the Na'im ul-Mull Muḥazzab-ud Din two wounds in the side but as his appointed time was not come he got away from them and escaped outside. Malik Badr ud Din Sunkar the *kūmil* became Amir-i-Hayib and assumed the direction of

* They were called *ḥāḥ* (فرستاده) were a kind of secret police created in 1111 A.D. (p. 338) the Place of the White Castle (the Audience Hall) was called *ḥaṣr* it was the latter name. The Arabic word *ḥaṣr* and its Persian equivalent *kūshk*, does not necessarily signify a castle or a fortified residence. White Castle is only a title for a palace, as *ḥaṣr*. See also note 2 p. 338.

Footnote makes it very clear that after the death of Malik Iḥṣiyar Sunkar the Sultan ordered that the Sultan's son, Almalik-shah, come to the Sultan's court and that he should be executed.

The Tārīkh-i-Muḥarrar ud Din makes it very clear that Malik Iḥṣiyar perpetrated the murder of Malik Aet-kin and the Wazir at one time. Iqbal here makes an altogether different statement. He says, but does not quote his authority and a good author is almost the only one for the reigns of the Shamsi dynasty the D. Khan's history is almost the only one for the reigns of the Shamsi dynasty. The Sultan Muḥarrar ud Din, Bahrām Shāh, martyred two Turks among his confidants to punish drunkenness and to punish the Amir-i-Hayib (Aet-kin) and the Wazir. They entered the royal Audience Hall of the *ḥaṣr* Saṣed for this purpose and Ali Tigin (Aet-kin), who was standing up in the row of Amirs before the Sultan, who came out to have been present by flight and tried to stop them and paid for their approach (sawar), the condition they pretended to be in, and if the guards were not enough for the purpose, when, having the opportunity they wanted, they slew him with their "life-taking daggers, and then attacked the Wazir Muḥazzab ud Din, and inflicted two wounds on him. The other nobles present now making a rush, Muḥazzab-ud Din managed to escape. The Sultan, that day ordered the two Turks to be imprisoned for their act, but very soon released them. The Lubbi Tawārīkh-i-Hind gives a similar account, but the names are correctly given.

Ḥāḥ is the name applied to the agents of the Chief of the Assassins, or Shaikh-ul-Iḥṣā, who carried out his decrees against people's lives. *Ḥāḥ* means a sacrifice, one who is devoted to carry out any deed.

It was Malik Iḥṣiyar ud Din, Aet-kin, who incited Malik Altūndah to revenge against Sultan Raziyyat and so he met his deserts.

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 So that, save in the hair-tuft of thy standard, no one may disorder
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³ Turned into Ikhtiyār-ud Dīn by Firishtah—in the "revised text"—who turns the Malik of that name into Alb-Tigīn¹.

⁴ She had been repudiated by her own desire from version to her husband. In such cases the wife resigns the dowry and all presents made to her, &c.

⁵ In the account of this Malik in the next Section, our author states that he applied for permission to use the *naubat*—already described in note³, page 383—on becoming Deputy. At this period kings only were allowed to have elephants in this way, unless specially granted, as in Malik 'Izz ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān's case, mentioned in the account of him in the next Section.

state affairs, and, when Sultān Raziyyat, along with Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūnīah, from Tabarhindah, determined to move towards Dihlī, and revoked that intention, and withdrew, and Sultān Raziyyat and Altūnīah attained martyrdom at the hands of the Hindūs, as has previously been recorded, the affairs of Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar⁸, took a new turn. Moreover, because, in the execution of his own mandates, and the administration of the affairs of the kingdom, he did not possess the authority of the Sultān of Islām, and used to seek to acquire superiority over the Wazīr, the Nizām-ul-Mulk, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, and used to issue his own orders, the Wazīr, secretly, was in the habit of influencing the Sultān's disposition against Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, to such degree, that the Sultān's temper became quite changed towards him.

When Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, discovered this fact, he grew apprehensive of the Sultān. He was desirous by some suitable means of removing the Sultān and placing one of the latter's brothers upon the throne. On Monday, the 17th⁹ of the month of Safar, 639 H, at the residence of the Ṣadī-ul-Mulk¹, the Sayyid, Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Mūsāwī, who was the Mushrif-i-Mamālik [Secretary of the Kingdom], Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, convened a party of the Sadr and chief men of the capital, such as the Kāzī-i-Mamālik [Kāzī of the Kingdom], Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Kāsānī², Kāzī Kabīr-ud-Dīn, Shāikh Muhammad-i-Shāmī [the Syrian], and other Amīrs³ and important personages. When they had assembled, and deliberated respecting the change of government, they despatched the Sadr-ul-Mulk [Sadr of the State—Chief Sadr] to the presence of the Wazīr, the Nizām-ul-Mulk, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, in order that he

⁸ This Malik was the patron of Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, Balban, subsequently, Ulugh Khān-i-A'ẓam, and, when the former became Amīr-i-Hājib, through his patronage, Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, Balban, who, up to this time, had not attained a higher office than that of Chief Huntsman, was promoted to the dignity of Amīr-i-Ākhur [Lord of the Stables].

⁹ In other places, the date of this event in some copies, is the 14th, and in others the 10th.

¹ Sadr ul Mulk signifies Judge or Administrator of the State, but here it is only his title or degree, as his office is Mushrif-i-Mamālik.

² A native of Kāsān —Kāzan of modern maps.

³ The word Amīr here, it will be seen, is applied to Kāzīs and eccle-

When they stated this matter to the Sultān, he, at once, mounted, and that disaffected party became struck with amazement, and Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, joined the Sultan who returned, and held a council in his own royal presence, and forthwith a mandate was issued that Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, should proceed to Budā'ūn, and that dīn was made his fief. Kāzī Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Kāsānī, was removed from the chief Kāzī-ship, and Kāzī Kabīr-ud-Dīn and Shāikh Muhammad-i-Shāmī, together with him, became apprehensive, and left the city.

After a period of four months, Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, returned to the capital⁶, and, as the Sultān incensed against him, he ordered him to be imprisoned and the Sayyid, Tāj-ud-Dīn, 'Alī, Mūsawī⁷, was ordered to be imprisoned, and, at last, both of them martyred⁸. This occurrence totally changed the disposition of the Amīrs, and all of them became frightened and apprehensive of the Sultān, and not one among them

he also might attend the meeting and take part in the consultation. At the *Sadr-ul-Mulk* gave intimation to Sultān, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahram, and, having placed a confidential follower of the Sultān's in a place of concealment, [where? in another man's house to betray himself?] went. Nizām-ud-Mulk's [Muhammad, the Wazīr's] abode and informed him of his presence [at his own house.] of Kāzī Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Kāsānī, Kāzī Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Shāikh Muhammad, and other personages there assembled asked him to come along with him], but Muhammad-ud-Dīn put off his coming to the time of afternoon prayers. The *Sadr-ul-Mulk* represented what was doing by means of the Sultān's servant, whom he had concealed, and apprised that monarch of the state of affairs, who, then, every hour, set out, and upon them," &c. &c. The *Sadr-ul-Mulk*, Tāj-ud-Dīn, as mentioned next page, was imprisoned and put to death for his share in this affair. Others of the smaller fry of historians copy this blunder from the *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* as well as Firishtah, and, from the fact of the latter making the same blunder as the former—he, indeed, uses his very words—I am inclined to doubt whether Firishtah ever saw our author's work, and I think that nothing will be found in Firishtah, taken from our author's history such as is contained in the *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*. Compare ELLIOT here also.

⁶ He took up his residence in the dwelling of Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn, the illustrious Ghūrī chief, Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of 'Alī, execution is recorded at page 702. He is again mentioned in the last Section.

⁷ See note 5, preceding page.

⁸ Whether in prison or out is not said. Compare next Section it is said to have taken place on Wednesday, the 14th of Jumādī-ul-Awwal, 639 H., but in some copies Rabi'-ul-Awwal is stated to have taken place in the month, but this is impossible as Rabi'-ul-Awwal follows next month Safar, and Jumādī-ul-Awwal is only the third month after Safar from what is stated just before Jumādī-ul-Akhir.

When the dreadful intelligence of this calamity reached the capital, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, assembled the people of the city of Dihlī in the Kasr-i-Safed [White Castle], and to the author, the writer of these lines, he gave command to deliver a discourse, and the people pledged their fealty [anew] to the Sultān³

their merchandize, and had provided themselves with letters of protection from the Mughal rulers, and they seemed not to care what happened, and the remainder of the chief inhabitants were also remiss. Seeing this, Malik Karā-Kash determined to leave them, more particularly as there was but little chance of being succoured from Dihlī. The Turk and Ghūrī Malik, being disaffected towards Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, were not very active in obeying his summons to assemble their followers, and the "*upright officer*"—the arch rebel—[referred to in note⁶, page 641], Muhazzab ud-Dīn, the Wazīr—even after the army had reached the Biāh, instead of pushing on to Lāhor, was occupied in plotting the destruction of his master. Finding resistance hopeless, Malik Karā Kash, under pretence of making a night attack upon the Mughal camp, assembled his family and followers, cut his way out, and made towards Dihlī. After he had left, when too late, the inhabitants made some effort to defend the place, under the guidance of the Kot-wāl [Seneschal], Ak-Sunkar, and a few others. During the fighting that went on in the streets of the city, after the Mughals effected a lodgment, the Bahādur, Tā-ir, the Mughal commander, according to our author, was encountered, lance to lance, by Ak-Sunkar, and each wounded the other so severely that both died of their wounds.

There is considerable discrepancy here between our author and Fasīh-ī and others which will be noticed in the last Section, and as to the Bahādur, Tā-ir, being killed, according to Fasīh-ī and others, he was alive in 644 H, and, moreover, the Nū-yīn, Mangūtah, was the commander of the Mughals, and the Bahādur, Tā-ir, was under him. After the departure of the Mughals, the Khokhars, and other Hindū Gabrs, seized upon Lāhor, and, after this, we no more hear of a feudatory of Lāhor in the whole work.

Briggs, in his version of Firishtah's history, *but not on his authority*, assures us that the Mughal in question was "a famous *Toorky* leader named *Toor-mooshreen* [sic] Khan"'. Dow, however, turns Malik Karā-Kash into "*Malleck*, the viceroy," but leaves out this "famous *Toorky* leader".

Lāhor was sacked, numbers of its people were massacred and carried away into captivity.

At the time of this invasion, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, whom Sultān Razıyyat had removed from the fief of Lāhor to that of Multān, assumed a canopy of state and independence, and took possession of Ūchchah and its dependencies. He however died shortly after this act of disloyalty, in 639 H. His son, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, brought Sind under his authority, and several times attacked the Karlughs before the gate of Multān. More respecting these events will be found in the next two Sections.

³ Compare ELLIOT, II 340.

ELLIOT—"He had lived for some time quietly in the Sultān's *water palace*" The *Kasr* or castle here mentioned had been erected on the edge, or, more probably, in the midst of the *Hauz* which I-yal-timish made, which was named the Hauz-i Sultān, and Hauz-i-Shamsī. It is often mentioned, and,

There was a Darwesh a Turk mĀn who was named Anūb a hermit clothed in garb of hair-cloth who for some time dwelt engaged in his devotion, at the Hauz [reservoir] of the Kāzī Sultān [the Sultān's Castle] and there he acquired intimacy with Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn Bahram Shāh and the Sultān manifested a partiality for him. This Darwesh began to interfere in state affairs. Before this the Darwesh in question had dwelt at the town of Mihir and had been persecuted by Kāzī Shams-ud Dīn of Mihir. At this time that the Darwesh's words were revered by and he had acquired ascendancy over Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn Ikṣām Shāh he used his endeavours until the Sultān had Kāzī Shams-ud Dīn of Mihir thrown before the feet of an *awastilīk*.

As soon as this sides became known the people again became wholly for the Sultān. In order to repel the infidel Mughals who were then before the gates of the city of Lohor the Sultān nominated Malik Kujb-ud Dīn Husain son of Allī the Ghūrī along with the Wazīr [the Khwajrah Muḥammad-ud Dīn] and several Amīrs and Malīks with the forces of Hindūstan to advance towards Lohor for the purpose of guarding the frontiers. At this period Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn, Bahram Shāh on

in after times, Sultān Firūz Shāh repaired it as well as many other buildings, *mausoleums*, &c.

Darweshes of this kind however do not live in palaces, they would not be Darweshes if they did; this one took up his residence near the building in some small *masjid* or other religious building.

* Here likewise, because the *Tabakāt-i Akbarī* makes a mistake in including Kāzī Shams ud Dīn among those connected with the plot mentioned in note * page 653, and throws him at the elephant feet *then* Firightah of course, does precisely the same; but this Darwesh is not mentioned in either work. The Kāzī's death does not appear to have been connected in any way with the plot in question.

* The STUDENT'S MANUAL OF INDIAN HISTORY however agrees, contrary to the Muhammadan historians, that his name was *Jakkhar* and *Dern*, the vizier " whilst Dōw on the other hand is more correct and calls him Firightah and calls him Hassan Ghori but puts an additional story upon it and says he was "chief secretary of the empire".

* Kujb-ud Dīn, Husain, commanded this force the Wazīr met by and parted him in a civil capacity. Compare Thomas's LATIHANING 1721.

* Above, our author states it was to repel the Mughals, but *then* *yet* *standing* what he says, the relief of Lohor was not the object but *then* *yet* *standing* of the frontiers. The Mughals took the city on the 15th of Jan. 1556.

Saturday, the 10th of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, in the year 639 H, entrusted this author with the Kāzī-ship of the empire, together with the Kāzī-ship of the capital, and conferred upon him a robe of honour and liberal presents. After this, the troops received orders [to move]

When the forces assembled on the bank of the Biāh⁸, the Khwājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, the Wazīr, in order to take vengeance upon the Sultān, so that, by some means or other, he might oust him from the throne, indited a representation secretly to the Sultān from the camp, saying "These Amīrs⁹ and Turks will never become obedient. It is advisable that an edict should be issued by His Majesty¹, that I, and Kutb-ud-Dīn, Husn¹⁰ should destroy all the Amīrs and Turks, by such means as may be attainable, in order that the country may be the destruction of them]" When that representation reached the Sultān¹¹, he, according to the way of precipitancy and youthfulness, did not take this order into consideration nor deliberate upon it, and commanded so that an edict of the desired form was written out and despatched to the camp.

As soon as the edict reached the camp, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn showed the very edict itself to the Amīrs and Turks, saying "The Sultān writes and commands respecting you on this subject." All of them became excessively incensed against the Sultān, and, at the suggestion of the Khwājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, the Wazīr, they pledged themselves to effect the expulsion and dethronement of the Sultān. When the news of this disaffection on the part of those Amīrs and troops reached the capital, the Shaikh-ul-Islām²

⁸ Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī says "when the army reached the banks of the river Biāh, near which, at this period, the town of Sultān-pūr has been founded." Firsihtah has precisely the same words.

⁹ Compare ELLIOT. "Amīrs" does not mean "generals."

¹ Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī says that Muhazzab—the "upright officer" of ELLIOT [vol. II page 334]—requested the Sultān to come himself, or permit him, &c. Firsihtah follows. "The Rauzat-us-Safā says, contrary to others, that Muhazzab-ud-Dīn included Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn, Hasan [Husam], among the number he asked leave to put to death, but this is not correct."

² The Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī says the Sultān despatched Shāikh Kutb-ud-Dīn, Bakhtīār, Ūshī [i.e. of Ūsh near Baghdād] to the insurgents, and Firsihtah adds a little and makes him the Shaikh-ul-Islām besides. Dow, translating Firsihtah, calls him [vol. I page 177] "*Islaam*, a venerable and learned Omrah." I wonder what "Omrah" can mean. I have heard of Umrā, but that is the *g'ural* of Amīr. This first statement, however, is an error, and he is

[the Muhammadan Patriarch] of the capital was Sayyid Kūṣ ud Dīn and him the Sultān despatched to the army for the purpose of allaying that sedition. He proceeded to the camp and used his endeavours in stirring up and augmenting that sedition and came back again and the army followed after him and arrived before the gates of Dihlī and fighting was commenced.

This servant of the state Minhāj, Sarāj and [several] priests of eminence of the city used the utmost endeavours to make peace and allay the disaffection but in no manner could an agreement be effected. The arrival of the forces before the gate of the city of Dihlī happened on Saturday⁶ the 19th of the month of Shabān 639 H and until the month of Zī Ka dah hostilities were carried on against the fortress and, on both sides a great number of people perished and others were disabled⁷. All the environs of the city were destroyed and the cause of the prolongation of this sedition was this. There was a head Farrāsh⁸ in the Sultān's service whom they used to style Farrāsh ud Dīn Mubarak Shāh Farrukhī who in the employ of the Sultān had found favour and had acquired complete ascendancy over his mind and whatever he said to the Sultān that the Sultān would do and this Farrāsh would in no way, assent to an accommodation⁹.

On Friday the 7th⁷ of the month Zī Ka dah the depen-

a different person from the Sayyid Kūṣ ud Dīn here referred to by our author. The former whose full name is Khwājah¹⁰ Sayyid—Kūṣ ud Dīn, Bakht-yār Bakī Oshī, after whom the Kūṣ minarah at Dihlī is named. He died *six years previous* to this time. See note page 621 para. 3.

⁶ In some copies, Monday

⁷ Among those of the great Malikis who supported Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn Bahrām Shāh, was Malik Karā Kash, feudatory of Dihlīnāh, and Malik Ikhtiyār ud Dīn, Yūz Bakī Tughril Khān. They were both imprisoned however on the 9th of Ramaṣān, at the instigation of the Farrāsh Farrukh ud Dīn, Mubarak Shāh, and only obtained their release when Dihlī was taken by the confederate Malikis.

⁸ Farrāshīs are servants of the houses of great men who spread the carpets, make the beds, and pitch the tent on journeys. This head Farrāsh is styled Mihtar Mubarak in the next Section.

⁹ Nothing of this affair of the head *farrāsh* is mentioned in Rauzat us-Safā, or in the Tabakāt i Akbarī, and, consequently not in Firishtah either but the Zubdat-ut Tawārīkh and some others refer to it. See the account of Malik Yūz Bakī Tughril Khān in the next Section. Our author was so intent upon his own tale here that he has left out most of the particulars.

¹⁰ In some copies the 17th of Zī Ka dah.

Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, and the territory of Budā'ūn was given to Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Kīk-luk. The writer of these words, on the fourth day from the capture of Dihlī, requested permission to resign the Kāzī-ship, and, for a period of twenty-six days, the office was in abeyance until the 4th of the month of Zī-Ḥijjah, when the office of Kāzī was entrusted to Kāzī 'Imād-ud-Dīn, Muhammad, the Shafūrkanī³

The Khwājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, the Nizām-ul-Mulk, acquired complete power over the kingdom, and appropriated [the district of] Kol as his own fief. Previous to this he had established the *naubat*⁴, and stationed an elephant at the gate of his own residence. He took all functions out of the hands of the Turk Amīrs, so that their hearts became greatly irritated [against him], and those Amīrs, in concert together, put him to death, within the camp before the city [of Dihlī], in the plain of the Rānī's Reservoir⁵, on Wednesday, the 2nd of the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 640 H⁶

At this period, the author determined to undertake a proposed journey to Lakhanawatī, and, on Friday, the 9th of the month of Rajab⁷, 640 H, he quitted Dihlī. In the territory of Budā'ūn, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Kīk-luk, and, in Awadh, Malik Kamr-ud-Dīn, Kīr-ān-i-Tamur Khān, showed him abundant kindness—Almighty God immerse the both of them in forgiveness⁸! At this time, Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Tughril-i-Tughān Khān, the feudatory

its text verbatim here, as in most other places, with but very slight verbal alterations

³ See note at foot of page 128

⁴ Described in note ³, page 383. See Elliot also INDIA, vol. II page 343—"Previous to this he had caused music to play," &c. The translator I trow never heard such music himself—music not capable of "charming the savage breast," but of making any breast, however charming, *savage*

⁵ I wonder what "*Hauz-rānī*" may be, but Hauz-i-Rānī signifies the *Reservoir* of the Rānī or Queen—Rānī being the feminine form of Rānā and Rājah. See ELLIOT, *ibid*. A little before, the Kasr-i Hauz-i-Sultān is rendered "the Sultān's *water* palace"

⁶ See the account of Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Kīk-luk, and Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkai, the Rūmī, in the next Section

⁷ The month previous to this, in Jamādī-ul-Akhir, 640 H, the Khālīfah Abū-Ja'far-i Mansūr, styled Al-Mustansir B'illah, died, and was succeeded by his son, the last of the 'Abbāsīs of Baghdād—Abū-Aḥmad i-'Abdullah, entitled Al-Mustar'sim B'illah

of Lakhanawati advanced to the frontiers of Karah with troops and vessels and the author joined him from Awadh.¹ Malik Izz ud Dīn returned again to Lakhanawati, and the writer went along with him thither and on Sunday the 17th of the month of Zi Hijjah reached the Lakhanawati territory. The writer left all his children family and dependents in Awadh and subsequently confidential persons were sent and his family [and children] were removed to Lakhanawati. From Malik Tughril i Tughān Khān the author experienced the utmost generosity and received innumerable gifts—the Almighty reward him—and he remained in the territory of Lakhanawati for a period of two years.

During those two years Sultan Alā ud Dīn Masūd Shāh effected in different parts of the kingdom many victories² and after the Khwājah Muhazzab ud Dīn was put to death³ the office of Wazīr passed to the Šadr ul

¹ It was at this time that Malik Tughril i Tughān Khān, the feudatory of Lakhanawati, invited by his adviser Bahā ud Dīn, Hilāl, attempted to take possession of the territories of Awadh, Karah, and Manikpūr and Upper Ansa. See next Section.

² It is strange that these many victories are not named by our author. They must refer to some minor affairs which he refers to in the next Section, and which may be summed up in a few words. In 640 H. Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Sanjar i Kāfī lāh, the feudatory of Budaūn, overthrew the infidels of Kāfīhehr and a namesake of his Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Sanjar i-Gurāt Khān, gained some successes over the Hindūs in Awadh, and, subsequently, is said to have "entered Bihār and plundered that territory and was killed before the fortified city of Bihār. In this case it is evident that the Hindūs had regained possession of it from the Muslims immediately after the death of Muḥammad Dīn, Iḥāk or possibly only after the decease of Iyāl timish. See note * page 633.

About the same period, the son of Malik Izz-ud Dīn, Kabīr Khān i-Ayār feudatory of Multān who had thrown off his allegiance on the invasion of the Panjāb by the Mughals in 639 H.—Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Abū Bīkr—who remained in possession of his father's fief after his decease several times attacked and defeated the Karugh who had advanced to the very gates of Multān. In 642 H. the infidels of Jāj nagar were defeated and the author was present. This is the affair which the I. O. L. copy of the text, No. 1952, and the R. A. S. M.S. through the carelessness or ignorance of their copyists, turn into "Mughals of Changiz Khān" referred to farther on.

In the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section, some successes are said to have been gained over the independent tribes in the Do-Āb in 642 H.

These are the only successes which appear to have been gained during this period, as a set off to so many disasters and disturbances.

³ One of the best and oldest copies of the text, as well as the more modern ones, have *two years after* the Khwājah, Muhazzab-ud Dīn, was put to death, but this can scarcely be correct as, in such case, the Wazīr ship must have been in allegiance.

Mulk, Najm-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, and the office of Amīr-i-Ḥājib of the capital was entrusted to Ulugh Khān²-i-Mu'azzam —may his good fortune continue³!—and the fief of Hānsī was assigned to him, and, at this time, many holy expeditions, as by creed enjoined, were undertaken, and much wealth came in from all parts

When Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Tughril-i-Tughān Khān, returned from Karah towards Lakhanawatī, he despatched the Sharf-ul-Mulk, the Asha'rī⁴, to the capital to the presence of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, and, from the capital, Kāzī Jalāl-ud-Dīn, the Kāsānī, who was the Kāzī⁵ of Awadh at this period, was nominated to proceed to Lakhanawatī with a red canopy of state, and an honorary robe. On Sunday, the 11th of the month of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, 641 H⁶, the envoy's party reached Lakhanawatī, and Malik Tughril-i-Tughān Khān was honoured by being invested with that honorary robe

At this time, among the praiseworthy incidents which

² In ELLIOT, vol. II page 343, he is turned into Dāru-l Mulk Bāligh Khān. Dār-ul-Mulk signifies "the seat of government," "capital," &c. Ulugh in Turkī signifies "great," "the greater," &c., what "Bāligh" may be intended for who knows?

³ In some of the more modern copies of the text, the invocation, here used for Ulugh Khān's prosperity or good fortune, varies, through carelessness or ignorance on the part of copyists, and in place of *دولت* they have *ملك* and occasionally *سلطه* and, in consequence of this last blunder, some modern writers on Oriental subjects jump at the conclusion that the whole work "*must have been written*" after Ulugh Khān ascended the throne, but, had those writers gone a little farther on, they would have found, in several places, both at the end of this Section, and in the next, that our author distinctly states that Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, was reigning when he finished his work, and he continued to reign for nearly six years more. See Elliot INDIA vol. II note ², page 362

⁴ The Tabakāt-i-Akbarī gives this name, as it does *most* names, correctly—Asha'rī—but Firishṭah turns it into Sankurī, Dow leaves it out and a great deal more of the reign, and Briggs turns it into Shunkry, thus making a Hindū of him, and he invariably turns 'Izz-ud Dīn into Eiz-ood Deen

⁵ The Tabakāt-i-Akbarī quotes our author very correctly here, with the exception of turning the Kāzī into a Hākīm, but the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī's shadow—Firishṭah—although using nearly the same words, makes a terrible hash of the names

⁶ See the account of Tughril-i-Tughān Khān in the next Section. There it is stated that he despatched his agent, the Sharf ul-Mulk, to the Court for aid, *after* having been repulsed before Katāsīn, the frontier post of Jāj-nagar, and that happened on the 6th of Zī Ka'dah—the eleventh month—of 641 H, while Rabī'-ul-Awwal is the *third* month. 642 H must be meant

happily occurred during Sulṭān Alā ud Dīn Masūd Shāh's reign was this that in concurrence with the Malik and Amirs of the Court he commanded both his uncles to be released and they were brought forth accordingly. Malik Jalīl ud Dīn was given the province of Kannauj and the preserved city of Bharīk with its dependencies was conferred upon Sulṭān⁷ Nasir ud Dīn Mahmūd after which both of them in their respective districts, in carrying on holy war as by creed enjoined and in [attending to] the prosperity of the peasants, exhibited commendable examples.

In the year 642 H the infidels of Jāj nagar appeared before the gate of Lakhanawati⁸ and on the 1st of the

⁷ Subsequently when he succeeded to the throne. This uncle had then attained the *major* age of fifteen, the other was younger still.

⁸ Most authors, with the exception of the one who was living at the time, and even *stating* in the Lakhanawati territory and along with the Muslim army—our author—and a few others such as the authors of *Tārīkh-i Mulūk*, *Shih-i Raṣat-uz Saḍ*, and *Zul-lāt* at *Tawārīkh*, who could discriminate and distinguish, before they entered events in their writings, and did not jump at conclusions—have perpetrated a ridiculous blunder here which has been handed down by those Muslim writers who copied the event in their histories from the *Talāḥat-i Akbarī* by Bulṭūnī and Fariḥī in particular. From the version of the last named writer the blunder like the "*Fathu Durrat*" has been made over to English writers by its translators, and, in all the Histories of India and Manuals of Indian History up to this hour the blunder is duly recorded.

There was no invasion of Banglāh nor of Lakhanawati by the Mughals of Chingiz Khān—*who died eight years before*—in fact, no invasion of the kind ever occurred.

Some careless copyist of the identical copy of the text of our author's work [such an imperfect copy for example as the I. O. L. MS. 195 or the R. A. S. MS. on which first mentioned copy the Calcutta printed text is chiefly based] which fell under the notice of Nizām-ud Dīn, Ahmad, the author of the *Talāḥat-i Akbarī* when compiling his work—instead of copying our author's words which occur in every other copy of the text, which are as follow:—*کار جاحک در لکھنوی اند*—did not think it fit or advisable to read it the right way but in the wrong—like the editors of the Calcutta printed text, although the right reading was before them. In at least one *MS.* copy they had to refer to, namely:—*کار جاحک در لکھنوی اند*—leaving *کار جاحک* for a note!

It is hardly correct to say that Nizām-ud Dīn, Ahmad reproduces it for it will not be found in any *prior* history; still, if the author of the *Talāḥat-i Akbarī* Abū l Faḍl and the rest of those who copy the blunder and if the editors of the Calcutta printed text likewise, had used a little discrimination they might have seen that in the two separate accounts of Malik Tughlūk-i-Tughlūk Khān, and Malik Kīrān-i-Tamur Khān, the correct reading is given, as both the I. O. L. MS. the R. A. S. MS. and the Calcutta printed text also have it in the accounts of those Maliks. The

Lakhnawati. Peti cen him and Malik Tughri i Tughān Ḥh in distrust showed itself and on Wednesday the 6th of the month of Zi Ḥada of the same year, an accommodation took place and he [Malik Tughri i Tughān Ḥh in] relinquished Lakhnawati to Malik Ḥi r in i Tāmur Ḥh in and determined to proceed to Dihli. The writer of this book in his company reached the capital on Monday the 14th of the month of Safar 643 H., and permission to pay homage at the sublime Court was obtained. On Thursday the 17th of the month of Safar through the patronage of Ulugh Ḥh in i Muḥ ḥ am—the Almighty perpetuate his vicegerency!—the Nasarah College together with the superintendence of its endowments the Ḥāẓi ship of Gwilyūr and the lecture ship of the *Ḥam Miḥl* all these were confirmed to the author according to former grant, and that Malik [Ulugh Ḥh in i Muḥ ḥ am] conferred upon the author a special honorary robe and a caparisoned horse such as no other among his brethren of the same profession¹ had ever obtained. God reward him for it!

In the month of Ḥajab² of this same year news was received from the upper provinces of an army of infidel Mughals which had advanced towards Uchchrah and of which force the recurred Mangutah was the leader. Sultān Ala ud Din Masūd Shāh for the purpose of repelling the Mughal forces, assembled the troops of Islam from various parts³. On their arrival on the banks of the Bāh the

¹ In the year 642 H., Ghilyā and Dīn Bālban, who, up to that time, was *Amīr-i Akbar* became *Amīr-i Ilājī*. The *Talāḥī-i Akbar*, however, assures us that Malik Bālban [in some MSS. Tiglāh-i Khān, who then held the title of Ulugh Khān, became *Amīr-i Ilājī*. Ghilyā and Dīn Bālban, did not obtain that title until five years after this, in 647 H. Our author does not mean that he was styled Ulugh Khān at this time although he call him so: he was Ulugh Khān when our author wrote his book.

² The word here used does not mean *July*. FLEET: vol. II. page 344.

³ Previous to this the royal forces went on an expedition in the Do-āb of the Jūn and Gang, the particulars of which—or rather some meagre particulars, will be found in the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section.

⁴ The particulars of these events which happened in 643 H.—not 642 H.—will be found in the last Section of this work and referred to in the next. Mangutah the Nūyūn—whom the translator of this page of our author's work, in FLEET [page 344] has been pleased to turn into Mangū Khān *Ar* but leaves him under the name of *Manḥāl* farther on [page 364], not being aware, seemingly that they were one and the same person—was one of Chingiz Khān's own immediate followers and confidant now grown old. He was very thin, tall, and blind of an eye. Mangū Khān, the grandson of

infidels withdrew from before Ūchchah, and that success was gained. The writer of this work was in attendance on the sublime Court on that expedition, and persons of understanding and men of judgment agreed, that no one could point out to view anything of an army like that host and gathering in years gone by. When information of the number and efficiency of the victorious forces of Islām reached the infidels, they decamped and retired towards Khuiāsān again⁵.

A number of very worthless persons in that army had clandestinely gained access to the presence of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, and used to influence him in the committal of unworthy acts and habits, so much so that

Chingiz, did not succeed to his father's sovereignty until some time after this event, and was *never east of the Indus in his life*! It is strange how people will jump at impossible conclusions, and, because one of the Mughal sovereigns was called مک immediately they see مک they at once assume that the former *must* be meant, just in the same way as the Khalj Turks have been turned into Ghalzī Afghāns.

Ūchchah was invested for some time, and therefore the Mughals did not retire without fighting as in Thomas [PATHAN KINGS, page 121], and they made several unsuccessful attempts to storm it after they had reached the walls, in the last of which, at night, the greatest champion of the Mughal army, in attempting to descend from the breach into the interior of the place, fell into a ditch filled with mud, which the defenders had made in rear of the breach, and was smothered. Soon after this unsuccessful attempt, hearing of the flank movement of the Dihlī army, and its advance along the banks of the Bīāh, the Mughals raised the investment and retired, and, subsequently, the Dihlī army advanced as far as the banks of the Sūdharah. In the account of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Balban, afterwards Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, and in the last Section, the prompt advance of the Dihlī army is ascribed entirely to the energy of that Malik, but, under this reign, in which these events happened, our author does not mention even his name! See the notice of him in next Section, under this date.

Tāj ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, the son of Malik Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz, was now dead, and Ūchchah was in the hands of a slave of his father's, an eunuch named Mukhlis-ud-Dīn, and gallantly he defended it. Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, at this time, held the fief of Nāg-awr, and he joined the Sultān's army, with his contingent, upon this occasion.

At this period, Lāhor was in ruins, and Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Hasan, the Karugh, who, on account of the pressure of the Mughals, had been obliged to leave his own territories, was in possession of Multān, and, on the Mughal invaders approaching the Indus, by our author's account, he embarked, with his family, dependents, and effects, on board of boats and dropped down the river towards Siwastān and Diwal. See also next Section, Malik, No XX, and the last Section, where a different statement is made.

⁵ The Tabakāt-i-Akbarī copies our author *verbatim* here, and Firishtah, of course, agrees.

[the custom of] killing and seizing his Maliks was graining a place in his nature, and he was steadfast in resolve [in that habit] All his good qualities turned away from the laudable path and inclined towards sensuality, pleasure, drinking and the chase to such a degree of excess, that disaffection began to spread through the country and the affairs of the kingdom to be neglected. The Maliks and Amirs agreed together and despatched letters secretly to Sulṭān Nāṣir ud Dīn—the Almighty perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty!—and prayed for the appearance of his suspicious retinue, as will subsequently be recorded please God! On Sunday the 23rd of the month of Muḥarram* 644 H, Sulṭān Ala ud Dīn Masūd Shāh was imprisoned and during that confinement he was received into the Almighty's mercy.

His reign extended to a period of four years one month and one day.

VIL US SULTĀN UL-AẒAM UL-MU AẒẒAM NĀSIR UD-DUNYĀ
WA UD DĪN AND I MUẒAFFAR I MAHMUD SHĀH SON
OF THE SULTĀN ḤASIM I AMIR UL-MŪMINĪN

The birth of the Sulṭān i Muazzam Nāṣir ud Dīn Maḥmud Shāh* took place at the Kaṣr Bāgh [the Garden Castle] of Dīhlī in the year 626 H and as his birth took

* Zablat ul Tawārīkh states that he died on the 23rd of the month of Muḥarram, and, if this be correct, he must have been put to death on the same day as he was imprisoned, but no other writer gives the precise date of his death. A single copy of our author's text, not a very old one, has— after a month he was received," &c.

† In the following pages, a totally different title is given to him. This is a title given to his father at page 624. According to the Khulīṣat ul Akhlār Sulṭān Barkūk the Saljūq [see note † page 143] also held the title of Ḥasim i-Amir ul Mūminīn previous to the Shamsahī Sulṭāns. See page 316, and page 368 note †.

‡ ELPHINSTONE turns him into a grandson of Altamah" and MARSHMAN following him in that also, turns his name into Asir-ood Deen. These are some of the facts in his History probably of which he is prepared to vouch for the accuracy."

Ibn Naṣūfah, who is quoted by some as an authority on the history of India, and makes I yal timish Kutb-ud Dīn, I bak a son, says Nāṣir-ud Dīn succeeded his sister Razīyyat. He is the ninth of Thomas's PATILĀN KINGS.

* The garden with the Kaṣr or Castle in it.

place after the decease of the august Malīk, Nāsī-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh¹—on whom be peace¹—at the seat of government of the august Sultān Shams-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, I-yal-tīmish—The Almighty illumine his tomb¹—this sovereign [Nāsī-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh]¹—May his sovereignty long continue¹—was distinguished by the title and name of the [late] eldest son [of the Sultān] His mother [with her infant] was sent to the Qaşr [Castle] at the town of Lūnī², so that there he was brought up in the hall of dominion and the lap of sovereignty, and, thank God¹ the foster-mother of the Most High Creator's grace nourished him in such wise that he became endowed with all laudable qualities, and from the breasts of humanity he imbibed the milk of benevolence to such degree that all his affairs and all his deeds became the means of the stability of his kingdom, and the glory of his sovereignty³

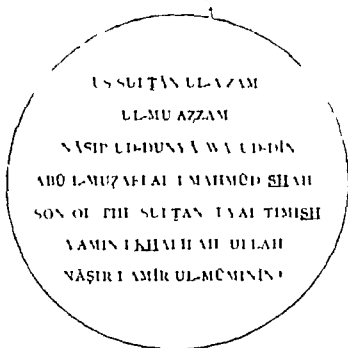
In every matter which becomes unfolded to illustrious monarchs in their old age, after the experiences and incidents of time, all such matters—indeed, twice as much—became realized and conceived in the auspicious constitution and august soul of this monarch of blooming prospects, of Saturn[-like] throne⁴, in excellence a Jupiter, in sternness a Mars, in mien a Sun, in beauty a Venus, in intelligence a Mercury, in majesty a Moon in the outset of its youth and the morning of its existence, in firmness, steadfastness, and sedateness, like Bū-Ḳais and Ḥirā⁵, and in liberality and beneficence [he] became the envied of 'Ummān's [pearl-giving] sea, and the most excellent service is that of that sublime Court—May it never experience vane, and may its grandeur ever increase¹

Every one of the learned [personages] of the realm, and eminent men of the kingdom, have composed benedictions and panegyrics [in his praise], and particles of those odours they have threaded on the string of recital and writing, and

this frail one who is the servant of this court of glory and altar of felicity, by way of solicitation has composed some poetry and prose. Of these poetical [compositions] one after the manner of a *Kasidah*¹, and the other, in the manner of a *mulamma*² strophe, have been inscribed in these pages in order that when the notice of observers may glance over them they may utter a prayer for the sovereign of Islam and invoke a blessing on the author of them³.

[These fulsome poems may be judged of from what is foregoing, and still more so from what follows and need scarcely be inserted here⁴].

Titles and Names of the Sultan



¹ A poem, a eulogium, a long ode.

² *Mulamma*² means of different colours, but in poetry it is applied to verses alternately Arabic and Persian, but our author's strophe is not exactly in accord with that description.

³ The text varies here, and in some copies, there is a longer prayer for the Sultan.

⁴ If anything were wanting to convince me that Firsihtah's knowledge of our author's work was derived solely from what he copied out of the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, it would be found with respect to these poems. The *Tabakat-i Akbari* copies the first four lines of the *Kasidah*, and Firsihtah has precisely the same and no more; and this plainly shows whence he obtained them.

⁵ The I. O. L. M.S. No. 1952, instead of this last title, has *Kasim-i Amir al-Muminin*. See note ⁴ page 310.

Offspring.

Malik Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, the late².

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Ibrāhīm Shāh, the late.

Malik Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, the late

Malik Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Muhammad³ Shāh, the late.

Length of his reign.

Twenty-two years

Motto on the Royal Signet.

"Greatness belongeth unto God alone"⁴

Standards

On the right, Black

On the left, Red

The following is given as the inscription on two of his first coins, a *dirham* and *dīnār* —

Obverse—هذا الدرهم مسكوك با اسم سلطان العادل النادل ناصرالدين محمود شاه

Reverse—ضرب بلده دهلې سنة ٦٤٤ حلوس احد

which may be thus translated —Obverse—"This diram [is] stamped with the name of the Just and Beneficent Sultān, Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh " Reverse—"Struck at the city of Dihlī, in the year 644 H, the first of the reign "

The other runs thus —

Obverse—الناصر لاحكام الشريعة بحق المس سلطان ناصرالدين حلوس ا

Reverse—ضرب هذا الدينار بمحضرت دهلې سنة اربع و اربعين و سقاية

which may be rendered thus —Obverse—"The defender of the ordinances of the Law for the sake of the true [faith], Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn The first year of the reign." Reverse—"This coin, a dīnār, [was struck] at the capital, Dihlī, in the year six hundred and forty-four "

² The oldest copies have اولاد—offspring—and not اقربا—kinsmen, kindred, relations—as in some modern copies of the text, and the printed text. After each name the invocation—"on whom be mercy or compassion"—equivalent to "the late"—occurs, thus showing that they were dead when our author wrote, but this is left out in the best Paris MS. In the account of the Sultān's reign, the birth of a son is recorded in the fourteenth year, but no more. Two of the above names are certainly similar to those of two of his brothers—the first and third—but the other two are not the names of any of his other brothers, who, in all, were six. Had six been mentioned here, and all the names agreed, we might suppose that the brothers were referred to, but, such not being the case, we can only suppose that these are the names of sons born to Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, and that they died young, but it is remarkable that our author is silent as to their births after mentioning their names

³ In one copy of the text, Maḥmūd

⁴ Just the same as his father's

*His Maliks**

On the right —

Malik al Kabir, Jalāl ud Dīn Kulīḡh[†] Khān, son of [the late] Malik Ala ud Dīn, Jāni i Ghāzi, Malik of Lakhana wati and Karah

Malik al Kabir Nuṣrat ud Dīn Sher Khān Sunkar i Saghalsu[‡] Malik of Sind and of Hind[‡]

Malik Saif ud Dīn, Bat[§] Khān i I bak, the Khitā i, Malik of Kuhrām

Malik Iḥtiyār ud Dīn, Buktam i Aor Khān.

Malik Nāṣir ud Dīn [Taj ud Dīn[¶]] Arsalan Khān Sanjar i Chast[‡] Malik of Awadh.

Malik Saif ud Dīn I bak i Ballā Khān Sanā i[‡]

Malik Timur Khān i Sunḡar the Ajami, Malik of Kuhrām.

Malik Iḥtiyār ud Dīn Yūz Bak i Tughri[‡] Khān, the late Malik of Lakhana wati.

Malik Nuṣir ud Dīn Mahmūd[‡], Tughri i Alb Khān.

On the left —

Malik al Kabir ul Muazẓam Kuṭb-ud Dīn Husam, son of All the Ghūri

Malik Izz ud Dīn Muḡammad i Sālāri Mahdi.

Malik Izz ud Dīn Tughri i Tughān Khān Malik of Lakhana wati

Malik al Karīm Kāmar ud Dīn Tamur Khān i Kārīn Malik of Awadh and Lakhana wati

* This list is evidently defective. No Wazirs or Kizls are given, and several eminent Maliks, mentioned in the following account of the reign, such as No. XXI in the next Section—Malik Nuṣrat Khān, Badr ud Dīn, Sanḡar i Saif the Rūmi; No. XXII—Malik Saif-ud Dīn, I bak, the Shamsi, the chief Dād Bak the son of ḡazālī Khān, Ulugh Khān's nephew; and several others, and no list of victories is given in any copy of the text. All this shows, I think, that our author intended to continue his work as he afterwards states.

† In some copies, Tughri and Khali but these can scarcely be correct, and Tughri is most likely the name of the third Malik below which, from the names being sometimes copied in a circle, or one after the other have got mixed up one with the other

‡ In nearly every copy of the text containing this List.

§ This word is doubtful. See Malik No. XVI in the next Section.

¶ This word is doubtful also. See Malik No. XIX.

‡ سانی—Sanā i—doubtful: in one copy سانی and in another سانی

‡ In one or two copies, Nuṣir-ud Dīn, Muḡammad, &c.

Malik-al-Kabīr, 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, Malik of Sind and of Hind³

Malik Qarā-Kush Khān-i-Aet-kīn, Malik of Lohor

Malik-al-Kabīr-ul-Mu'azzam, Bahā-ul-Hakk wa ud-Dīn, Ghīyās-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Ulugh Khān⁴, Malik of the Sīwālīkh and Hānsī

Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Kashlī Khān, Mubārak-i-Bār-Bak, the late

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Kuret Khān, Malik of Awadh

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Tez Khān, Malik of Awadh

Such attributes of the saints, and endowments of the prophets, which the Most High God hath implanted in the great soul of this monarch and son of a monarch, and instilled into his august nature—piety, faith, probity, abstinence, compassion, clemency, mercy, beneficence, impartiality, bounty, generosity, humility, purity, constancy, steadfastness, fasting and prayer, the perusal of the Holy Word, forbearance, gentleness, benevolence, harmlessness, justness, the love of the learned and of learning, regard for ecclesiastics, along with other admirable principles and inestimable qualities which are the requirements of sovereignty and principles of government, such as vigour, dignity, manliness, ardour, spirit, impartiality, kindness, liberality, and the conferring of obligations, with the concurrence of the people of the time—will not be found united in the person of any of the monarchs among the Sultāns of by-gone days, or of the Maliks of past ages—The Almighty sanctify their tombs!—and the purity of the garment, and [other] admirable qualities, both external and internal, of this Sultān, and son of the Sultān—The Almighty exalt his dignity and enlighten his understanding!—are so abundant that they cannot be comprised

³ Nusrat-ud-Dīn, Sher Khān-i-Sunkar, as well as Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, is called Malik of *Sind and Hind*. This may be in some way connected with the terms applied to the country east of the Sind or Indus, in the map of Sind in the MASĀLIK WA MAMĀLIK, in which the country S E of Mansūrah is called Bilād-us-Sind, and that immediately north of it, Bilād-ul-Hind

⁴ The best Paris MS—the “autograph” probably—and two or three others which are also comparatively modern, invariably make the great blunder of styling Ulugh Khān—الغ حان—“Ulū Khān”—الو حان!

within record or recital. The Almighty God preserve him on the throne of his dominion continual and perpetual!¹

INASMUCH as the accession of this Sultān, the son of the Sultān to the throne of dominion took place in the beginning of the year 644 H.,—the Almighty perpetuate his sovereignty!—and that up to the period of this Chronicle will be fifteen years, each year thereof has been separated in order that the events may be more accessible to the understanding.

FIRST YEAR 644 H

The Sultān i Muazzam, Nāṣir ud Dunyā wa ud Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, under a happy conjunction of the planets, with auspicious fortune at a propitious time and with daily increasing prosperity ascended the throne of sovereignty within the Kaṣr i Sabz [Green Castle] in the capital city of Dihlī on Sunday the 23rd of the month of Muḥarram² in the year 644 H. and the Maliks and Amīrs the Ṣadrs and Grandees, and the Sayyids and Ulamā, hastened to present themselves³ at the sublime Court—may its sublimity never decrease!—and performed the ceremony of kissing the blessed hands of this king of kings.

* Several of the words used by our author to express all these perfections the like of which no other son of Adam ever possessed, are of the same signification; and, therefore I have not repeated their meanings again; but the context shows, that however amiable and harmless he may have been, he was by no means fitted for his position, and was a mere tool or puppet. Our author's flattering account of him must have been intended for Nāṣir ud Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh's own perusal. Compare ELLIOT here.

The *Talakhāt i Akbarī* states that he copied *Kur'āns*, and completed two in each year—not excessive work—which were sold, and the proceeds he subsisted on. The author then goes on to say that he had but one wife and no servant or slave girl, and that she used to cook his victuals and do all the work. This story however is very *stale* indeed—as stale as the days of one of the early *Khalīfahs*. It is not likely that Ulugh Khān would have allowed his daughter to be treated after that fashion; but the account of the brilliancy of the Court of Nāṣir ud Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, which may be gathered from the account given by our author at the end of the next Section, belies such a statement. The Sultān was God fearing and pious—in the *Muslimān* sense of the word—and no doubt copied *Kur'āns*, but that he lived on the price they fetched and that he could not afford to purchase a slave woman to do the household duties is absurd when he could present *forty head of slaves* to our author to send to his dear sister in *Khurāsān*. See page 686, and the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section.

¹ The first month of the Muhammadan year.

² Compare ELLIOT: vol. II. page 346.

of august footstep, and all of them, each in a manner befitting his own position, tendered the homage of congratulation on his accession to the throne. On Tuesday, the 25th of this same month, the Sultān held a public reception in the audience-hall of the Kūshk-i-Firūzī [the Firūzī Castle]—the royal residence, and all the people⁸ made public pledge of allegiance to the sovereignty and of submission to the mandates, of the beneficent monarch of excellent disposition and kingly countenance. All were rejoiced at the reconstitution of this dynasty, and all parts of the territory of Hindūstān were pleased at this prosperous⁹ reign, and may it be prolonged to the utmost limits of possibility!

When the Sultān of Islām, Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, set out from Dihlī towards Bharā'ij on that fief being assigned to him [by his nephew, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh¹], his mother, the Malīkah-i-Jahān, Jalāl-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn—may her prosperity endure!²—accompanied him. He undertook many expeditions against the infidels³ in that territory and the mountains [adjacent], and the province of Bharā'ij, through his auspicious arrival there, assumed a most flourishing condition.

When, on account of those holy expeditions, and the flourishing condition [of the province], the fame of his government became diffused through the different parts of Hindūstān, the Malīks and Amīrs of the kingdom, having become apprehensive of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, secretly despatched, to his presence, a written petition [to the effect] that, if the sacred footstep should turn towards the capital, Dihlī, it would be a source of congratulation⁴.

⁸ The "approval" of "the people" was neither asked nor required, in those days there was not so much fuss made about "the people" as at present.

⁹ This prosperous reign may be judged of from the following pages—constant outbreaks, and continual inroads on the part of the Mughals, and Sindh, Multān, and Lāhor lost, or very nearly so, and not recovered for a long period.

¹ See page 665.

² Who his mother was is not known, but it does not follow that she was a "princess" as in ELLIOT in all probability she was a concubine. She caused trouble enough afterwards.

³ This maker of holy war upon the infidels was then fifteen years old—a very experienced warrior doubtless.

⁴ A few copies have "and solicited his auspicious departure towards the capital."

The Malīkah Jahān his mother adopting a good expedient, represented to the people to the effect that her son was going to the city of Dihlī for the purpose of obtaining medicine and remedy for sickness, and she placed the Sultān in a litter and the Malīkah his mother taking him along with her and attended by a great number of domestics on foot and on horseback set out from Bhārāḥ towards the capital Dihlī. When night came on, they covered the blessed face of the Sultān with a woman's veil and placed him on horseback and proceeding with the utmost expedition in a short space of time they reached Dihlī on such wise that not a living being had information of the arrival of the august cavalcade of this monarch of felicitous reign until the day that he ascended the throne.

After the seat of dominion became beautified and ornamented by the grace and splendour of his person in the month of Rajab in the year 644 H. he raised his imperial standards and brought out his forces for the purpose of marching to the banks of the river Sind and Banlān^a and the destruction of the infidels of Chīn [the Mughals] and moved by successive marches^b. On Sunday the 1st of

^a The I. O. L. MSS. No. 195., and R. A. S. MSS. have Multān.

^b This passage plainly indicates that Banlān must be the hilly tract west of the upper part of the Sind Sagar Do-Abād. It is not known by that name now. For the events of the Shamsī dynasty after I jal tīmūgh himself, as I have before stated, the only *contemporary* authority then living in the kingdom of Dihlī was our author—but, for reasons we are not cognizant of, scarcely from want of information, he has not given many details respecting the different Mughal invasions and other events which took place in these reigns, and also we have a specimen of his concealment of facts. He gives some details, however in the last Section in his account of the Mughals, for which place I shall reserve my remarks, merely mentioning here that, in the beginning of this year 644 H. the Mughals extorted 100,000 *drams* from Multān, then moved on to Lāhor and extorted 30,000 *drams* 30 *kharwārs* of soft goods [cloths], and 100 head of captives. Our author must have passed all this over as well as much more, to feed the vanity of his patrons. See also his account of Ulugh Khān for a few more details. In Elliot's INDIA, all the important events in our author's work concerning the Mughal raids on the frontiers of India have been ignored.

The Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī copied in the Tabaqāt-i Akbarī and its followers, would make us believe, contrary to our author that, at the very outset of his reign, Sultān Nāṣir ud Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, assigned a canopy of state a *dar-āshā*, and the dignity of Khān to Ulugh Khān, but this is incorrect. Had the two former been allowed him, our author was not one to conceal such honour towards his great patron.

In this part of Nāṣir ud Dīn's reign, the Dakhnī historian, to

the month of Zi-Ka'dah, 644 II, he crossed the river of Lohor [Rāwī], and issued commands to the forces of Islām to ravage the Jūd Hills and around Nandanah⁷ Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam⁸—may his good fortune⁹ continue!—who held the office of Amīr-i Hājib, was nominated to the head of that army, and the Sultān with the camp, the followers, heavy material, and the elephants, encamped on the bank of the Sūdharah¹

Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam took that army, and, by the favour and aid of the Creator, he ravaged the Jūd Hills and Jīlam [Jhīlam], and the Khokhars, and other con-

endeavours to spin out his tale, inserts the nonsense about the removal of the feudatories of the Panjāb, and with it quotes the stale story about Alexander's message to Aristotle for advice, which is related in Guzīdah and others long before Firishṭah wrote, respecting a king of Khwārazm

⁷ See Elliot here also [INDIA vol II page 346], where the editor, in a note, says "the text [*printed text?*] has نندنا *nandna*, but it is evidently a mistake for سنده "Sindh," or the river Indus, which agrees with what follows, and with *Firishṭah's statement*" When NANDANAH, in some places, is turned into "*Nārdīn*," and in one place is made "a fortified village near Kānauj," we can scarcely expect to find it in its right place. The Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī copies our author quite correctly and has Nandanah likewise, and Firishṭah—the *MSS* copies of the work—follows the former likewise, with some additions of his own concoction, but in the "revised text" of BRIGGS Nandanah is turned into *Multān*, and that text has neither "Nandna" nor "Sindh," and both Dow and Briggs, in their versions of Firishṭah, have "territories near the Indus," and "provinces on the Indus," respectively. The words in our author's text are بهت کورد و اطراف نندنا و میان داد. See also the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section for further particulars.

⁸ Mu'azzam signifies *great* عظم—A'zam is the comparative of عظم—'Azīm, and signifies *greatest*, and Ulugh is Turkish, and signifies *great*, being equivalent to the Persian *buzurg*. Dow, referring to his appointment as Wazīr—as Firishṭah styles him Balban-i-Khūrd, copying the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī, to distinguish him from Balban-i-Buzurg, as 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān is styled in the Tārīkh-i-Firūz-Shāhī—calls him "*young Baln*"! Ulugh Khān, or Balban the *Lesser* or *Minor*, as the term signifies, was then only past *forty*! This however is not so absurd as LEE, who, in his translation of Ibn Batuta [Ibn Baṭūṭah], [page 114] quoting the Ṭabakāt-i-Akbarī, to prove Dow wrong in calling him Baln, says that he was called *Balaban the Dwarf*, and actually gives the words باس حورد to prove his words, حورد being a *dwarf* in his vocabulary!

⁹ The printed text has سلطة here for دولت and constantly makes the same mistake

¹ Or Sūdharā—سوذر—"*is a town two and a half *kun oh* to the north-west of Wazīrābād. In former times, the river Chināb—which, at this place, is also called the Sūdharā—flowed close to the place, on the northern side, but now it is a *kuroh* to the north of it. There is no river "*Sodra*" See the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section*

tumacious infidels¹ in great numbers he sent to hell. He pushed on as far as the bank of the river Sind and ravaged and plundered those parts and returned again from thence on account of the difficulty of obtaining subsistence and necessaries for his troops. When he presented himself at the sublime Court after such success and such a great renown on Thursday the 25th of Zi Ādah of the same year the auspicious standards moved from the bank of the river Sūdharāh and the force set out on its return towards the illustrious capital the city of Dihlī. The prayers for the Idī Azhī were said in the *karah*² [the hall of a *kārwān* Sarie or of a College] of Jalandār [Jalhandār] and from thence stage by stage, the capital was reached.

On this day likewise this servant of the state Minhāj i Sarāj who is the writer of this [work] was presented [by order of the Sulṭān] with a cloak³ a turban and a horse, with ornamented stirrups and bridle befitting a king⁴

SECOND YEAR 645 H

The capital city Dihlī was reached on the 2nd of Mu ḥarram 645 H, and the Sulṭān remained at Dihlī on account of the abundance of rain and severity of the rainy season. In the month of Jamādī ul Akhīr of this same year the camp and the royal pavilion were pitched in the direction of Pīnī pat and in Shāban [the Sulṭān] returned again [to Dihlī] and the sublime standards moved towards the part of Hindūstān situated in the Do-ab. Within the limits of [the district] of Kannauj there was a fortified place and strong fort, the name of which was Talsandah

¹ And yet the Dakhani historian, Firightah in his account of Mu'izz ud Dīn, Ghūl's reign says the Khokhars were converted to Islām at that time

² The *printed* text has *ج*—mountain, range of hills or mountains, instead of *س* as above and, consequently in ELLIOT the Sulṭān "offered up his prayers on the hills of Jalandār" which lies in a perfectly level tract of country with no hill whatever within some forty miles of it. *Karah* and *kujrah* are of very nearly the same signification

³ Such as *Shūfs* and *Darwaghes* wear

⁴ In this year Malik Ikhtiyār ud Dīn, Karā Kush Khān i Aet kīn, the feudatory of *karah*, was killed in that territory but how or by whom is not said.

⁵ This place which is plainly written *تالند*—Talan lah in all the copies of the text—with two exceptions, where it is *تالند*—Talandah—and *تالند*—Tallandah—is turned into *Nandana* in the printed text and in ELLIOT and THOMAS follows the incorrect reading [PATILAN KINGS, page 125], and although *Nandana* which is not only impossible, but does not occur in any copy of

which was reported to be as stout as the wall of Sīkandar⁷. In that fort a body of infidel Hīndūs sought a place of security, and washed their hands of their lives. For a period of ten days, the troops of Islām in attendance at the august stirrup carried on the conflict against that place with the Hīndūs until they despatched the whole of those rebels to hell, and the place was taken.

[An account of] this holy war, as by the faith prescribed, this servant of the realm has composed in poetry on five or six sheets⁸ of paper, and all that happened on this expedition—the ravages by the way, the onslaughts and the slaughtering of the contumacious infidels, and taking of that stronghold, the successes which attended Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam in the slaying [of infidels] and taking Dalkī and Malkī⁹, are, in those sections [of paper], fully

the text, Gen Cunningham [see THOMAS *ibid*] identifies it "as *Deo-kali* or *No-po-ti-po KYN-LO* of Huen Tshang, i e *Nava deva kala*, close to Rājgir, the fort of Alha and Udal, about four miles S E of Kanauj." I, however, fail to find the latter places even in the Indian Atlas.

The Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī does not mention the name of this place, but Firīshṭah [BRIGGS "*revised text*"] has سرده which may be anything almost, but Dow, in this instance, is much more correct here, and has *Tilsindah*, thus showing that the MSS of Firīshṭah used by him, although not "*revised*," were correct, whilst Briggs, in his version of Firīshṭah, styles it "*Bitunda*" and identifies it with Bulandshahr [Anglicized into *Booloondshuhur*], the former name of which was Baran. The latter place is some forty miles S E of Dihlī, while Bithandah is about 200 miles to the N W of it!

There is TILSURRA—what the vernacular form of it is I do not know—about twelve miles S S W of Kinnauj, but off the present high road, and *Thuttea*, about eight miles S, and *Tirooa* about ten miles S W of Kinnauj. The first mentioned place if written in the vernacular with ٽ = ٿ—which, in all probability, it is, *might*, by a foreigner, be written تلسده for تلسده. See also the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section.

⁷ The Sadd-i-Sikandar, Sadd-i-Yājūj Mājūj [wall of Gog and Magog], or Bāb ul-Abwāb, the bulwark built to restrain the incursions of the northern barbarians into the Persian empire, and attributed to an ancient king, Alexander, not Alexander of Macedon.

⁸ A sheet of paper folded to make *aguz* or eight pages.

⁹ Every copy of the text here has و between the words ملكى and دلكى which seems meant for the copulative conjunction, but, farther on, under this reign, and also in the account of Ulugh Khān, there is no و. If و is correct, and is intended for *and*, "*Dalkī and Malkī*" cannot possibly be the name of *one person*, and we are plainly told that *a Rānah* is referred to. Without the و, the passage could be read *Dalkī of Malkī*, the latter would then refer to his stronghold or territory, the former being the most probable, or *Dalkī the Malkī*, and the last word would then refer to some office or title of the Rānah in question. The best St Petersburg

and completely described in verse, and after the name of the Sultān, it was entitled the NĀSIRI NĀMAH. In satisfaction thereof the author received from his Majesty the Sultān : Muazzam—may his sovereignty continue!—a permanent grant which should be received yearly and from the *Khātān* : Muazzam¹⁰ Ulugh Khān : Aḡam—the Almighty prolong his power!—he obtained the grant of a village within the Hindī prōv *ḡc*—may the Most High God preserve and continue the *ḡḡ* h of them on the seat of sovereignty and cushion of vicegerency¹. I now return to my Chronicle again.

On Thursday, the 24th of the month of *Shawwāl* 645 H., that fort, after much fighting and great slaughter was captured¹ and after that, on Tuesday² the 12th of the month of *Zī Ḳadah* of the same year the territory of *Karāl* was reached. Thirty³ days previous to that, Ulugh Khān : Aḡam, with the whole of the Maliks and Amirs and forces appointed to serve under him had been despatched on an expedition and that lion hearted Khān of Rustam like nature like Suhrab in battle and of elephant like person⁴ during that movement showed such proofs of spirit and skill, as cannot be sufficiently praised in important battles, the capture of strongholds and forts,

N.T. however has only the following word here: "*the slaughtering of the centurions and the taking of Delhi and Malli*" respecting which passage see note¹ page 682.

¹⁰ Because our author in his usual fulsome manner styles him *Khān* : Muazzam signifying great king or emperor it does not follow nor does it mean, that he was king when this was written. Our author generally uses the word *فرل* with respect to Ulugh Khān which has many significations and, as he ruled *Nājir ud Dīn* as well as the country it would not be a matter of surprise to find "rule" or "power" used here, without it being turned into a proof, that he must have been on the throne when the identical passage was written.

¹ In the account of Ulugh Khān it is stated that he rejoined the Sultān, with his force, on his return from this expedition, on the last day—the 29th—of the month *Shawwāl* and that, after the festival of the *Aḡḡ*—10th of *Zī Ḥijab*, the last month of the year—the forces set out towards the capital, which was reached on the 24th of the first month of the following year—646 H. See page 683.

² Some copies of the text have Monday. *Tabakāt-i Akbarī* says the Sultān moved towards *haphā* on the 10th of that month.

³ In some copies of the text *ḡḡḡ* days, but that is evidently too short a time, as the context proves.

⁴ Strong like an elephant he probably means. See Ibn Baḡḡā's account of Ulugh Khān in a note to the account of that Malik in the next Section.

making way through forests and wilds, the slaughter of obdurate infidels, the acquirement of booty and captives, together with making prisoners of the dependents of great Rāes and Rānahs such as cannot be fully contained in the writing of the scribe nor the narrative of the detailee. a little has been rendered into verse in the book [entitled] the NĀSIRĪ NĀMAH.

There was a Rānah in those mountains and that tract [of country] which they were ^{as}ont to call Dalkī and Malkī⁵,

⁵ Here, contrary to the preceding passage just noticed, no و is used in the majority of the copies of the text, including the oldest and best ones, and in the account of Ulugh Khān also, in the next Section, no و is used. There our author says that “دلکی ملکي was a Rānah in the vicinity of the river Jūn which is between Kāhmyar and Karah,” and evidently referring to the country, not the Rānah. He then says that “this stronghold was taken, together with the whole of the Rānah’s family, kinsmen, and children, &c.” Ropes and ladders had to be used in gaining access “to the place.” It is scarcely probable that our author would write two or three different versions of this affair—he wrote one in verse, as mentioned above—without referring to the name of the country or the place taken, and this tends to prove that one of these names at least, if not both, refers to the Rānah’s country or fortress. They cannot possibly both refer to the name of *one* man—that is simply impossible, as “a Rānah” is plainly indicated both here and farther on. Without the و, the words would form a very improbable Hindū proper name, but they might then be read Dalkī of Malkī, the last word being the name of his stronghold or country, which is possible, or Dalkī the Malkī, when the last word would refer to some title or office, which seems improbable. As no vowel points are given, and as د may stand for g as well as for k, the words may be Dulkī, Dalakī, Mulki, and Malkī, or Dulgi and Mulgi or Dalagi and Malagi, and the like. The more correct spelling may be دھلکی—Dhalkī or Dhulkī, and مہلکی—Mhalkī or Mahalkī, as foreigners are very apt to leave out the ہ—h—in Hindī words, and to write د—d—for ڈ—d. There is a place similarly named مہلکی in the Antarbhed Do-ābah, thus showing that it is not uncommon. See the note to this passage in the account of Ulugh Khān in the following Section.

In the best St Petersburg copy of the text, which I have found particularly correct in most instances where others have been most defective, and also in the best British Museum copy, this passage is different from that in all the other copies of the text collated, and throws quite a different light upon the matter by the mere difference of the pronoun, they having ان—that instead of او—*he*, &c., and I have, consequently, taking the reasons above stated with this rendering of the passage in those two first-named copies, no hesitation in adopting this solution of this very tedious passage, which is as follows—

و راندہ بود در آن حال و نواحی کہ آن را دلکی ملکي [or دلکی و ملکي] کہندی

and as I have rendered it above. The only doubt remaining is, whether the word دلکی may refer to the Rānah or not, as with, or without the و both words might refer to the country.

The Tabakāt-i-Akbarī copies from our author here, but merely says that “the Rānah’s موضع [district, place, town, &c.] of دلکی و ملکي was taken”

with numerous dependents and fighting men beyond compute and possessing dominions and wealth unlimited, and strong places and defiles and passes of excessive strength the whole of which he [Ulugh Khān] devastated and captured all the dependents together with the women and children of that recurred one and obtained great booty. Of one description of horses alone, fifteen hundred head fell into the hands of the Musalmān forces, and from this one may infer the extent of other booty. After he [Ulugh Khān] thus felicitously had rejoined the sublime Court, all expressed exultation at these successes, and the imperial standards on Thursday the 12th of the month of Zī Hijjah 645 H., returned from that territory [Karah⁶].

On this march Malik Jalāl ud Dīn Masūd Shāh who was the feudatory of Kannauj and the Sultān's brother presented himself at the Court. He accomplished [the ceremony of] kissing the sublime hand and returned and the army of Islam and the imperial standards by regular marches, continued moving towards the illustrious capital Dillī, until the

THIRD YEAR 646 H

When on Wednesday the 24th of the month of Muḥarram 646 H., the Sultān [with his forces] reached the seat of empire again on his return from this expedition. The city was decorated for the occasion and with felicity and majesty he took his place in the seat of sovereignty.⁷ At this period, Malik Jalāl ud Dīn, Masūd Shāh [the

Firghatāh copies from it in the same manner nearly with some additions of his own; but he *does not mention* anything whatever of the rājās, as rendered by Blixens, *the Rajahs Dulky and Alulky* but, on the other hand, "a rājāh."

The situation of this Rājāh's country is plainly indicated in the passage in the account of Ulugh Khān, and refers to the tract immediately west of the S W Topi river. I think Garwa near Sheorājpur [Shīw rāj pūr?] in Parganah Bārah of Allahabad, referred to by Mr T. E. Atkinson in the proceedings of the ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL for June, 1874, pages 123-4, is too far east to have been one of the places destroyed by Ulugh Khān.

⁶ Compare ELLIOT here.

⁷ In ELLIOT this sentence is rendered "On Wednesday &c., the Sultān reached Dillī, and took his seat upon the throne with great state." I have already mentioned how oriental cities are decorated, note² page 616.

Sultān's brother], who, when he presented himself to the Sultān [on his march back from Karah], had been nominated to the fiéfs of Sanbhal and Budā'ūn, became suddenly filled with fear and terror, and from Sanbhal and Budā'ūn proceeded towards Lohor⁸, by way of the hills of Sihnūr

The Sultān-i-Mu'azzam continued at the capital for a period of seven months, until the month of Sha'bān, 646 H, when the sublime standards moved out of Dihlī, and [the Sultān] gave directions for undertaking expeditions against the infidels in different parts of the hills and plains, and, having nominated Amīrs to proceed to different parts, he returned to the capital, and, on this expedition, the Sultān did not happen to proceed a greater distance. On Wednesday, the 9th of the sacred month of Zī-Hijjah, in felicity and power, he reached the capital⁹

The forces of Islām pushed on towards the Koh-pāyah [skirts of the hills—of Mewāt] and Rantabhūr. On this

⁸ Rendered in ELLIOT, "When Malik Jalalū-ḍ-dīn waited upon the king as he was returning, he was appointed governor of Sambal and Badā'ūn, but he all at once *took alarm about these two districts and came to the capital*" The I O L MS, the R A S MS, the best Paris MS, and the Calcutta printed text, are *minus* one line or more here. There was no cause of alarm about those districts, and the capital was the place, above all others, that he would avoid. Our author makes a mystery of this affair. In his account of Ulugh Khān, he says, the Dihlī troops marched to the banks of the Bīāh and back again in 646 H, but no reason is given, and this movement was evidently connected, in some way, with the Prince's flight. In the account of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, and Nusrat-ud-Dīn, Sher Khān-i-Sunḡar, in the next Section, and in the last Section, some farther references will be found to this matter. It is said he fled to the Mughals.

⁹ Compare ELLIOT, vol. II page 349. This passage is certainly imperfect, for, on turning to the corresponding month and year, in the account of Ulugh Khān, it is in a manner explained. It was in Sha'bān, 646 H, that Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, moved towards the upper provinces, referred to in the preceding note, which evidently was connected with the flight of his brother to Lāhor. The paragraph mentioning this circumstance might almost be inserted above, and it would make the matter clear. It is as follows — "In the month of Sha'bān, 646 H, the royal standards moved towards the upper provinces, as far as the extreme frontiers, and the bank of the river Bīāh, and from thence returned to the capital." It was after this that Amīrs were sent on the expeditions against the infidels, it not being considered advisable, seemingly, to pass beyond the Bīāh, and therefore Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, returned to the capital again, after appointing some of his Amīrs to move against some of his contumacious Hindū subjects.

It is remarkable that, since the year 639 H, after the sack of Lāhor by the Mughals, we do not find it again mentioned as a province of the Delhī kingdom, and this passage confirms it.

expedition and during the stay of the Sultān at the capital, two events occurred. The one was this that Kāẓi Jamāl ud Dīn the Shafurkānī [i.e. Shabūrghānī] was accused and from Friday, the 9th of the month of Zī 1, in the Kasr i Safed [the White Castle], was removed from his Kāẓi ship and by command left the city directed towards Budaun and on the 12th of Zī 1 the endeavour of Imād ud Dīn i Rayhān, he to death¹ the other was that Malik Bahā ud Dīn i Khwajah in the vicinity of the fortress of Ran attained martyrdom at the hands of the infidel on Sunday the 11th of the month of Zī Hijjah—receive grace and forgiveness!

FOURTH YLAF 647 H

On Monday the 3rd of the month of Safar 647 H., Ugh Khan i Aḡam with the forces of Islam, and the lime standards returned in triumph to the capital in². As Uluḡ Khān i Aḡam was the asylum of the Sultān's dynasty the prop of the army and the strength of the kingdom with the concurrence of all the Grandees and Maliks of the realm it was his daughter's good fortune to become the Malikah i Jahān³ [Queen of the Universe—the Royal consort] and this marriage took place on

¹ Compare ELLIOT vol. ii. page 349. Imād ud Dīn did not kill him.

² For further particulars of this expedition, meagre as they are, see the account of Uluḡ Khān in the next Section.

³ This is the first occasion that the "sublime standards" are said to have accompanied Uluḡ Khān.

⁴ This passage is inverted altogether in ELLIOT [page 349]. The printed text is perfectly correct here and has, like the MSS. copies of the work the words—*فرستاد او ملکه جهان شاهی*—which have been rendered totally contrary to their meaning, viz. —the Sultān gave his daughter to the son of the Aḡam⁴! Nāṣir ud Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, was, at this time, in the 21st year of his age. Thomas [PATHAN KINGS, page 15], led astray by the above which relation probably falls into the same error.

Our author has forgotten to state here, although he has remembered term is account of him, that it was shortly after this event that Malik Ghiyāth-i Balhan, was dignified with the title of Uluḡ Khān, the Deputy-ship also any kingdom, and leadership of the troops, and that his brother Malik Saḡor Dīn, Iḡlak i Kashghar Khān, was made Amīr i Hājib, and, on Nig-awr taken from Malik Balhan-i Kashghar Khān, that fief was made over to the n⁵ had Amīr i Hājib. See the account of him in next Section.

onwards towards Multān, the author, on Wednesday, the 6th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal of that year, reached it. Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū² Khān, arrived that same day from Ūchchah for the purpose of taking Multān, and there was an opportunity of an interview with him. The author continued to remain there up to the 26th of the month of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, and the capture of Multān, which was in the hands of a retainer of Malik Sher Khān, was not effected. The author set out to return to the capital, and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, retired towards Ūchchah. The author returned by the route of the fort of Marūt³ to Sursutī and Hānsī, and reached Dihlī again on the 22nd of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir.

In the month of Shawwāl of this same year, Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn-i-Kurez, from Multān, made a great number of Mughals captive, and sent them to the capital, and the city of Dihlī was decorated for this success of the Nā dynasty⁴. In this year likewise, on Friday, the 17th

a mere continuation of the sentence above there can be no doubt as to what is referred to, and, as the nominative to a *passive verb* is never expressed in the Persian language, it is not astonishing that our author does not use it here. The words above are "the interview with Sher Khān [*lit of Sher Khān*] was attained or acquired," not "had an interview," but what *proves*—except the previous sentence, which is clear enough—the superiority or inferiority of the two persons, I am at a loss to discern.

It is the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī, *not* Firishtah—for he is a mere copyist of the former work, as I have often shown here already—who takes the Sultān, who never left Dihlī that year, to the Bīāh, and says that Sher Khān joined him there, but does not mention anything about 20,000 horse. The same work takes the Sultān to Multān and Ūchchah, the former of which places he is therein stated to have reached on the 6th of Rabī'-ul-Awwāl, 648 H. In this case *our author has only been mistaken for the Sultān!* See the account of Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, in the next Section.

² The printed text turns Kashlū Khān-i-Balban into Lashkar Khān, and in ELLIOT [vol II page 350] it is so translated, and Thomas [PATHAN KINGS, page 125] turns Sher Khān into the *brother* of Ulugh Khān. He was his *uncle's son*—his cousin merely.

³ Marūt is a well known place on the route from Dihlī to Ūchchah. "Afirat" is utterly impossible. One is W of Dihlī, and the other E. A person would go a *little* out of his way to go to Multān from Dihlī by way of "Afirat." See the account of Ulugh Khān, and ELLIOT, vol II page 350. Our author went as far as the river Jhilam to see the captives off.

⁴ It is strange that no particulars are given respecting the capture of these Mughal prisoners by Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn-i-Kurez *from*, not *at*, Multān, which caused Dihlī to be decorated. It is not even referred to in the account of Mughal Khān. It was quite time to gain some success—although this is a *fiction*, *not* a *fact*—over the Mughals, for they were continually encroaching

the month of Zī Kadh Kāzī Jalāl ud Dīn, I ḥsānī resigned his existence to the most sublime dynasty—the immaculate Ruler of the Universe.

SIXTH YEAR 649 II

Malik Izz ud Dīn Balban i Kashlū Khān having commenced to act in a refractory manner at Nāg awr in this year the august standards moved towards that place upon which Malik Izz ud Dīn Balban i Kashlū Khān presented himself and made his submission and the sublime standards returned [to the capital].

Subsequently to this Malik Sher Khān marched from Multān¹ against Uchchrah and Malik Izz ud Dīn Balban i Kashlū Khān pressed on from Nāg-awr towards Uchchrah and went to Malik Sher Khān [in his camp] and was detained and relinquished the fort of Uchchrah to him² and leaving it turned his face towards the capital.

upon the Panjāb, and by and by we shall find them permanently located on the banks of the Rīsh. This is the affair out of which Firghatāh, but not the Talakūt i Akharī, makes Sher Khān tal Ghamlān from the Mughal referred in note³ page 600, and in the account of Sher Khān in the next Section.

Some time previous to this, in 647 II Malik Saif ud Dīn, Hasan the Karugh who was able to hold his territory of Banlān notwithstanding the Mughals advanced from that tract to attack Multān, which first Malik Balban i Kashlū Khān then held together with Uchchrah. He advanced from Uchchrah to drive away the Karugh army. An engagement ensued near Multān, Hasan, the Karugh, was slain, but his people kept his death secret—although a party of horsemen, in Malik Balban's army devoted themselves to kill the Karugh chief—and Malik Balban was under the necessity of delivering up Multān, which he had entered after the engagement. We must suppose that Hasan's eldest son—the Malik Nāṣir ud Dīn, Muḥammad—hereafter to be mentioned, took the command of the Karugh army to whom Malik Balban had to surrender Multān, which Malik Sher Khān shortly after recovered from them, when he installed there his own retainer—Ikhtiyār-ud Dīn-i-Kureẓ, above alluded to. See the account of Sher Khān in the next Section.

I have already mentioned how eastern cities are decorated. Compare ELLIOT also here.

¹ Ulugh Khān's brother was put in charge of Nāg-awr.

² In his account of Malik Balban, in the next Section, our author says Sher Khān advanced from Tabarhindah and Lahor upon Uchchrah.

³ In ELLIOT vol. II, page 351 this is rendered "but he was captured in his encounter with Sher Khān and quietly surrendered the fort. No encounter whatever took place between them, and the event happened precisely as our author relates above. The details of it will be found in the account of Balban i Kashlū Khān and of Sher Khān in the next Section, which see.

On Sunday, 17th of the month of Rabi'-ul-Ākhir, 649 H., he presented himself at the sublime Court, and the fief of the district and city of Budā'ūn⁸ was assigned to him

In this year, likewise, on Sunday, the 10th of the month of Jamādī ul-Awwal, for the second time, the Kāzī-ship of the realm, together with the jurisdiction of the capital⁹, was entrusted to this servant of the state, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, by the sublime command, and, on Tuesday, the 25th of the month of Sha'bān, the sublime standards moved towards Gwāliyūr, Chandīrī, Nurwul¹ [Nurwur], and

The Tabakāt-i-Akbarī places this event immediately *after* the taking of the stronghold of Nurwur, instead of before, although our author says that the Sultān set out for Chandīrī and Mālwah in Sha'bān, which is the eighth month of the year

⁸ One of the two most important fiefs of the kingdom of Dihlī in those days

That *exceedingly trustworthy* historian, Firishtah, perpetrates a nice blunder here. He states immediately after the Nurwur affair, that "Sher Khān took Ghaznīn from the Mughals, and, for some time, read the Khutbah and coined the money there in the name of Sultān Nāsir-ud-Dīn"!! All this ridiculous nonsense is concocted from the affair of Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn-i-Kurez and the Mughals mentioned previously by our author. ELPHINSTONE is also led away by this nonsense, through the translations of that writer's work, and MARSHMAN and some others of the *compilers* of Indian history follow suit of course. The last-named writer adds that it is the only irruption recorded from that quarter during the period of "*authentic history*" So much for the authentic history. See page 694, and account of Sher Khān in the next Section

⁹ This refers to his duties as Kāzī no doubt, but the word used in the text is حُكْمَت—jurisdiction, authority, sway, &c., and does not mean *magistrate*, although it might, in a proper place, mean *magistracy*

¹ There is no doubt respecting the name of this place. Nurwul and Nurwur, or Nirwul and Nirwur, are one and the same thing, the letters, and J in Hindī being interchangeable. It is no doubtful place and lies some 40 miles east of Bhūpāl, in Lat. 23° 18', Long 78°. The other places mentioned with it indicate its whereabouts. The majority of the best copies of the text have چاهر اچار Chāhar-i-Ajār, and one چاهو but in MSS ر and ړ are often confounded. It is probably the manner in which a Musalmān, and a foreigner, would write جامده [चाहड़]—Chāhadah—by putting ړ to represent the sound of Sanskrit ड. The word here written اچار—ajār or achār, in one copy of the text, in the account of Nusrat ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa'ī, in the next Section, has اچارنه—ajārnah, which may be meant for اचारنه—achāryah, ړ standing for —

This Rājah is, probably, "Chāhada Dīwa," as referred to by Thomas [PATHAN KINGS pages 69-70], but it seems very doubtful whether he was ever tributary to I-yal-timish. The second word is, probably, meant for आचरे—Achārya—spiritual guide, or teacher, &c, *only*, in other places further on, he is styled رانه اچار—Rānah of Ajār, and ان همدوك اचारى—that Hindū fellow, the Ajārī, or, of Ajārī, and رانه اचारى—Rānah of Ajārī, and

Mālwah and on this expedition they reached near unto Mālwah. Chāhar, the Ajār, who was the greatest of all the Rāes of that tract of country, who had about 5000 horsemen well trained to arms and 200 000 footmen was routed and the fortress which had been constructed by him among defiles and passes was taken and plundered and booty and captives fell into the hands of the Musalmān army. During this expedition the Khān : Muazzam, Ulugh Khān : Azam displayed proofs of much energy and skill, and in safety, and under the protection of God

چهار and چهر Chāhir and Jāh r the Ajār, who was a Rānah, &c. all of which various designations make the identification difficult.

In Sanskrit, Achārī mean strict in the observance of religious ceremonies, and Achāraj and Achārya mean a spiritual guide or preceptor. Hodgson, in his "*Sketch of Buddhism*" contained in Part I Vol. 2nd of the TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY for 1829 pages 31 and 245, mentions the *Vajra Acharyas*. He says The *Buddhas* are divided into two classes those who follow the *Vajra-charya* and those who adopt the *Abrahama-charya*—words equivalent to the *Griha shastra* and *Tantrik shastra* of the *Śākhāyās*. The first class is denominated *Nāstika* the second *VAJRA ACHĀRYA*. This last term is evidently similar in some way to the same name applied to this great Rāe." See also the account of this affair in the notice of Ulugh Khān in the next Section, and compare ELLIOT vol. II. page 357.

The Tārikh-i-Mulūk Shāhī styles him چار دیو—Harjī Dīw and the Tazkarat ul Mulūk چار دیو—Hāhīr Dīw—but in all probability the چ is merely ج or ح with the points omitted, as no Hindū name would have the peculiar Arabic ح—and says he had 60,000 horse and 200,000 foot, but these latter would be mere rabble in any case, that he was ex. of the Rājās of Chāndīr and Mālwah, and that, on the way back from this expedition, the fortress of Nurwur or Nirwur was taken.

The Tabakāt-i-Akbarī states that the Sulṭān marched against چار دیو—Achār Dīw with a large army on the 6th of Shabān of this year mentions the number of the hostile troops as given by our author and that a great battle took place in which Achār Dīw was overthrown after which his stronghold was taken by assault and the Sulṭān returned to Dīhlī.

Flaughthead copies the above but styles him چار دیو [the *U.S.* used by Daww however appears to have had چار دیو—Sāhīr Dīw] and adds that he had very recently built this stronghold of Nurwur or Nirwur which, in Briggs' revised text is turned into تیر—Tīrūr which of course is totally incorrect.

According to TOD [vol. I. page 89], this stronghold was erected by a branch of the *Cakras* [he probably means the چکریه—Chakrādhah—Rājput] and was "a celebrated fortress" and "the abode of the celebrated Raja Nala, whose descendant continued to hold possession through all the vicissitudes of the Tatar and Moghal dominion, when deprived of it by the Maharrattas," &c. Of course: who ever heard of Rājput being overcome by Musalmāns except by accident or mistake or some black treachery according to the Rājput romances? Our author consequently must be wrong, and the Rājput right. It seems strange that such a great Rānah as this was is not mentioned by the Rājput annalists.

the sublime standards moved back again towards the capital

SEVENTH YEAR · 650 H

The sublime standards returned to Dīhlī on Monday, the 23rd of the month of Rabi'-ul-Awwal, 650 H, after which, for a period of seven months, attended by auspicious fortune and increasing felicity², the Sultān continued at the illustrious seat of government, and, during this period, was engaged in the diffusion of goodness and establishing usages of justice and equity

On Monday, the 22nd of the month of Shawwāl of this year, the Sultān departed in the direction of Lohor with the intention of marching to Ūchchah and Multān³, and at the time of bidding farewell, in the vicinity of Kaithal, the Sultān bestowed upon the author a special honorary robe, together with a horse with complete furniture and trappings ornamented with gold, and a saddle

During this march all the Khāns, Malīks, and Amīrs of the adjacent parts, assembled and attended the sublime stirrup, and Kutlugh Khān from the territory of Bhīānah⁴,

² Rendered in ELLIOT, "in great *comfort* and splendour" The original is — با محنت و دولت و ابرارده

³ The I O L MS, R A S MS, the best Paris MS, and printed text here, have "the Sultān departed towards Lohor and GHAZNĪN by the way of Ūchchah and Multān" The Editors of the printed text must have had peculiar ideas of their own on geographical matters not to have detected this blunder of the copyists Where Ghaznīn? where Lohor? The word عرمت in the original text has been turned into عربى by the copyists of the three former, but a very little discrimination would have convinced any one of the utter impossibility of its being correct The Calcutta text, however, is faithfully followed in ELLIOT See vol II page 352

What was the object of proceeding in the direction of Lāhor with the intention of marching to Multān and Ūchchah does not appear, unless it was to deprive Sher Khān, Ulugh Khān's kinsman, of those places and their dependencies, and restore them to Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān [which was done], and that this was the first move in the Rayhānī plot, which the latter Malik supported against Ulugh Khān, for, as yet, Malik Sher Khān had not left the country, and Malik Balban was feudatory of Budā'un The Mughal raids may possibly have been the cause, but, whatever it may have been, the Bīāh was the farthest point reached upon this occasion See the account of Balban-i-Kashlū Khān in next Section

⁴ Turned into "Sihwān" and "Sīhwān" respectively in the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī and Firish'tah, and the latter has the impossible اعر for عر in the title of 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān

and Izz ud Dīn, Balban i Kashlū⁶ Khān from Buda ūn, with their respective followings, accompanied the sublime standards to the boundary of the river Bīh. Imād ud Dīn i Rayhān [at this time] secretly subverted the mind of the Sultān and the Maliks towards Ulugh Khān i Aḡam and their minds were greatly changed

EIGHTH YEAR 651 H

When the new year came round, on Tuesday the 1st⁷ of the month of Muḥarram 651 H command was given to Ulugh Khān i Aḡam, from the encampment at Hasīrah⁸ to proceed to his fiefs⁹ the territory of Siwālikh and Hānsī. When the Khān i Muazzam in conformity with that command, reached Hānsī the Sultān with his forces, in the beginning of the month of Rabī ul Awwal of this same year, returned to the capital and changed the feelings of the grandees [as well as] the offices [they held¹⁰]

In the month of Jamādī ul Awwal, the *mansab* of the Wazīr ship was transferred to the Ayn ul Mulk¹¹ the Nizām ul Mulk, Muhammad Jūnaidi¹² and to Malik

⁶ The Calcutta text turns him into *Lashkar Khān*, but such a name does not occur throughout the whole of our author's work.

⁷ In the next Section, the *last day* of Muḥarram.

⁸ This name is doubtful, and I fail to recognize the place. It is scarcely written twice exactly alike in any of the copies of the text collated, but it certainly is not "Rohtak." In the different copies of the text it is *روہتاک* or *روہتاک* or *روہتاک* and *روہتاک* or *روہتاک* and the like.

⁹ Both here and in the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section, in ELLIOT [vol. II. pages 352 and 370], this is translated "his *estates* in the Siwālik hills" but they were exceedingly extensive *estates*. Ulugh Khān held the *province* of Hānsī and the Siwālikh in fief which then appears to have been the peculiar appanage of the Amīr i Hājib.

¹⁰ In ELLIOT directed his attention to the nobles and public affairs, but the context plainly shows what is meant, and it is to be presumed that the Sultān, during Ulugh Khān's tenure of office, directed his attention to public affairs and to the great also.

¹¹ This title, signifying *the eye of the state*, like the following, signifying *the regulator of the country* &c. is a mere title peculiar to Wazīrs. Muhammad was the name of the person in question.

¹² Firightah asserts that 'Imād ud Dīn-i-Rayhān was a protégé of Ulugh Khān's, but, as this is not contained in the *Tabaḥṭat i Akbari* and is not referred to by our author I am inclined to doubt its correctness. The Dakhnī historian also refers to the Ayn ul Mulk as if he were a foreigner whom chance had brought to Dhillī.

Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak-i-Kaṣhlī Khān, the Amū-i-Hājib and Ulugh Bār-Bak [the Lord Chamberlain and Chief Master of the Ceremonies³], who was the brother of the Khān-i-Mu'azzam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, the fief of Karah was given, and he was sent thither. In Jamādī-ul-Awwal likewise, 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān became Wakīl-i-Dar⁴ [Representative in Dar-bār], and the Sultān [and his forces], with the object of removing Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam—may his power endure¹—moved from the capital towards Hānsī⁵. 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān brought Kāzī Shams-ud-Dīn, of Bharā'ij [to the capital], and on the 27th of the month of Rajab, 651 H, transferred to him the Kāzī-ship of the realm⁶. Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam moved from Hānsī and

³ Compare ELLIOT here, where Malik Kīshlī Khān is divided into *two*, and one half of him is *made* "lord chamberlain," instead of his being deprived of the office because of his relationship to Ulugh Khān, and his other half, as "Ulugh Mubārak Aibak," is sent to Karra! Bār-Bak is an officer, equivalent to the Bār Begī of the Persian Court.

⁴ BRIGGS is perfectly correct in reading Wakīl-i-Dar, since "*wakīl-dar*" is meaningless, but he is wrong in translating it "*officer of the door*," one "who superintends the ceremonies of presentation," for the meaning assigned to the words by VÜLLERS is correct—*procurator palatii regni*, i.e. *vicarius*. Wazīr no doubt means Prime Minister from the time of the first Khalīfahs down to the present time, as in Turkey and Persia at this moment. BLOCHMANN, in his translation of the Ā'in-i-Akbarī [vol. 1 page 527], translates "*Vakil*" [Wakīl] as "prime minister," and "*Vazir*" [Wazīr] as "minister of finances." I refer to the pre-Mughal period, but even as regards the reign of Akbar, who, being half a Hindū, and not half a Musalmān, and who, hating the very name of Muhammad and Ahmad, delighted in making innovations contrary to Muḥammadan usages, this rendering would furnish matter for much argument, but what I refer to in this place is WAKĪL-I-DAR, or WAKĪL-I-DAR-BĀR—for the two are equivalent—to which the Musalmān writers assign the following significations — وکیل دربار و نائب ماب

A Wakīl is, essentially, a person entrusted to act *in the absence* of another—a substitute, *alter ego*, *locum tenens*, but, at the same time, it must be remembered, that the office of Wakīl-i-Dar is different from that of Nāyab-i-Mamlakat—Deputy or Lieutenant of the kingdom—as shown distinctly at page 702. Ulugh Khān was made Nāyab-i-Mamlakat in 647 H, and not Wakīl-i-Dar, which office 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān obtained after Ulugh Khān was sent to his fief, but 'Imād-ud-Dīn did not become Wazīr, for the first line of this paragraph of the text above shows, that Muḥammad, Junaidī, was the Wazīr. The term, Rayhān, is applied to a slave or eunuch generally. See also note⁶, page 635.

This is related differently in the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section, which see.

⁶ Our author's own office. See also the account of Ulugh Khān farther on. It was in this year, 651 H, that he gained great successes over the Rājapūts.

retired to Nagawr and the fief of Hānsī, together with the office¹ of Amīr i Hājib was entrusted to Prince Rukn ud Dīn [Firūz Shāh²] and in the month of Shabān [on the 17th] the Sultān [with his forces] returned to the capital.

In the beginning of Shawwāl of this year the Sultān marched from Dihlī for the purpose of securing³ Ūchchah and Multān. On arriving in the vicinity of the river Blāh, a force was despatched towards Tabarhindah.

Previous to this Malik Sher Khān i Sunkar had withdrawn from an engagement on the banks of the Sind⁴, and had retired towards Turkistān, and Ūchchah Multān and Tabarhindah had been left in the hands of his dependents. On Monday the 26th of the month of Zī Hijjah of this year they were gained possession of and were made over to the charge of Arsalān Khān Sanjar i Chast⁵, and the

¹ The word here used—*عل*—does not mean *interest*.

² Among the names of Nāṣir-ud Dīn's *offspring* in the list, at page 672 this name is given together with the names of three others. These must have been mere children, as Nāṣir ud Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, himself, was only born in 626 IL and now only in his twenty sixth year. The fief as well as the office of Amīr i Hājib must have been held by Deputy in this case, by some creature of Imād-ud Dīn i Rayḥān's clique but only for a very short time. The mention of Nāṣir-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's offspring fully disproves the statement of the *Talakhāt i Akbarī*, and some other works, as to his having had but one wife—he may have had only one at a time—for as yet, Ulugh Khān's daughter had borne him no offspring. See page 714.

³ The word *ضم* is here used, which has different meanings. *Subduing* is rather too strong as the object was merely to obtain possession of those places from Malik Sher Khān's dependents, and to place them under the charge of Malik Taj-ud Dīn, Arsalān Khān i Sanjar as will be detailed in the account of him farther on. Malik Kurez, Sher Khān's deputy at Multān, had, only two or three years before [in 643 IL], sent Blughal captives to Dihlī, which caused such rejoicing.

The *Talakhāt i Akbarī* says Sher Khān sustained a defeat at the hands of the Smūḥān, and Firightah copies with some blunders of his own; but, as the first mentioned work agrees in every other respect with our author's statements here, the banks of the Sind have evidently been mistaken for Sindhān.

⁴ A few copies of the text, but of the more modern ones, including the best Paris MS. have Sher Khān had retired from an engagement with the Infidels of Sind — *کارمند*—but those words appear to be a mistake for *کارمند* as in the translation above.

⁵ Our author in the next Section says nothing about this movement towards Ūchchah and Multān, merely that the fief of Tabarhindah was assigned to him, and that previously [subsequently?] he held the office of Wakil i Dar. He joined Ulugh Khān from Tabarhindah, when the latter marched from Nagawr to oust Imād ud Dīn i Rayḥān from power.

In the account of Malik Balban it is stated that he, having been ousted from

Sultān [with his forces] retired from the banks of the Biāh³, and, in the same manner, returned to the capital.

NINTH YEAR. 652 H

When the year 652 H commenced, the river Jūn was passed, and, in the vicinity of the Koh-pāyah [skirt of the mountains] of Bardār and Bijnor⁴ many successes were gained, and vast booty acquired

Ūchchah by Sher Khān, who had previously obtained possession of Multān, went to Court and was made feudatory of Budā'ūn, and that, subsequent to this, hostility having arisen between Sher Khān and the Maliks of the Court, Sher Khān left the country and retired into Turkistān, but *no battle* whatever is referred to. Subsequently—previous to the year 655 H, in 653 H or 654 H—Malik Balban had been again put in charge of Ūchchah and Multān, and had made overtures to Hulākū Khān, the Mughal, who ruled over Ī-rān on the part of his brother, the Great Kā'ān, Mangū, and had asked for a Mughal Shāhnaḥ, or Commissioner.

In the account of Malik Sher Khān on the other hand, our author states that the reason, why Sher Khān retired towards Upper Turkistān to proceed to the *madī* of Mangū Kā'ān, was, that, when his cousin, Ulugh Khān, was banished from the Court through 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān's intrigues, and proceeded to Nāg-awr, strife went on between the cousins on the banks of the Sind.

In the account of Ulugh Khān, the march towards the upper provinces in 650 H is mentioned when the Rayhānī plot took place, but no reference whatever is made to Sher Khān's retirement, nor to any fighting. Under any circumstances Sher Khān could not have remained long absent from Hind, as he joined the Sultān's brother, Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, in 652 H, at Lāhor, which territory, a fact to which I have before drawn attention, appears to have been then severed from the sovereignty of Dihlī. There is a great deal of mystery about Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh's movements, but further mention of him, with reference to the Mughals, in the last Section, will throw some more light upon them.

³ It must be borne in mind that all the references in these pages to the Biāh, and the banks of the Biāh, refer to that river when it flowed in its *own bed* which ran about midway through the Bārī Dō ab, and Shamālī Kachhī Dō-ab, and joined the other rivers of the Panjāb ten miles north of Ūchchah, otherwise, to advance to the Biāh as it now flows, to operate against Multān and Ūchchah, would be of no more effect than advancing to the Gang or Jūn for the purpose. I shall have to refer to its change of bed farther on.

⁴ As in all the copies of the text—بحور Bijnor and بحور—Bijnor [the Bijnour of the Indian Atlas] It is a place of considerable antiquity, with many ruins still to be seen.

The very "candid" writer, our author, makes no other mention of this affair in the account of Ulugh Khān—in fact, it is not even alluded to. The Tabakāt-i-Akbarī, however, refers to it, but is evidently quite at sea as to the geography, as I shall clearly prove. That work states, that, in 652 H, the Sultān "marched an army into the boundaries of the Koh-pāyah [skirt of the

On Thursday, the 13th of the month of Muḥarram of this year the river Gang was crossed [by the Sultān and his troops] in front of Mā pūr and in the same manner keeping along the skirt of the mountains the force proceeded as far as the banks of the river Rahab. During these holy expeditions, on Sunday the 15th of the month of Ṣafar at Tīklah Bānī* Malik Raṣī ul Mulk Izz ud Dīn Durmaṣhī* [Durmaṣhānī?] attained martyrdom. On

mountains] of Bijoor, and, *having* obtained great booty crossed the river Gang at the Mā pūr [another *M/S* Mahā pūr] ferry and, keeping along the skirt of the mountains, reached the river Bihat [which is the Jhilam]; and that, at Talkah mānī—[another *M/S* تالک مانی], on Sunday the 15th of Ṣafar of that year [652 H.] Malik Izz ud Dīn, Raṣī ul Mulk, whilst in a state of *interlokation* [?] was martyred by the Zamīndārs of Kaithal and Kulqām. The Sultān, to avenge his blood, having gone to Kaithal and Kulqām, inflicted chastisement upon the contumacious of that part, and then proceeded towards Budd'ūn," &c. If any one will take the trouble to look at a map, it will be at once seen what utter absurdity this is, and what ignorance it displays. The author of that work evidently wrote without attending to the geography and has mistaken Kāḥheher for Kaithal—had he not added Kulqām by way of riveting his blunder. I should have imagined Kaithal an error of the copyist—and so made a precious hash of the two expeditions, and made *one* of them, as well as mistaking a place situated in Lat. 29° 49' Long 76° 28' for another—a tract of country—more than three degrees farther east. Firsihtah follows, implicitly thus proving that, in this instance certainly he did not see our author's work. He, however leaves out the name of Tīklah Bānī altogether. The simple mention of Budd'ūn should have been sufficient to have guided the author of the first work to کاهههر—Kāḥheher or کاههبر—Kāḥheher as it is also written.

* In the original تالک بان. In some copies Tīklah Mānī [تالک مانی] Tīklah or Talkah Bānī [تالک بان], Tīklah Bāmī [تالک مانی] Tanklah Bānī [تالک بان], Tanklah Pānī [تالک بان], and also Sakab-Mānī [سکاب مانی]. The first mentioned is contained in the majority of the best copies. The identification of places is very difficult in the Indian Atlas sheets, as well as in other less valuable maps, from the manner in which the names* of places are written. For example, in Sheet No. 67 the word Tīlak, in the name Tīlak pūr is written *Tīlak-poor Tīlak poor Tīlak poor* and the like, just according to the fancy of the different surveyors or engravers. In my humble opinion, in the case of survey maps, at least, the local name, written in the vernacular should be first obtained, and then, after transliteration, inserted in the map, the long and short vowels being properly marked, as well as guttural, nasal, aspirated, and other peculiar letters, and then the public would not be at the mercy of Gazetteer writers and their crude theories. A recent article in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal*, No. IV of 1874, by Mr F. L. Gfowse, is very much to the point.

There is a place called *Tiger Barkhna* in the sheet referred to in Lat. 29° Long 79° 40' what the vernacular may be I cannot tell.

* That most absurd blunder whereby an innocent man is turned into a *drunkard* occurs in the above passage. The author of the *Tabaḥṣūt i Akharī* read the word درمی—Durmaṣhī [which signifies that he was a native of درم]

the following day, the 16th of Safar, the Sultān of Islām, in order to avenge that act, inflicted such a chastisement upon the infidels of Kātheher as [the people of] that territory will remember for the rest of their lifetime, and [afterwards] departed towards Budā'ūn, and, on Thursday, the 19th of the month of Ṣafar, the district of Budā'ūn became adorned with the magnificence and dignity of his auspicious canopy of state and sublime standards. The Sultān halted there for nine days, and, after that, decided upon a return to the capital.

On Sunday, the 6th of the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, the Wazārat-i-Mamālik ⁷ [Wazīr-ship of the realm] fell to the charge, for the second time, of the Ṣadr-ul-Mulk, Najm-ud-Dīn, Abū-Bikr, and, on Sunday, the 20th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, within the limits of Kol, the Sultān honoured this vassal of the dynasty [the author] with the title of Sadr-i-Jahān ⁸—the Almighty long preserve him in the sovereignty ¹—and, on Saturday ⁹, the 26th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, the capital, Dīhli, was reached.

The Sultān continued at Dīhli for a period of five

—Darmash, or that his family, originally, came from a place so called. The same name has already occurred. See page 489, and note ⁴], as در مستی — “in intoxication,” whilst Firīshṭah, by way of clenching the absurdity, and showing plainly whence he obtained his information, puts an additional word در حالت مستی e 1 حالت — “in a state of intoxication” ¹¹.

I had some faith in the Ṭabakāt-i Akbarī before I compared its statements with respect to this Shamsī dynasty. I found it a mere transcript, with verbal alterations, of our author's statements, *plus* the geographical and other blunders referred to. All this shows what errors may be made even by native Muḥammadan compilers of Indian history: what then may we not expect from European compilers who are wholly dependent on translations for their materials?

⁷ At page 352 of ELLIOT, vol. II, “wazīr” is not translated at all, and, a few lines under, “wakīldar” is translated “prime minister,” but here Wazīr-i-Mamālik is rendered “minister.” Now it is clear, from our author's statements, that Wakīl-i-Dar and Wazīr are totally distinct offices, and, therefore, the former office, as described by the Muḥammadan authors, is no doubt correct. Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayḥān was still Wakīl-i-Dar at this period.

No mention of Abū-Bikr's [“Abū Bakr” must be “Tūrānī”] obtaining the Wazīr-ship is made in the account of Ulugh Khān, although it enters into much more detail of these events.

⁸ Compare ELLIOT vol. II page 353. In Akbar's reign, the Sadr-i-Jahān was the Chief Justice and Administrator of the Empire. See Blochmann's translation of the Ā'IN-I-AKBARĪ.

⁹ Saturday, *not* Tuesday, is correct, for, if Sunday is the 20th, how is it possible for the 26th to be Tuesday?

months¹ when information arrived respecting the assemblage of the Malikhs who had gathered about Malik Jalāl ud Dīn Masūd Shāh [the Sultān's brother]². The sublime standards [accordingly], in the month of Shabān, moved towards Sunām and Tabarhindah and the Id-i Fitr [the festival at the end of the Fast Month—Ramazān] was celebrated at Sunām. The forces of the Malikhs, namely Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Arsalān Khān Sanjār, Christ³ of Tabarhindah, Malik Saif ud Dīn Bat Khān⁴ Ibak the Khatī and Ulugh Khān-i Azam from Nagawr, were along with Malik Jalāl ud Dīn Masūd Shāh in the neighbourhood of Tabarhindah. The Sultān [with the forces of his party] left Sunām and retired to Hānsī and those Malikhs moved towards Kuhram and Kaithal⁵. The Sultān [on this] marched from Hānsī [8th of Shawwāl] in the same direc-

¹ The inscription over the entrance of the *minārah* at All-garh [Anglicized Allygurh] is dated 10th of Rajab of this same year and in it is said to occur the name of Malik-ul Kāfir-ul Mu'aggam, Kutlugh Khān, Bāstān-ugh Shamsī, which has been ascribed, by Thomas [PATILAN KINGS, pages 129-30], to Ulugh Khān, but "the amiable king" never bestowed upon Ulugh Khān the title of Kutlugh Khān according to the records in this work. Our author says this was the title by which Nāṣir-ud Dīn's step-father was known, and by no other name is he mentioned in these pages, and he bore that title for a long time after. See under the events of the next year. The name probably refers to the person who held the fief when the *minārah* was erected.

² Further details of this outbreak will be found in the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section. It was the occasion upon which the Sultān's brother Jalāl-ud Dīn, Masūd Shāh, is said to have gone to the camp of Mangū Kā'ān, son of Tūll, son of Chingiz, but our author makes a mystery of it. More about this will be mentioned farther on.

Firishah, in his utter ignorance, turns the Sultān's brother into Malik Jalāl-ud Dīn Khān [I have already referred to this blunder of turning Khān into Khān, at page 633, note *], and says he was one of the Turkān-i Khwājah-Tāgh referred to in note * para. 6, page 717. He seems totally unaware that Malik Jalāl-ud Dīn, Masūd Shāh, was the Sultān's own brother. Sher Khān, after the same fashion, is turned into Sher Khān, Rayhān, in the revised text of Briggs!!

³ See the Malik No. XLX in the next Section.

⁴ The Malik No. XVI. in the following Section is referred to. This title or by-name is often mentioned in the accounts of the Turks.

⁵ This affair probably led the author of the *Tahqīq-i Akbarī* astray and to mistake Kaithal, when Kāshbeher was meant. See ELLIOT: vol. II. page 354. A slight skirmish did actually take place, and the greatest confusion arose in the Sultān's camp. The particulars of this affair will be found in the account of Ulugh Khān farther on, under its proper date. *Firishah* but not the *Tahqīq-i Akbarī* brings Malik Sher Khān upon the scene here. Sher Khān does not appear to have had anything to do with this matter. See the account of him in next Section.

tion A party of Amīrs now interposed between the two personages⁶ [the Sultān and Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh], and spoke words of peace, and 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān was the cause of discord on both sides, until, on Saturday⁷, the 22nd of Shawwāl of this same year, the Sultān of Islām commanded that 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān should be sent to Budā'ūn, and that that territory should be his fief, and that accommodation was effected

On Tuesday, the 17th of the month of Zī-Ka'dah, after vows, pledges, and stipulations, Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, and the whole of the Amīrs and Malīks presented themselves, and [the province of] Lohor became the fief of Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh⁸, and, attended by security and felicity, the Sultān and his forces entered the capital city of Dihlī, under a fortunate star, on Tuesday, the 9th of the month of Zī-Hijjah—May Almighty God ever adorn the

⁶ The original—در میان هر دو تن as above The persons referred to are the Sultān and his brother, but Ulugh Khān was also concerned Compare ELLIOT also here.

⁷ "Wednesday" is utterly impossible, if Tuesday is the 17th of Zī-Ka'dah In the account of Ulugh Khān it is said the 22nd of Shawwāl was Saturday

⁸ This is the first time Lāhor has been referred to as a fief since it was taken by the Mughals in 639 H It was still in ruins, and was not rebuilt until some time after Some authors state that Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, held Lāhor independent of the Dihlī kingdom, and that he was countenanced by the Mughals More on this subject will be found in the last Section Even above it is not said that Lāhor was conferred upon him, merely that it became his fief

In the account of Sher Khān in the next Section, it is stated that, on his return with honour from the *urdū* of the Great Kā'ān, Mangū Khān, in Tūrān [this shows the state of the Dihlī kingdom, when even Ulugh Khān's own cousin went to the Mughal Court], he, Sher Khān, joined Malik Jalāl-ud-Dīn, but there it is stated that contention arose between the latter and Sher Khān at last, that Jalāl-ud-Dīn retired in disappointment, and that his dependents and followers fell into the hands of Sher Khān's followers. This however, it must be borne in mind, had nothing whatever to do with these events, and happened a year or two afterwards Sher Khān then endeavoured to recover Tabarhindah from the feudatory, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Arsalān Khān, but he, having sallied out to encounter him, Sher Khān had to withdraw. Swift messengers were sent after him from Dihlī, and pledges were entered into [to induce him not to retire to the Mughals probably], and he was induced to proceed to Dihlī, whither the feudatory of Tabarhindah was also summoned. The latter was sent to govern the fief of Awadh, and Sher Khān received back all the frontier fiefs he had previously held. Contention, however, again went on between him and Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān as before, Tabarhindah and its dependencies were conferred upon another Malik, Nusrat Khān, Badr-ud-Dīn-i-Sunkar, and Sher Khān obtained another fief, as stated in note ², page 713, and note ⁸, page 714, which see

sublime standards of the Sulṭān with the emblems of victory for the sake of his illustrious Prophet !

TENTH YEAR 653 H

When the new year of 653 H came round, an uncommon thing happened, and it was on this wise that the decrees of destiny suffered the blessed heart of the Sulṭān to change towards his mother the Malīkah i Jahān and as she was married [a second time]^{*} to Kutlugh Khān command was given to both of them that Awadh should be their fief, and that they should proceed to it[†] In conformity with this command they repaired to their fief and this circumstance happened on Tuesday the 6th of the month of Muḥarram of this year

When the month of Rabi ul Awwal came round on Sunday the 23rd of the same month, the Sulṭān of Islām, —May his sovereignty continue!—entrusted to the charge of this servant of the state Minhāj-i Sarī under the same covenant as on a previous occasion the Kāẓī ship of the realm and jurisdiction over the capital city Dihlī

* There appears to have been some secrecy with respect to this match, and it is on account of the proceedings of the Sulṭān's mother and her second husband that he is excluded from the account of the great Malīks. Compare F. LIOT here also.

† Some time previous to this period, but when or in what year is not stated—more than between the beginning of Nāṣir ud Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh's reign, and the putting to death of Malik Kufī-ud Dīn, Husain, the Ghūrī, in the middle of 653 H.—Malik Ikhtiyār ud Dīn, Yūz Bak i Tughril Khān, who had previously held the fief of Kinnauj having showed a rebellious spirit, Malik Kufī-ud Dīn, Husain, the Ghūrī was sent against him, and he succeeded in bringing Malik Yūz Bak to the capital. The latter was then appointed to the charge of the fief of Awadh, and, subsequently that of Lakhanawājī was conferred upon him. Hostility arose between him and the infidels of Jāj-nagar who renewed their attempts against the Lakhanawājī territory. Malik Yūz Bak was at first unsuccessful against them, but, at last, he penetrated into their country and appeared before its capital. After this success, Malik Yūz Bak, who was continually acting contumaciously towards the Court, assumed three canopies of state, invaded Awadh, and assumed the title of Sulṭān Muḥiy ud Dīn. The kingdom of Dihlī appears to have been in such a state of disorder that its ruler was powerless to oust him from Lakhanawājī; and, subsequently Malik Yūz Bak invaded Kām-rūd, but was defeated and taken prisoner and died. Further particulars will be found in the next Section, but our author gives not a single date and his account differ considerably

In the month of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, they conveyed to the hearing of the Sultān a remark from Malik Kṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, son of 'Alī, the Ghūrī, who was Nāyab [Lieutenant] of the kingdom, which was contrary to the sublime opinion, and, on Tuesday, the 23rd of Rabī'-ul-Ākhir, he cited Malik Kṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain², and ordered him to be arrested and imprisoned, and that Malik obtained martyrdom³—Almighty God long preserve the monarch of Islām¹

On Monday, the 7th of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, the fief of Mīrath was assigned to Malik Kashlī Khān, Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, the Sultānī Shamsī, Ulugh Kutlugh-i-A'zam, the Bār-Bak [the full brother of Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam], after he had presented himself at court⁴ subsequent to his return from Karah—The Almighty's mercy be upon him⁵ On Tuesday, the 13th of the sacred month of Rajab of this same year, the office of Shaikh-ul-Islām [patriarch] of the capital was consigned to that Bāyazīd of the age, the Shaikh-ul-Islām, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, the Bustāmī⁶, and, in this

² See the List at page 673 for his full titles

³ This is another of our author's mysteries and suppressions of facts In his account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section, he says Ulugh Khān was made Nāyab or Deputy of the kingdom, in 647 H., soon after his daughter was espoused by the Sultān On the banishment of Ulugh Khān to his fief of Nāg-awr in 650-51 H., through 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān's machinations, he was, of course, deprived of his office, but, neither under this reign, nor in the account of Ulugh Khān, is it stated whom Ulugh Khān succeeded in that office, or who succeeded him, but, from the statement above, it is evident that Malik Kṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, was made Nāyab when Ulugh Khān was sent to Nāg-awr, and that he held the office up to this time From what is mentioned about Malik Kṭb-ud-Dīn, Ḥusain, in the account of Ulugh Khān, where the latter's return to Court is detailed, and 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān's banishment, at the end of the year 652 H., it is also evident that the former—he was no slave either, but a free-born Ghūrī noble of royal descent—held a high position in the state, second only to the Sultān himself His fate evidently was connected, in some way, with the Kutlugh or Rayhānī factions, from what is mentioned respecting the occurrences of this year, in the account of Ulugh Khān or, he may have merely been in the way of Ulugh Khān's ambition, for, immediately after he was got rid of, his extensive fief of Mīrath was given to Ulugh Khān's brother

⁴ "Upon his coming from Karra to pay his respects to the Sultān" ELLIOT vol. II page 354.

⁵ He died in 657 H

⁶ Bustām is the name of a celebrated town in Khurāsān, of which Jamāl-ud-Dīn was a native, hence he is styled Bustāmī, and Shaikh Abū-Yazīd or Bāyazīd, is the name of the saint who has made Bustām so famous among Musalmāns Some write the word Bustām See page 419

month likewise, Malik Taj ud Dīn i Sanjar the Sihwastānī⁷, managed to get out of Awadh and ousted Imād ud Dīn i Rayhān from Bharāij, and he departed on a journey from this world. In the month of Shawwāl of this year likewise the Sulṭān with his forces departed from the capital towards Hindūstān [i.e. east of the Jūn] and on Sunday, the 17th of the month of Zī Kadah Ulugh Khān i Aḡam set out for Hānsī for the purpose of organizing the affairs of the Siwālikh contingent and, having got those troops ready returned to the capital Dihlī with them⁸ and on Wednesday the 19th of the month of Zī Hijjah at the close of this year he joined the royal camp [with his contingent]

Previous to this a peremptory command had been issued that Malik Kutlugh Khān [the Sulṭān's step-father] should leave the province of Awadh and proceed to the fief of Bharāij and he had not obeyed that mandate and Malik Bak Tamur⁹ the Ruknī was directed to proceed from the capital with a force and expel him [from Awadh]. The forces on either side came in contact in the neighbourhood of Budāūn¹ and Malik Bak Tamur was martyred. On this the Sulṭān with his forces set out towards Awadh for the purpose of remedying this mishap and on his arrival in that part Malik Kutlugh Khān retired before him and the

⁷ There are three Maliks mentioned in the next Section bearing a similar name and title, one Taj-ud Dīn, Sanjar i Kurei Khān, another Taj-ud Dīn, Sanjar-i-Tes Khān, who lived in this reign, and, at this period held the fief of Hādīūn, and a third, Taj-ud Dīn, Anālān Khān-i-Sanjar but the Taj-ud-Dīn-i-Sanjar here referred to, must be a totally different person, and is not mentioned among those in the next Section. See also note ⁴ page 704.

In the account of Ulugh Khān he is styled Taj ud Dīn, Sanjar-i Māh peshānī [of the moon-like brow]. Out of the *city* of Awadh²—the ancient capital—is here meant, where he was confined. Further particulars will be found under Ulugh Khān, which see. Firishtah, who certainly did not obtain the names of persons from our author turns him into Taj-ud Dīn, the Turk.

⁸ On the 3rd of the month, Zī Hijjah. In Maḥarram, the first month of the year 654 H. the army reached the frontier of Awadh.

⁹ In some copies this name appears Bak-tam—*بک-تم*—but it is an error. What appears the long stroke of *م* is merely the way in which some writers, writing quickly would write *بک-تم*—Bak Tamur but the I. H. L. A/S. R. A. S. A/S. and Paris A/S. have *بک-تم* or *بک-تم*. Ruknī refers to Sulṭān Rukn ud Dīn, Firūz Shāh, in whose reign this Malik was raised to that dignity probably. He is styled Malik Bak Tamur i Aor Khān in the next Section.

¹ It is said, in the next Section, that they met at Samrī mā.

Sultān moved towards Kālair² Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam [with a part of the army] followed in pursuit of Malīk Kutluḡh Khān, but did not meet with him, and, with great booty, he rejoined the Sultān's [camp]³

ELEVENTH YEAR · 654 H

When the new year, 654 H, came round, the Sultān's forces, in the month of Muharram, 654 H, having achieved that success⁴, attended with felicity and victory, and aided by the protection of the Creator Most High, the Sultān turned his face towards Dihlī, and, on Tuesday, the 4th of Rabi'-ul-Ākhir, 654 H, the capital was reached

When Malīk Kutluḡh Khān became aware that the Sultān's forces had retired towards the capital, he began to appropriate the territories of Karah and Mānikpūr, and between him and [the feudatory] Arsalān Khān, Sanjar-i-Chast, a conflict took place, but the victory remained with Arsalān Khān⁵. As it became impracticable for Malīk Kutluḡh Khān to make further resistance in Hindūstān, he determined to move upwards [towards the Bīāh and Lāhor] through the border tracts, and proceeded in the direction of

² The name of this place is doubtful in all copies of the text, but is written Kāler or Kālair—کالیر—in the most trustworthy copies. The probability is that it refers to—کلیار Kaliyar—a few miles north-east of Ruḡkī. It is the remains of an ancient city. In some copies of the text the word is کالجر—Kāljar, but, of course, the celebrated stronghold of that name is not, and cannot be, referred to. In the account of Ulugh Khān, in the next Section, the scene of these events is said to have been near the frontier of Tīrhut.

³ Near Kasmandah, or Kasmandī, for it is written in both ways, on the 16th of Rabi'-ul-Awwal.

⁴ It was a great success, certainly, *not* to catch a rebel.

⁵ Two Malīks living at this time, whose names and titles are somewhat similar, and are thereby liable to be mistaken one for the other—one, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Tez Khān, the other, Tāj-ud-Dīn, Arsalān Khān, Sanjar-i-Chast. The first-mentioned became Wakīl-i-Dar and feudatory of Budā'un in 654 H. He was, subsequently, sent against Kutluḡh Khān, but had to retreat, and, some time after, the fief of Awadh was conferred upon him. The latter had married the daughter of Sultān Bahā-ud-Dīn, Tughrīl, the Mu'izzī [see page 544], and had great interest. When Malīk Sher Khān retired from Sindh and Tabarhindah, Arsalān Khān was sent to Tabarhindah. He was afterwards sent against Kutluḡh Khān, when feudatory of Awadh, and was more successful, and compelled Kutluḡh Khān's faction to disperse. This is what is referred to above. See Malīks, Nos. XVII and XIX, next Section.

Santūr⁶ and sought shelter among the independent [Hindū] tribes⁷. The Sultān with his forces moved from the capital, Dihlī, on Monday, the 20th of Zi Hıjjah, to quell this sedition of his, and as the new year 655 H⁸ came round, the army, in that year, marched towards Santūr,

⁶ See the account of Ulugh Khān, in the next Section, respecting Santūr.

⁷ There is not a word about the highlands here as given in ELLIOT [vol. II. page 355]. The word مواس is made a tract of country in that work! The words are—موس مریض بالکرد—as above.

The editor of the above-mentioned work adds, in a foot-note that These two names are written مریض and سنور (var سنور). The former is probably Mewār, and the hills the Aravalli mountains. Briggs says there is a town called Santpur near Abū Thornton has a Santoo, eighty-four miles S.S.W. from Jodhpur¹¹! Where will they lead us next? They are entirely out, however both in their latitude and longitude here only about five degrees too far W. and S.!! Where *Merid*! where the Himalayah mountains? Perhaps *Paik* is near Jodhpur¹² also. Firishtah turns سنور into سنور—[سنور]—and سنور—[سنور]—or rather the *revised* text¹³ of BRIGGS does. Dow has *Senaur* as in the Tālikāt-i-Akhārī, which proves that the MSS. of Firishtah used by him was correct for سنور in a MSS. might be read, by a person not knowing what place was referred to, سنور. The revised text of Firishtah might be *revised* from other MSS. of that work with much advantage.

There is some difficulty with respect to the *exact* meaning which our author desired to convey by the word مواس—*mosais*—here, and مواسات—*mosaisat*—used elsewhere. The latter word seems as if intended for the plural form of it, according to Arabic ideas or otherwise, for the Arabic word signifying “society” neighbourhood, fellowship, &c. There is also a Hindū word written in the same way—موس—meaning “refuge,” “protection,” “retreat,” “asylum,” and the like, which might be used here: but, from the way in which the second form of the word, viz. مواسات is used in the account of Ulugh Khān, and in other places farther on, respecting these events, both words evidently refer to neighbouring independent Hindū tribes and the tracts they dwell in, adjoining the Dihlī territory but not under the sway of the Dihlī kings, and as such I shall use the word here.

The country of the Mew or Mewār is certainly not meant, for Mewār is too far south west. The event here recorded happened in and around the Upper Do-āb, in and near the lower ranges of the Himalayah mountains, as far east as the district of Tihūt and as far as the Bihā on the west.

I have in my possession detailed geographical accounts of these tracts, but neither of the words used in the text is mentioned. There is a possibility that the name مواس is local, but, at the same time there seems but little doubt of their being the same or one among the aboriginal Hindū tribes, referred to in Dalton's Ethnology [pages 154, 221, 230, 231, 280], and in the Bom. Geogr. Journal, II. of 1855, under the name of *Mwasā*, which is used like the term گوار—*ghwar*—دربان—*darban*—by some native writers, applied to a nomad people of Hindustan.

⁸ These are the events of the next year not of 654 H. In the account of Ulugh Khān it is stated that the Sultān's troop only began their march in the *third month* of 655 H.

and hostilities were commenced between the forces of Islām and the Hīndūs of the Koh-pāyah [skirt of the hills]⁹ Ḳutluḡ Khān was among that people, and a party among the Musalmān Amīrs, who were apprehensive, through being falsely accused, joined him¹, but, as they had not the power to withstand [the Sultān's troops], they consequently turned their backs [and retired], and Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, by stroke of sword, turned that mountain tract upside down, and pushed on through passes and defiles to Silmūr [i.e. Sirmūr], and devastated the Koh²-i-Silmūr [the hill tract of Sirmūr], and waged holy war as by the faith enjoined, over which tract no sovereign had acquired power, and which no Musalmān army had ever before reached, and caused such a number of villainous Hīndū rebels to be slain as cannot be defined nor numbered, nor be contained in record nor in narration³

TWELFTH YEAR 655 H

After withdrawing from thence [the hill tract of Silmūr], on Sunday, the 6th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 655 H, Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ban Khān, Ī-bak, the Khītā-ī, sustained a fall from his horse and died from the effects of the injuries he sustained, and the Sultān's forces turned their faces towards the capital, and, on Sunday, the 26th⁴ of the month of Rabī-ul-Ākhir, he reached the illustrious seat of government, Dihlī

⁹ The Sub-Himālayah is here meant, not the hills of Mewāt.

¹ This is rendered in ELLIOT [vol. II page 356] "a party of nobles in the royal army, &c., went and joined them," as if they deserted from the Sultān's army. The text, however, will not admit of this rendering, and the words are و ارامای اسلام جمعى كه دای بود. The Musalmān Amīrs were not with the royal forces at this time. See under Ulugh Khān.

² In a few of the more modern copies of the text Kāshbah—town is used instead of Koh—mountain, hill-tract, &c. Silmūr and Sirmūr is one and the same thing. The chief town bore that name as well as the tract of country. For further particulars respecting this part, see the account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section. There the Hīṣār—fortress, or fortified town—of Silmūr is mentioned.

³ It was on the last day of Shawwāl of this year, although some say the following day—the 1st of Zī-Ka'dih—that Rukn-ud-Dīn, Khūr Shāh, the last of the Mulāhidh rulers of Alamūt, came down from his stronghold of Mumūn Dujz and presented himself before Hulākū Khān, the Mughal.

⁴ It was the 25th according to the statement in the account of Ulugh Khān, which see.

On the return of the victorious forces, Malik Izz ud Dīn, Balban i Kashlū Khān who with the troops of Uchchrah and Multān was [then] in the neighbourhood of the banks of the river Blāh¹ advanced still farther [north-eastwards] and Malik Kutlugh Khān and those Amīrs who were in combination with him joined Malik Balban i Kashlū Khān, and advanced to the limits of Manṣūr pūr and Samānah². When information of the movement of this faction came to the sublime hearing Ulugh Khān i Aḡam with the troops was appointed [to march against them] and, on Thursday the 15th of Jamadī ul Awwal 65, IL he moved from the capital³.

When Ulugh Khān i Aḡam with the forces under him arrived near unto the army of the faction so that between the two armies about ten *kuroh* [about 16 miles] distance remained, a party at the capital such as the Shaiḡh ul Islām [patriarch] Jamal ud Dīn the Sayyid Kuṭb-ud Dīn and Kāẓi Shams-ud Dīn the Bharaḡi wrote letters secretly and despatched them to Malik Kutlugh Khān and Malik Izz ud Dīn Balban i Kashlū Khān [urging them] to come to the capital, and that they would give up the gates [of the city] to them and every one within the city they were getting to pledge their support to this movement

¹ This advance was made with an object as will appear in the account of Ulugh Khān.

² Kutlugh Khān and his faction, skirting the lower range of the Himālayah, advanced towards the Blāh, keeping north of Sirhind, and Balban-i Kashlū Khān moved up from the Multān district to meet him, along the banks of the Blāh—which, at that period, from our author's remark in his account of Balban-i Kashlū Khān, was the boundary of the Dīhlī kingdom. It flowed in its old bed at this period. See remarks on the Lost River in last Section.

³ Our author's account here differs considerably from that given in his notice of Ulugh Khān, and that again differs, in a great measure, from the other two in his notice of Balban-i Kashlū Khān. Under Ulugh Khān, our author states that, when he with his troops, drew near to the rebels in the vicinity of Kalthal, on the 15th of Jamadī-ul Awwal, certain persons at the capital wrote letters, &c.

⁴ He is again turned into his namesake, Balban, by Firāightah, who styles him امرادیس. The title of his namesake however was Izz-ud Dīn, Balban-i Kashlū Khān. Ulugh Khān never went by the title of Izz-ud Dīn. The *Talakhāt* i Aklārī, which copies from our author is perfectly correct, but Firāightah imagines that Kashlū [not Kashlū] Khān, Ilakīm of Sind and Izz-ud Dīn, Balban was another person altogether and makes two persons of him in nearly every instance throughout his account of this reign.

and were entering into compacts, and making stipulations with them. Certain loyal informants [however] wrote intimation of this sedition to Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam who, in consequence of this treason, from his camp, imparted information to the sublime Court respecting the fact of this disaffection on the part of a party of turban-wearers⁹ [priest-hood], and requested, in the event of its being expedient in the sublime opinion, that a royal mandate should be issued by his Majesty unto them to the effect that those [among them] who held fiefs in the neighbourhood of the capital should repair to their respective fiefs, and that their return to the city again should be prohibited, by his Majesty's command, until that sedition should be quelled.

On Sunday, the 2nd of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, 655 H, the mandate was issued that the Sayyid Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, the Shāikh-ul-Islām, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, and Kāzī Shams-ud-Dīn, Bharā'ījī, should proceed to their fiefs.

On their letters from the capital having reached Malīk Kutlugh Khān and Malīk 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balḡan-i-Kāshlū Khān, they, at once, without the least delay, marched from their position, with the whole of their forces, and pushed on towards Dihlī. This forced march of theirs upon the capital, from their camp near Samānah, was begun on Monday, the 3rd of the month of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir¹, and they pushed on with such celerity that they marched a distance of one hundred *kuroh* [about 180 miles] in two days and a half, and, on Thursday, the 6th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, they alighted at the Bāgh-i-Jūd [the Jūd Garden]². The next morning, at dawn, after morning

⁹ Compare ELLIOT [vol II pages 356, 357] here دستارداران does not mean "nobles."

prayers they made for the city gate, and made a circuit in the vicinity of the capital² and, at night, pitched their camp in the suburbs of Dihli between the Bāgh i Jūd and Gili Khari and the city

When those Malikis and [their] forces, in expectation of the fulfilment of the promise [contained] in those letters, reached the Bāgh i Jūd the favour of Almighty God was such that, two days previous to their arrival, the party disaffected had been sent away from the city, and when those [hostile] Malikis became aware of their story their proceedings became suspended³ and a command had issued from the Sultān's court so that they [the authorities] secured the city gates and as the [royal] troops were absent from it they made dispositions for defence. The Amīr ul Hujjāb [Lord or Head of the Chamberlains] Alā ud Dīn, son of Ayaz⁴, the Zinjāni and the Deputy Amīr i Hajib and the Ulugh Kotwal Bak [the great Lord, the Seneschal] Jamāl ud Dīn the Mshāpūrī with the Dīwān i Ariz i Mamlūk [Muster Master of the Kingdom] that same night, in organizing the fighting men for the defence of the city⁵ greatly distinguished themselves and Amīrs, heads of families and respectable persons were appointed to the ramparts

gardens [plural] [outside the city),” &c. Immediately under the same is repeated in the text but printed correctly—*الحديقة*—but in ELLIOT Bāgh-i-Jūd is discarded altogether and the words *garden on the Jamna* are substituted and the editor adds, in a note:—“the text has *Jūd*, which I take to be a mistake for *Jān* = *Jumna*!” When our author is perfectly correct he is, in this manner made out to be wrong.

From its situation, the Jūd Bāgh is probably that which now goes by the name of the Bāgh-i Shalimar some distance W. of the old city of Dihli.

This affair will be found much more detailed in the account of Malik Balban i Kashfi Khān, and of Ulugh Khān, farther on, and the Jūd Garden is again referred to.

² There is nothing about *walls* in this part of the sentence.

³ In ELLIOT [vol. II. page 357]—“they became very cautious in their proceedings,” &c. The original word *مان* here signifies delaying, suspending, retarding &c.

⁴ He had succeeded, as Deputy of Ulugh Khān's brother Malik Saif-ud Dīn, I lak i Kashfi Khān, who had been sent to the Sec of Mirath after Malik Fuzl-ud Dīn, Husain, the Ghūrī had been got rid of.

⁵ Malik Badr ud Dīn i Sunkar the Rūmī feudatory of Bihānah, also reached the capital with a body of troops, and this timely aid tended to the security of the city. A usual with our author he gives part of the details here, but retains the greater part of the particulars for his account of Balban i Kashfi Khān, and Ulugh Khān, which see.

When the morning of Friday [the 7th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir] dawned, God Almighty prepared a pleasure [for them], and Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, proposed to retire. The other Maliks along with the Sultān's mother, the Malikah-i-Jahān, when they perceived that his intention was to be abandoned, all concurred in retiring. The greater portion of their following [however] did not accompany them at the time of their withdrawal, and took up their quarters in the vicinity of the city, and many of the great and notable persons among them sought to be admitted to terms, and presented themselves before the sublime court⁷, and those [disaffected] Maliks retired towards the Siwākh⁸ [territory] foiled in their objects.

When information of their intention [to march against Dihlī, previously related] reached Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, and the [other] Maliks and Amīrs of the royal army, they moved from the position they were then in, and pressed forward towards the capital, until, when they arrived near unto it, the state of affairs became manifest to Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, and he reached the capital again, safely, prosperously, victoriously, and triumphantly, on the 14th⁹ of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir—May Almighty God perpetuate the sovereignty of this dynasty, and make lasting the fortune and power of this Khān-ship, and preserve the people of Islām, through His illustrious Prophet Muhammad¹¹

Subsequently to these events, on Wednesday, the 8th of the blessed month of Ramazān of this year, the *masnad* of the Wazīr-ship was entrusted to the Ziyā-ul-Mulk, Tāj-ud-Dīn, with the title of Nizām-ul-Mulk, and the *masnad* of the [office of] Ashrāf-i-Mamālik² was committed to the

⁷ That is, they presented themselves to make their submission, after terms were entered into, and do homage to the Sultān. In the account of Malik Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, in the next Section, it is said that only 200 or 300 followers accompanied him on his retreat.

⁸ The Siwākh has been previously described.

⁹ Without even a *slimish* having taken place between them! So much for our "candid and conscientious narrator."

In the account of Ulugh Khān the date is the 10th of Jamādī-ul-Ākhir.

¹¹ No further notice of Kutlugh Khān and his wife, the Sultān's mother, occurs throughout this work, although our author, no doubt, was well aware of their fate, and it is not recorded anywhere else. They probably retired to the Mughal dominions, or remained with Kashlū Khān in Sind.

this note⁶ page 635, respecting these titles

Şadr ul Mulk, and at the end of this year¹ an army of infidel Mughals from Khurāsān reached the territory of Uchchah and Multān and Malik Izz ud Dīn Balban. Haslu Khān entered into a compact with them, and joined the camp of their leader, the Nūyān, Sālin² the Mughal.

THIRTEENTH YEAR 656 H

When the new year came round, and the month of Muharram 656 H., was entered upon on Sunday the 6th of Muharram the sublime standards moved from the capital for the purpose of making holy war upon and repelling the Mughal infidels and a camp was formed in sight of the city of Dihli.

Trustworthy persons have related on this wise that on Wednesday, the 9th of this same month Hulān [or Hulūkū] who was the head of the Mughal infidels [in Irāk] fled discomfited before the troops of the Lord of the Faithful Mustaḡim Billah from the gate of Baghdād³.

¹ In Zil Hijjah the last month of the year.

² ILLIOT (vol. II. page 358)—at the camp of Salim warrior. This leader is styled Sāl by our author in the account of Ulugh Khān, and Sāl—r and / being interchangeable—in other places, and by other authors.

The Talakhāt-i Akbarī did not say this in so many words, and has: "At the end of this year an army of Mughals came into the territories of Uchchah and Multān, and the Sulṭān marched to repel them, and the Mughal army retired without fighting and the Sulṭān also returned."

The revised text of Firūzshāh has سوارى و دوى او و من آمد which, if correct, shows that writer knew not what he was writing about for it can only be rendered—an army of Mughals, came to Sal and the territories of Uchchah and Multān. The name of the leader has been mistaken for a place, and his rank seemingly for a territory also. He adds, what is neither contained in our author nor in the Talakhāt-i Akbarī—the Sulṭān brought forth his red tent [javān] and pitched it and after four months, when his forces had a small he set out by continuous marches, and, as the Mughals retired without fighting, the Sulṭān also retired," all of which is totally incorrect, and his own concoction. The Sulṭān never moved from his capital, nor did the troops either and there they remained. The Mughals did just what they wished, and ravaged the frontiers of the Dihli kingdom; and Malik Izz-ud Dīn, Balban-i Haslu Khān, who was independent, all but in name, of the Dihli government, had lately returned from a visit to Hulūkū (being correct) Khān's camp, and was vexed with the presence of a Mughal attendant or commissalooer in his territory. See the account of Haslu Khān and Ulugh Khān farther on.

³ The editors of the Calcutta text add a note here to the effect that this

When the Sultān's troops issued forth for the purpose of carrying on war against the infidels, Malīks and Amīrs, with bodies of troops, were appointed to all parts⁶, and the centre [division] of the Sultān's [own] troops returned to the capital on the 1st of the month of Ramazān, where the Sultān continued for a period of five [seven?]⁷ months. On the 18th of the month of Zī-Hijjah⁸ of this same year, the kingdom of Lakhanawātī was conferred upon Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd⁹, son of [the late] Malīk 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī.

FOURTEENTH YEAR 657 H.

The new year having come round, on Thursday, the 13th of Muharram, 657 H¹, the Sultān's forces moved for the purpose of carrying on war against the infidels, and, on Sunday, the 21st of the month of Šafar, the territories of Bhīānah, Kol, Balarām, and Gwāliyūr were placed in Malīk

statement is contained "in all four MSS used by them," and that it is "contrary to the truth" I can assure them that it is contained in *eleven MSS*, and more, that, wherever a *MS* of the text is found, therein will this statement be found also, and still more, that the statement is *perfectly true* that the Mughals—the van of Hulāū's army, amounting to 30,000 horse—on approaching the gates of Baghdād on the west side of the Dīlah, were encountered by the Khalīfah's troops under his general Sulīmān Shāh, and other leaders, and repulsed. This was but a temporary success however Al-Musta'šim B'illah, Abū Aḥmad-ī-'Abd-ullah, was martyred by the Mughals, together with four of his sons and other members of his family, on the 6th of Šafar, 656 H.

⁶ Where these bodies of troops were sent may be seen in the account of Ulugh Khān, and may *partly* account for the forces of Dīhlī, concentrated at the capital, being unable to move against the Mughals.

⁷ All the copies of the text have five months, but, from the 6th of Muḥarram—the first month of the year—mentioned above, to the 1st of Ramazān, is exactly *eight* months less five days.

⁸ In some copies Zī-Ka'dah

⁹ He is styled "Shāh" in some of the best copies of the text, which is certainly redundant, for we nowhere meet with it except for the princes of this dynasty. In the List at the commencement of this reign he is called Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Kulich Khān, son of the late Malīk 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, who is certainly, at page 625, styled Shāh-zādah of Turkistān. In other places the son is called Malīk Kutluḡ, Mas'ūd, son of Jānī, and also Kulī and Kulīj, Mas'ūd, son of Jānī. See the account of Ulugh Khān for notice of other discrepancies respecting Lakhanawātī and its governors.

¹ No movement was made, according to this, for a period of four months and twelve days, from the 1st of Ramazān, 656 H to the 13th of Muḥarram, 657 H. The infidels referred to were Hindūs, as will appear.

Nusrat ud Dīn Sher Khān : Sunkar's charge² and the Malik un Nawwāb I bak was nominated to proceed with a force against the infidels of Rantabhūr, and the Sultān's forces returned to the illustrious seat of the kingdom's glory again.

On Wednesday the 4th of the month of Jamādī ul-Akhir of this year two elephants and some treasure from the territory of Lakhanawati reached the sublime Court³, and on the 6th [26th ?] of the aforesaid month the Shaikh ul Islam [Patriarch] of the capital Jamāl ud Dīn the Bustāmi died and on the 24th of the month Kāẓi Kabīr ud Dīn departed this life—the Almighty's mercy be upon them!—and their offices were conferred with king-like benevolence, upon their sons. In the month of Rajab of this same year Malik Saif ud Dīn I bak Kashih Khan⁴ : Aḡam the Bar Bak passed to the eternal mansion of the Most Compassionate, and the office of Amīr i Hājib was assigned to his son Malik Ala ud Dīn Muḥammad⁵. On the 1st of Ramaẓān, the Imām Hamīd ud Dīn of Mār galah⁶ died likewise and his grants by the royal favour, were confirmed to his sons.

² In the account of Malik Sher Khān, and of Ulugh Khān, besides these fiefs, Balārah, Balāidah, or Fālārah—for the word—written thus in the best copies of the text—and Mihir and Mahāwan, are also said to have been conferred upon him. See note⁶ last para. page 714.

Firishah, who, of course knows more than any one else, and is always so correct as I have shown says, immediately after mentioning the "Sultān's return from marching against the Mughals—which was not correct, as shown in the previous note⁷—that the Panjāb was entrusted to Sher Khān's charge, and that Kashih Khān, Ulugh Khān's brother got Bilārah, Kol, Jālsar and Gwāliyūr which is equally fallacious. The Sultān did not possess the Panjāb to give him: the Mughal had overrun that part, as will be found farther on. The frontier territory possessed by the Sultān at this period—657 H. [when all Indian Histories suddenly cease from giving any further accounts of the reign, because dependent on our author for them]—was made over to the charge of Malik Nusrat Khān, Badr-ud Dīn, Sunkar the Rūmī, as mentioned in a following note, and he was still stationed in that part, with a considerable body of forces when our author ended his history.

³ See the account of Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Amālīn Khān, in next Section.

⁴ Firishah, of course kills the wrong person. He records the death of Malik 𐤎𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤃 [for 𐤎𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤃]-ud Dīn, *As al-Hādī* who was still living when our author finished his work.

⁵ This nephew of Ulugh Khān rose to high rank in his reign, and held the offices his father had held and his title was Ala-ud Dīn, Kashih Khān, Ulugh Kutlugh i Mu Aḡam, the Bar Bak. He was very munificent, a great archer and hunter and very skilful in the game of Chaugān.

⁶ Of Mār galah in the Panjāb.

After such turmoil, when the prosperity of the state, and the dominion of the great Sultān's kingdom, had its face turned to extension, and all fractures were set and all wounds were alleviated, on the branch of continuity on the stately tree of monarchy, a new flower bloomed, and a tender bud opened, and the ripening fruit grew, and, on the 29th of the month of Ramazān, the abundant grace of the Creator of the Sultānī [imperial] stem, from the illustrious shell of Khānī [the daughter of Ulugh Khān], bestowed a son⁷, and such an amount of favours and benefactions reached both gentle and simple—noble and plebeian—[in gratitude] for these blessings, as the pen of the record-writer cannot record, nor the breath of the narrator be sufficiently capable of narrating⁸—May the Almighty God ever keep the parterre of sovereignty and garden of dominion adorned with the trees and fruits of continuation!

At the end of the month of Shawwāl of this same year, Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Tez Khān, with a force duly organized and equipped, in accordance with the sublime mandate, reached⁹ the capital

FIFTEENTH YEAR 658 H.

When the new year of 658 H. came in, the sun of sovereignty rose from the horizon of prosperity, and the

⁷ This son was by Ulugh Khān's daughter, but he did not live long

⁸ Our "author's flourishes" seem to have been "greatly compressed" here, in ELLIOT, as well as in the account of the following year

⁹ The word رسید, here used signifies—reached, arrived—not *returned*. He came from Awadh in order to accompany Ulugh Khān in his expedition into the Koh-pāyah, but, in the account of him in the next Section, it is said he arrived at the capital in 658 H., when our author finished his history

In this year "when all fractures were set," and the Mughals harassing the frontier, Malīk Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunḡar, the Rūmī, on account of the implicit faith placed in him by the Court, and on account of the continual hostility between Malīk Sher Khān, who held Tabarhindah and its dependencies, and Malīk Balban-i-Kashlū Khān of Multān and Ūchchah, was made feudatory of Tabarhindah, Sunām, Jhajhar, Lakhwāl, and as far as the ferries of the Bīāh, and despatched there with a large force. On this occasion, the title of Nuṣrat Khān was conferred upon him. Sher Khān received the fiefs of Kol and Bhīānāl, Bīlārām, Jalīsar, Baltārah, Mīhar, and Mahāwan, and the fortress of Gwāhyūr—a very considerable tract of territory. Both Malīks held these fiefs when our author closed his history

moon of dominion shone forth from the zodiac of happiness.

On the 13th of the month of Şafar the Khān i Muazzam Ulugh Khān i Aẓam marched towards the Koh pāyah of Dihlī to put down the violence of the contumacious Mew¹, of whom a demon would be horrified and about 10000 horsemen in defensive armour warlike and relentless warriors, followed his august stirrup². The next day vast booty and cattle in great numbers arrived. He [the Khān] plundered and devastated difficult passes, and attacked strong mountain tracts³ and Hindūs beyond computation fell beneath the unsparing swords of the holy warriors⁴.

Since the accomplishment of this History has reached this place, with this holy warfare, and victory and success conferred by God it is concluded. Should life be prolonged, and eternity extend the time and aptitude remain whatever events may hereafter occur will be recorded.

The hope and reliance [of the author] on such persons as may look into this TADAKAT and into these Annals, and take into consideration these Chronicles and Narrations or if an atom of these accounts or a hint of these statements should come to their hearing is that if an error mistake, inadvertency or omission should enter their

¹ Mew Mewṣṣ or Mewṣah, or Mewṣṣ, a most contumacious race down even to modern times. In Akbar's time they were employed as spies, and Dāk runners. The words Mew and Mewṣṣ or Mewṣah are both singular and plural.

² There is nothing whatever in the text about "their Deo, nor about and a large army" as in ELLIOT [vol. II. page 359], which compare here. The force consisted of about 10,000 cavalry only.

³ The words كرمی — krahmī — do not signify "strong forts."

⁴ The details of these operations, but related in quite a different manner will be found in the account of Ulugh Khān, in the next Section, together with the account of the reception of the emissaries from Khurāsān, and the circumstances which led to their coming. These persons certainly came from — or rather returned from — the camp of Hūlikū Khān, but *they were not envoys from him nor from the Mughals*. Ulugh Khān returned from this expedition on the 24th of Rabī ul Awwal, 658 H. the emissaries from Khurāsān were received in the middle of the following month, Rabī ul Akhīr and, on the 24th of Rajab, the seventh month of the year Ulugh Khān again moved towards the hill tracts — Koh pāyah. His return is not mentioned but he had returned again, no doubt, when our author finally ended his history in the tenth month of the year — Shawwāl — 658 H.

generous minds or reach their recipient ears, they will veil it with the garment of forgiveness, and endeavour to correct and rectify it, since whatever had been read in previous histories from the narrations and chronicles of Prophets, Maliks, and Sultāns, has been copied, and whatever the eye has beheld has been recorded ⁵

⁵ It is remarkable, but nevertheless true, and I do not think the fact has been particularly noticed before, that all the Muhammadan Indian histories of this dynasty suddenly end where our author terminates his account of it, and that no farther account of Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh's, reign is contained in any of them

The Tabakāt-i-Akbarī relates but two events in the year 657 H, and then suddenly comes to a conclusion with a short account of that Sultān's mode of life, and his death, and no other event is mentioned. Budā'ūnī goes on a little farther, and gives a few lines more, but only as far as our author goes in his account of Ulugh Khān in the next Section, and then gives several Kasīdahs, of many pages, by way of lengthening the account. Firīshṭah also manages to spin out his tale to the same date, but relates nothing farther than is contained in Budā'ūnī and our author, whose last date here mentioned is 13th of Ṣafar—the second month of the year 658 H, and, in the account of Ulugh Khān, the last date given is Shawwāl—the tenth month of that year, and all after is a *perfect blank* in Indian history, until the reign of Ulugh Khān,—Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, Balban—with which Ziyā-i-Baraṇī commences his history, the Tārīkh-i-Firūz-Shāhī, but he relates nothing respecting the events of the period in question, although he says he commenced his history where "the Ṣadr-i-Jahān, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, Jūrjānī, left off"

Most writers agree that Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, was taken ill in 663 H, and died on the 11th of Jamādī-ul-Awwal, 664 H. His reign was exactly twenty years, three months, and seventeen days, and yet, with the dates before them, the authors of the Tārīkh-i-Firūz-Shāhī, the Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī, Zubdat-ut-Tawārīkh, Tabakāt-i-Akbarī, and several others, make it *one year less*!

One reason of this significant silence on the part of our author [who died in the next reign] for a period of nearly *six years*, is, probably, that the Mughals, being so powerful in the Panjāb, harassed the western frontier of the Dīhlī territory, and occasioned considerable confusion therein, and, not being able to chronicle victories, he refrained from continuing his history. Our author's health does not seem to have hindered him, as he continued for some time in employment in Balban's reign. There *may have been* another reason for his silence, as some authors attribute the death of Nāsir-ud-Dīn to poison administered by Ulugh Khān, although this is extremely doubtful, and some say he was starved to death whilst confined by Balban's orders. Be this as it may, the silence is ominous

Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, left neither offspring nor heir, but, before his death, he had nominated Ulugh Khān as his successor. This was natural, as Ulugh Khān was his own father-in-law, that the latter was son-in-law to Nāsir's father, I-jāl-timīsh, is a mistake of the Tabakāt-i-Akbarī and its copyists who confound him with Balban-i-Kashlū Khān, but I know of no proof that he even was son-in-law of that Sultān. Ulugh Khān's own son, Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd, surnamed Bughrā Khān, had married a daughter of Sultān Nāsir-ud-

May the Most High God preserve and continue the dynasty of the Sultān i Muazzam, the great king of kings, NĀSIR UD-DUNYĀ WA UD-DIN ABU L-MUZAFFAR-I MAHMUD SHĀH son of the Sultān I yal timish, on the throne of sovereignty and the couch of dominion to the utmost bounds of possibility and may HE grant HIS forgiveness to the compiler of this TABAKĀT for the sake of the illustrious Prophet Muḥammad!

Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, who was the mother of Ulugh Khān s [Sultān Ghiyāṣ-ud-Dīn, Balban s] successor Kal Kubād and, therefore, it is not surprising that, on the death of Sultān Nāṣir ud Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, Ulugh Khān, who had in reality governed the kingdom since the fall of Imād ul Dīn-i Rayḥān, with the accord of all the great Malika, was raised to the throne.

Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, whenever he had occasion to mention the name of Sultān Nāṣir-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, used always, to style him, in a contemptuous manner by the name of the Khwājah Tāgh slave — Khwājah Tāgh signifying one of a number of slaves of one master and, also, servants of one lord.

It is related that Nāṣir's humility was so great that he requested, that, when he died, his face should be blackened, a rope tied to his feet, and his body drawn along the ground and thrown into a cavern. When his death took place, and consultation was held as to the carrying out of his wishes, some wise persons among the Malika and Ulamā advised that the face of the corpse should be covered with a piece of the [old] drapery of the mosque at Makkah, which is black, his bier so constructed with long legs that it might be drawn along the ground by a rope to a cavern prepared for it. This was done, and over that cavern his sepulchre still stands, which since that time has become a place of pilgrimage."

Among some of the events of the year 658 H. the Malik of Kābul, whose name is not mentioned, after he had carried on war against the Mughals for nearly two years, was taken by Prince Yūgh mūt and I yal kī, the Nūyīn. He was brought to the presence of Halākū Khān, who ordered his flesh to be cut from his body and he was compelled to eat it until he died.

In the year 603 H. on the 9th of Rabī ul Awwal, Hulākū died in Āgar bājān, aged forty-eight, after ruling, over Irān, nine years and three months.

In 664 H. the Imām, Bahā ud Dīn, Zakariyā, the Multānī, died, leaving seven sons.

Faṣīḥ-i—like Zayī-ud Dīn, Baranī—says Ghiyāṣ-ud Dīn, Balban-i Ulugh Khān, ascended the throne of Dīhlī in 663 H.

ADDITIONAL NOTE—At page 525, where I have given what is said to have been the inscription on the coins of Sulṭān Kuṭb-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, I have stated, as will be observed, that the inscription is given as “contained in a work in my possession, and which the coins are said to have borne” I did not vouch for its accuracy, and this refers equally to the inscriptions subsequently given up to the reign just concluded

I am under the necessity of burdening this translation with these additional remarks because Mr H BLOCHMANN, M A, imagines he has made an important discovery. He says [*“Contributions to the History and Geography of Bengal,”* No III, page 136, last para.], “I, too, have a work in my possession on the ‘Coins of the Śalātīn i Hind,’ a modern demi-quarto Dīhlī lithograph, based on Sayyid Ahmad’s *Asd-i uṣṣanādīd*, and I dare say I have discovered the source of Major Raverty’s information” In this, as in some other matters, however, he is totally mistaken. I do not know of, nor have I seen, any Āṣār-uṣṣanādīd, by Sayyid Aḥmad—although I dare say anything from the Sayyid’s pen is valuable. The work I refer to is a *MS*, of which I had a copy taken by my Afghān Maulawī of Kandahār—a *real* Patān—some ten years since, and, from what I can discover, it had been used by, or belonged to, the late W Marsden. I can put Mr Blochmann in the way of finding the *MS*, should he ever come to England.

SECTION XXII

ACCOUNT OF THE SHAMSLAH MALIKS IN HIND

[OUR author—after laying much stress on the necessity of showing due gratitude to benefactors for favours and benefits conferred by them which necessity is clear to every well ordered mind and which the most wise and pious men have inculcated and enjoined for as philosophers have said ‘They who have no gratitude for man have no gratitude for God —therefore returns his grateful thanks, as in duty bound—in highly-coloured terms—to the august Sultān of the Sultāns of Islam Shams-ud Dunya wa ud Dīn I yal timūsh and to those sovereigns his children [and grandchildren] who have placed the foot of dignity on the throne of empire, for their manifold donations and benefactions, and also to those Maliks and Khāns, the servants of that dynasty who have attained to the hall of their sovereignty—the arena of dominion—for their kindnesses and favours towards himself his children his dependents and his followers from the year 625 H. up to this present time which is the year 658 H., and which benefits and favours, day by day and hour by hour have been increasing and augmenting by the granting of offices and dignities, by gifts and benefactions, the enumeration of which cannot be contained within the limits of this abbreviated work. I have now he says, “reached the point of my design,” and here I must render what he says as nearly as possible, in his own words.]

SINCE Almighty God of His favour prolonged the reign of the Sultāns of the I yal timūshī dynasty and raised on

high the standards of jurisdiction of HIS servants in the decree of duration, this frail one, in repayment of some of those many debts of gratitude, desired that he should thread upon the thread of description, and string on the string of writing, an account of those Maliks and Khāns, the servants of that Court which is the aṣylum of the universe, more particularly the mention of the successive benefits, and increasing generosity of that Khākān-i-Mu'azzam¹, Shahr-yār-i-'Ādil wa Akram, Khusrau-i-Banī Adam, Bahā-ul-Ḥakk wa ud-Dīn, Mughīṣ-ul-Mulūk-i-Islām wa ul-Muslimīn, Zil-l-ullah fī ul-'Ālamīn, 'Uzd-ud-Daulah wa us-Sultanat, Yamīn-ul-Mamlakat, Kuṭb-ul-Ma'ālī, Rukn-ul-'Ālā, Ulugh Kutlugh-i-A'zam, ULUGH KHĀN-I-BALBAN-US-SULTĀNĪ², Abī-Salāṭīn, Zahīr-i-Amīr-ul-Mūminīn [The Great King, the Most Just and Most Generous Prince, the Khusrau of the race of Adam, the precious of God and of the Faith, the auxiliary of the Maliks of Islām and of Musalmāns, the shadow of the Almighty upon the worlds, the pole-star of grandeur, the sublime prop, the arm of the kingdom and empire,

¹ It must not be supposed that these are his *actual* titles the greater part of them are *conferred on him by our author* out of gratitude for favours received, neither do these titles prove that Ulugh Khān-i-Balban was Sultān of Dīhlī when these words were penned. The contrary is proved over and over again in the following pages. As to the word Khākān, which signifies a king or emperor [particularly the rulers of Īrān and Chīn], being applied to a great noble, without his being a sovereign prince, I have myself seen it applied to a petty Afghān of Multān, who had been a servant of the late Dīwān Muṣṭafā on the liberal salary of 15 rūpīs monthly. Our author has also styled Ulugh Khān the father of kings, although he could not tell whether either of Balban's sons would succeed their father, who was not king in 658 H, when he finished this History. Moreover, had Ulugh Khān been Sultān of Dīhlī at this time, he would not have been styled "the right arm of the state," &c. See next page, and note ⁵.

² In his titles given farther on, as here, he is styled "Khākān-i-Mu'azzam," in the same line being called "the Sultān's slave." His brother also is styled "Ulugh Kultugh" by our author after the same fashion.

It will also be noticed that, with some of these titles, our author uses the Arabic article al but with others no al is given, and, *actually*, although no *tafats* are *written*, he means them to be used, otherwise the names and titles would be unintelligible nonsense. I suppose however, after the fashion of "Firuzang," "Khān Zīmān," "Khān Khānān," Mr BLOCHMANN will consider this too "a dangerous innovation," but I prefer to read them according to the Īrānī fashion, which, by the bye, Mr Blochmann is sometimes guilty of—as 'Rustam-i-Zīmān,' 'Khān i-'Ālam,' "Khan-i-Kalān," &c.

the right hand of the state, the most great Ulugh Kutlugh ULUGH KHAN I BALBAN of the [time of the] I yal timish¹ dynasty, the father of Sultāns, the Supporter of the Lord of the Faithful—May the Almighty exalt his Helper and double his power!—for since the pen of the orbit of existence on the pages of the dawn of empire delineated the tracery of prosperity and the figure of dominion it hath not depicted a countenance of felicity more charming than the aspect of his power and the exalting hand of time a standard more sublime than his precious and superb banner hath never raised. The Court of no sovereign of the universe either in the east or the west, who hath placed the foot on the throne of dominion hath had a servant more sagacious, and no ear hath heard a tale of the might of dominion more brilliant than the narration of his rule, for verily his equitable age appears like the succession of Umr his benevolence tells of the liberality of Hatim his sword reminds [one] of the force of Rustam's blow and his arrow the penetration of the arm of Arash.² May God crown his banner with victory make strong his nobles and chiefs and annihilate his foes!

In the way of repayment therefore of debts [of gratitude] due to those renowned Malikis and more particularly for the mention of the rule of that powerful prince [Ulugh Khān], this TABAKAH has been written after the manner of a miscellany in order that scrutinizers, when they look into these pages, may according to the benediction for those departed and the invocation for the preservation of those remaining have the character of every one of them clearly defined upon the page of the mind. In the arrangement also of this TABAKAH some Malikis were earlier in time, than they appear here and some have been mentioned later, arising from the period that the author arrived at this Court.³ May the Most High God preserve the Sultān of Sultāns and ⁴ the Ulugh i Aḡam Ulugh Khān i Muazzam,

¹ One of the old Persian heroes—the famous archer—who is also mentioned in the *Shāh Nāmāh*.

² Several are not mentioned at all, the reason of which does not appear.

³ This proves what I have already alluded to at page 720. Our author would scarcely have invoked blessings upon Ulugh Khān, as a great monarch, while Nāṣir-ud Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, was alive, and prayed for in the same sentence. His manumission is never noticed.

in the hall of existence to the utmost limits of possibility Amīn⁶!

I TĀJ-UD-DĪN, SANJAR-I-GAJZ-LAK KHĀN⁷

The arrival of the author [of this history] at the Court—the asylum of the world—of the beneficent king of kings [I-yal-timīsh] took place on Wednesday, the 1st of the month of Rabī'ul-Awwal, 625 H, before [the walls of] the preserved city of Ūchchah, at the period when the Shamsī forces had marched from the capital city of Dihlī for the purpose of taking possession of the kingdom of Sīnd, and had turned their faces towards that country Fifteen days prior to this, the victorious troops of that 'monarch, comprising the force under Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān—The Almighty's mercy be upon him!—had arrived before Ūchchah, and the first personage among the Mālīks of that Court who was seen by the author was Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān

When, on Wednesday, the 16th of the month of Šafar, the author proceeded from the city of Ūchchah, and reached the camp of the victorious [forces], that Malīk of good disposition treated him with reverence, and rose from his *masnad*, and went through the ceremonial of receiving him, and came to meet him, and seated the author in his own place, and put a rosy apple⁸ into his hand, and

⁶ To translate that portion of our author's work referring to the kings of Dihlī, without translating this Section, which throws much light on the previous ones, would be much like the play of Hamlet with the Prince of Denmark left out.

⁷ He is also called Gaz-lak Khān

⁸ Literally "apple of ruby" Apples grow in Upper Sīnd, but they are small The description of apple here referred to, was probably such as the traders, up to this day, bring down from above the Passes It is usual to carry an apple in the hand for its grateful perfume. I have witnessed this constantly, and, probably, the custom is not new

The printed text, which has lately become of considerable authority, because its statements, in its very defective state, happen to coincide with some errors and erroneous statements made on the faith of translations from Fīrīshṭah, has, contrary to all *MSS* copies collated, the words لعل یست ۱۰ e *twenty rubies*—instead of لعل سیب If these words—*seb la'l*—are translated without that "dangerous innovation," the *kasrah* of description—کسرہ توصیفی—they mean "apple ruby"—which is nonsense of course, but, with the necessary "innovation," would be *seb la'l*—an apple of ruby, that is an apple red as a ruby

observed "Take this Maulānā, that it may be a good omen." I found Malik Taj ud Dīn Sanjar 1 Gajz lak Khān a Malik of sufficiently formidable aspect, his form of magnitude, and his piety pure, and with a numerous suite, and followers countless.

Trustworthy persons have related on this wise, that the august Sultān [I yal tīmish] purchased Malik Tāj ud Dīn Sanjar 1 Gajz lak Khān during the reign of the late Sultān Ḳuṭb-ud Dīn I bak from the Khwajah, Alī, the Bastā bādī [of Bastābād'] when he held the government of the fief of Baran, and gave him to his eldest son the late Malik Nāṣir ud Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh and in the hall of felicity along with him, was he nurtured and brought up. After some time, when the Sultān perceived signs of merit upon his forehead he removed him from attendance on Malik Nāṣir ud Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh and took him into his own immediate service, and gave him the office of Chāshnī gir [Comptroller of the [royal] Kitchen] After serving [in this office] for some time, he became Amīr 1 Akhur [Lord or Head of the Stables] Subsequently in the year in which the Sultān proceeded towards Multān namely, in 625 H. the territory of Wanj rūt' of Multān was made over to him. When the Sultān returned from thence he conferred upon Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Sanjar 1 Gajz lak Khān the fief of Kuhṛām. After some time, the preserved city of Tabarhindah was given to him, and, in that year the author reached the Court.

The Sultān had despatched him [Gajz lak Khān] in advance, at the head of a force in concert with Malik Izz ud

These words might, certainly be translated "a ruby like an apple in shape," but I think this very unlikely for the reasons above stated; and a ruby of that size would be a very costly present, and not to be carried about in one's hand.

* Or *might* be, Bust-ākhīd. The name is doubtful.

† This place, in most of the copies of the text is written *لجروت* for *لجروت* —Lanj rūṭ; for Banj rūṭ, and also *کجروت*—Ganj rūṭ, but Wanj rūṭ is a well known place, giving name to a *porugah*. At present there is a tolerably strong fort there, and it is now contained in the Bahāwal-pūr state. At the period Gajz lak Khān held it, it was in the Multān province, the river Bīāh then flowed in its old bed. Between Wanj rūṭ and Multān no river then existed, whilst the Lost River—the Hakra and its feeders, now the Sutlej or Ghāgrā, separated it from Bīāh. In Persian words *و* is sometimes used for *و*, but in Sanskrit words, or words derived from that language, *व* is often substituted for *व* and *vice versa*. The printed text which displays such a profound knowledge of the geography of India, has Gujarāt and Multān !!

Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sālārī—The Almighty's mercy be upon him¹—from the frontier of the territory of Sīnd to the foot [of the walls] of Ūchchah

When Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn [I-yal-tīmish], with his army, pitched his camp before the fortress of Ūchchah, in the year 625 H, Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān, was despatched [at the head of a force] in attendance on the Wazīr of the realm, the Nizām-ul-Mulk, Muhammad, the Junaidī, against the fortress of Bakhar² After some time, that fortress was taken, and Malīk [Sultān] Nāşir-ud-Dīn, Kabā-jah—The Almighty's mercy be on him¹—was drowned in the river Sīnd, and the fortress fell into their hands, as has been before recorded The preserved city³ of Ūchchah, with its dependencies and territories, was all placed in Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar's charge

When the Sultān with his forces returned towards the glorious capital, Dihlī, Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān, assumed jurisdiction over those territories, and caused them to flourish and prosper, and he brought the scattered people, both gentle and simple, together, who dwelt happily under the justice and benevolence of this Malīk of good disposition He continued to pursue the beaten track of impartiality and kindness towards all, and exerted his powers for the security, safety, and repose of the peasantry, and the welfare of all [the people], and, after some time, under the safeguard of faith, and alms for pious uses, charitable foundations, and works of public utility, he came to a happy end, and was removed from the house of this world to the mansions of life eternal, in the year 629 H The Almighty's mercy and pardon be upon him¹

II MALIK 'IZZ-UD-DĪN, KABĪR KHĀN, AYĀZ-I-HĀZĀR-MARDAH, UL-MU'IZZĪ⁴

Malīk Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz was a Rūmī Turk, and he had been the slave of Malīk Naşir-ud-Dīn, Husain, the

² Turned into Thangīr in the printed text

³ What Ūchchah was in those days may be gathered from the account of its investment by the Mughals in the last Section

⁴ So styled because he was the slave of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, Ghūī

Amīr : Shikār [Chief Huntsman] of Ghaznīn, and, after he was put to death Kabīr Khān : Ayāz, along with his children, reached the country of Hindūstān. He attracted the benevolent notice of the august Sultān [I yal timish] and served him in every degree of employment. He was a Turk, wise, prudent, and experienced and in agility and martial accomplishments was the incomparable of his time. Malik Naṣīr ud Dīn Husain the Amīr : Shikār of Ghaznīn, who was his owner and lord was the theme of every tongue throughout the whole of the countries of Ghūr Ghaznīn Khurāsān and Khawārazm, for warlike powers and skill and Malik Kabīr Khān : Ayāz had accompanied his master in all circumstances and situations, and had learnt from him martial accomplishments and the modes of warfare, and had become a perfect master in the art.

When Malik Naṣīr ud Dīn Husain was put to death by the Turks of Ghaznīn¹ his sons, namely Sher Khān : Surkh [the Red] and his brother reached the presence of the sublime Court, and Sultān Shams-ud Dīn I yal timish, purchased Izz ud Dīn Kabīr Khān : Ayāz, direct from them. Some have related on this wise, that, when the august Sultān brought the territory of Multān under his sway in the year 625 H., he conferred upon Izz ud Dīn, Kabīr Khān : Ayāz, the city and fortress of Multān with the whole of its towns districts, and dependencies² and installed him in the government of that territory and exalted him to the title of Kabīr Khān : Man-girni³ and, although he used to be styled by people Ayāz : Hazār Mardah—the name he was famed by—he, consequently became celebrated under the title of Kabīr Khān : Man-girni. On the return of the Sultān [with his forces] to Dihlī, the capital Kabīr Khān : Ayāz took possession of that territory and brought it under his jurisdiction and

¹ He had shown disaffection, and, when I yal-düz marched towards Dihlī against I yal-timish, the Turkish chiefs of Ghaznīn put him, as well as the Sher Wazīr to death. See pages 504 5

² This fact is not mentioned under the reign of I yal-timish, and, in the account of the preceding Malik, it is stated that he—Gajz-lak Khān—had the territory of Wanj-rūt of Multān conferred upon him in that same year 625 H.

³ This name is somewhat doubtful. In the most trustworthy copies of the text it is منگری—Man-girni—as above, and also منگری—Man-girni; but in other it is written all sorts of ways — منگری — منگری — منگری and منگری. The word is Turkish, in all probability

caused it to flourish, and, after a period of two, three, or four years, he was recalled to the capital, and Palwal was assigned to him for his maintenance⁸.

When the Shamsī reign came to its termination, and Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, succeeded, he conferred upon Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz the district of Sunām⁹, and, when Malik 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Jānī, from Lohor, and Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Kūjī, from Hānsī, assembled with hostile intent against the Court, Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz joined them, and, for a considerable period, they alarmed and distracted the forces of Sultān Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh. At last, when Sultān Raziyyat¹ ascended the throne, they advanced upon the capital, and for a considerable period molested the city and parts around, and engaged in conflict with the servants of the Court of the Sultān of Islām, until Sultān Raziyyat, secretly, by promises of favour, detached him from that party, and he, in concert with Malik 'Izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sālārī, went over to the service of the Court. Through their and other to the Court party], the Sultān, the ser coming [over to the Court party], the under the servants of her Court, and the people of the city, gained a great accession of strength, and Malik Jānī and Malik Kūjī, baffled, withdrew.

Sultān Raziyyat showed Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz great honour, and conferred upon him the province of Lohor, with the whole of the dependencies and districts belonging to that territory, but, after a year or two a slight change manifested itself in the mind of Sultān Raziyyat towards him, and, in the year 636 H, her sublime standards advanced towards Lohor. Kabīr Khān-i-Ayāz tired before her, crossed the Rāwah² of Lohor, and retreated far as the borders of Sūdharah, and the army marched in pursuit of him. Finding it was impossible to follow any other course⁴,

⁸ He must have, consequently, fallen under the Sultān's displeasure, for some reason.

⁹ See under the reign of Rukn-ud-Dīn, Fīrūz Shāh, at page 633.

¹ Here too is a "dangerous innovation." I have ventured to spell of this queen the right way, and different to the "best authorities" some.

² Most copies of the text have "some years," and a few "some time." Raziyyat only reigned three years and a half.

³ Thus written in the oldest copies of the text—راوہ لوهور. See also account of the march against the Mughals in 643 H in the notice of Ugh.

Khān farther on.

⁴ See the reign under, page 645.

he made his submission, and Multān was again placed under his charge⁴. After a considerable period had passed away, and when an army of Mughals under the accursed Mangūtah, the Nū īn, and the Bahādur Tā īr, turned its face towards Lohor, Kabīr Khān-i Ayāz [assumed sovereignty] in the territory of Sind⁵, and a canopy of state, and possessed himself of Ūchchah. Shortly after this disaffection, in the year 639 H., he died.

After his decease his son Tāj ud Dīn Abū Bīkr i Ayāz, who was a young man of good disposition fiery very impetuous, and courageous, brought the territory of Sind under his sway. Several times he attacked the Karlugh⁶ army before the gate of Multān and put it to flight, and showed such great skill and high spiritedness that he was noted for his manliness and valour, when, suddenly in the morning of life and flower of his youth he passed to the Almighty's mercy. May God have mercy upon them both [father and son].

III. MALIK NAṢĪR UD-DĪN AĪ YITIM UL-BAHĀ L

[Malik Naṣīr ud Dīn, Aī yitim, was the slave of Malik Bahā ud Dīn, Tughril, the slave of Sulṭān Muizz ud Dīn Muḥammad i Sām, and some [persons] have related that the august Sulṭān, Shams-ud Dīn Iyal tūgh had purchased Malik Naṣīr ud Dīn Aī yitim, from the heirs of Bahā ud Dīn, Tughril⁷.

⁴ The feudatory of Multān got the fief of Lohor in lieu of it. See page 747.

⁵ This indicates that the province of Multān, as well as Ūchchah, was called Sind in those days. Some writers style all the tract as far north as the Range by the name of Sind but see next page.

⁶ Also Kīrlugh. I have given an account of them in the last S. See note ¹ para. 2, page 374. This was the second invasion of the Karlugh &c. See page 730.

This shows the state of the Dihlī kingdom at this time, father had openly thrown off allegiance to its sovereign, have been unable to recover possession of those provinces elapsed on the death of the son, Abū-Bīkr i Ayāz. Nothing this assumption of sovereignty is mentioned under rām Shāh's reign. The *īlāfat* here stands for *his* Ayāz this and several other another of thousands of undoubted proofs, were any "the use of the *īlāfat*" is not restricted to poetry the fine water as it is occurs in prose for *his* or *just*. See Blochmann's page 138, last line, and note †.

⁷ See page 544 for an account of Malik Bahā

Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Aī-yitīm, was a man of great prudence and experience, intrepid and steadfast, and just. When he first was honoured by the august Sultān's service, he became Sar-ī-Jān-dār [Chief or Head of the Jān dārs⁸], and, after some time, having done good service, the fief of Lohor was assigned to him. When in the year 625 H¹, the august Sultān [I-yāl-timīsh] came for the purpose of seizing the territory of Sind, and Ūchchah and Multān, by the Sultān's command, Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Aī-yitīm, advanced from Lohor and appeared before the fortress of Multān, and did good service in the acquisition of that fortification, and, at length, that stronghold and city he gained possession of by capitulation². When the Sultān came back from the territory of Sind, and returned to the capital, Dihlī, the Siwālikh country, and Ajmīr, Lāwah, Kāsīlī, and Sanbhar Namak³, he made over to his charge, and the Sultān assigned him an elephant, and in this honour he was distinguished above the other Maliks.

On Malik Naṣīr-ud-Dīn, Aī-yitīm's proceeding to Ajmīr, he showed many proofs of vigour and judgment, in undertaking expeditions and making holy-war upon the infidel Hindūs and devastating their country, and performed great achievements. Once, during the time he held that government, the author found him in the territory of Sanbhar Namak, and he was pleased to show him much honour and respect, and, of a verity, he was a Malik of exemplary faith. Suddenly, he set out on an expedition against the infidel Hindūs into the Bundī territory, and came upon the Hindūs in a position in a defile, and was under the necessity of passing a river which lay at that place. Being heavily armed with cuirass, and other defensive armour, he crossed that river, and was drowned—The Almighty's will be done on him!

⁸ He must be read, in note 7, page 603.

some reason. In at page 542 at pages 723, 725, and 731, we have 625 H.

⁹ See under the reign of I-yāl-timīsh.

¹ Here too is a ā-jah page 544, and I-yāl-timīsh's reign, pages 611 of this queen the r.

² Most copies of which our author writes as above, and also Sanbhal, Rāziyyat only reigns a town and district, on the great Salt Lake in Rāj-

³ Thus written in. Kāsīlī is written Kassulīe in Tod's map, but, in account of the march 33, it is turned into Kāsīlī. Lāwah is more to the Khān farther on 33, 10'

⁴ See the reign under,

IV MALIK SAIF UD-DĪN Ī BAK⁴ I ŪCHCHAH.

Saif ud Dīn Ī bak, was the slave of the august Sultān Shams-ud Dīn, I yal timiḡh, and was a Turk of energy and sagacity and exemplary faith and the Sultān had purchased him from Jamāl ud Dīn, the Armourer⁴ at Budā ūn.

At first he was made Sar ī Jān-dār [Head of the Jān dārs]. He was directed to enter upon that office against his wishes, and the sum of three laks of *jitals* for the maintenance of his position he did not receive with appreciation. When this came to the Sultān's hearing he in

⁴ From the fact of so many chiefs, mentioned in this work, being styled *as* as well as Sultān Ḳuṣb-ud Dīn, there is some room to doubt whether this word may not here be intended to be pronounced otherwise than Ī-bak, since all of them would have fingers, although *all* could scarcely have had any peculiarity of finger and, as regards Ḳuṣb-ud Dīn, the matter is cleared up by the adjective *shāl* or *shāl* added to it. With other vowel points—the word

[*Al-bak*—signifies *bat*—idol or may be a compound word, from *al*—upon, and *ba*—lord—the moon lord—which, although it might be the name of one, could scarcely be the by name of several individuals, all of whom were sold as slaves. The probability however is that *Al-bak* is the most meaning here, viz. *al*—moon, and *ba*—face, countenance—the moon but even then it would be strange that there were so many of them.

matter for consideration is, that the word *al* has several other meanings

is written with *ba*—but described as Persian *ba* which signifies that the vowel points also may change its meaning for example finger joint, and the heel, and also beauty grace, &c. and *ba*

met with the word written *al* and but once met with —*al*

is *Alif*—and that is Turkish and signifies *female*, not moon.

consideration is, that, if we divide the word *al*—assuming

word—and take the last portion of it—*al*—it has various

which are said to be Turkish, according to the pronun-

the vowel points, and also whether the *ba* and *al* are

Persian letters, the former being *ba* and *al*, and the latter

the same time, it must be understood that they are continually

ately for examples:—*Bak*, a lord or chief. 2. A wild cucumber

countenance. 2. Ignorant, stupid. 3. *Weak, languid* &c.

2. A live coal. *Paḡ*, aid, help. 2. A defender patron. 3. The

the heel. 4. A turban. *Paḡ*, in Persian is the same in signifies

Arabic *al* *al*—which means, relaxed, weak languid. 3. Lean,

As well as 3. Delicate, beautiful. There are some other mean-

ing not mention, but I fear we shall be unable to come to any

story conclusion until some competent scholar who is thoroughly

the old Turkish dialects, shall examine this and several other

tion which are undoubtedly Turkish.

who gives to swords or armour the fine water as it is much esteemed in the east.

quired of him the reason of his not regarding it Apprehensive, he replied "My lord, the Sultān, in the first place, commands his slave to take an office of affliction, while his humble servant is unable to practise blood-shedding, torture, extortion, and oppression upon Muslims and subjects Let the Sultān be pleased to assign other employment to his slave" The Sultān showed great reliance on him [in consequence] and made Nār-nūl his fief He served in the government of that fief for sometime, and, subsequently, the fief of Baran was assigned to him, and, after that again, the fief of Sunām was conferred upon him. When the expedition into Lakhanawatī was undertaken, and the force had reduced Balkā, the Khāl, and was on its way back to the capital, Malīk Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Khān, died at Ūchchah [while holding the government of Sind], and the august Sultān, Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-tīmish, assigned the fief of Ūchchah, and the fortress and city of Ūchchah to Malīk Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak

For a considerable period he exercised the government, and was guardian of the people of that country, and brought it under his control When the Sultān passed to the Creator's mercy, Malīk Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, became very powerful, and, at that juncture, Malīk Saif-ud-Dīn, Ḥasan, the Karlugh, became covetous of the possession of Ūchchah and the Panjāb territory, and he arrived before the gate of the city of Ūchchah, from the direction of Banīān⁶ with a large army Malīk Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak, with a well organized force, in battle array, marched out of the fortress of Ūchchah and encountered them in battle Almighty God gave him the victory, and the Ḳarlugh forces were routed, and retired without gaining their object⁷

This, truly, was a very important victory, at this time, because, at this period, through the decease of Sultān

⁶ This is the tract of country so often mentioned in these pages and which I have already indicated the position of, but it is often written in a very careless manner [the Calcutta printed text sometimes turns it into Multān], and this fact has led Thomas into a great error, at page 76 of his "PATHÁN KINGS OF DEHLI" All the references made by him to the printed text in the foot-note to that page refer to Banīān—بنیان, and not to Multān

⁷ This, of course, has been omitted under the reign to which it properly belongs It was the first occasion on which the Kār-lūghs, or Ḳarlughs—the word is written both ways—invaded the Dīhlī kingdom after Shams ud-Dīn, I-yal-tīmish's decease See also page 677

Shams-ud Dīn, I yal tīmīsh, awe and fear of the kingdom of Hindūstān in [people's] hearts had sustained detriment, and enemies had sprung up on all sides of the empire, and the vain desire of appropriating its territory began to trouble their minds when Almighty God bestowed this victory on him. The good name of Malik Saif ud Dīn, I bak remained in that country and in all the territory of Hindūstān his renown was diffused.

Shortly after this victory Malik Saif ud Dīn I bak, sustained a fall from his horse, and the animal kicked him in a mortal place, and he was killed. The mercy and forgiveness of the Almighty be upon him !

V MALIK SAIF UD DĪN I BAK I YUGHĀN TAT

Malik Saif ud Dīn, I bak : Yughān tat, was a Khutā Turk and was both externally and internally adorned and endowed with divers manly qualities. The august Sultān [Shams-ud Dīn I yal tīmīsh] had purchased him from the heirs of Ikhṭiyār ud Dīn i-Chust Kabā* [of the tight fitting vest] and he distinguished him by his intimacy and conferred upon him the office of Amīr i Majlis [Lord of the Assembly or Council] After he had performed good service in that appointment, he was raised to a high position and the fief of the district of Sursutl was bestowed upon him. At the time of this honour being conferred upon him he gave directions for the presentation of a horse to each of the Amīrs Maliks, and Grandeers, and this gift caused him to be remembered and his acquirement of some influence.

In the year 625 H. at the time that the author found the Sultān's camp in the territory of Uchchah of Multān, Malik Saif ud Dīn I bak, was the feudatory of Sursutl and in the presence of the Sultān he possessed much influence and intimacy and when after some time, he had done distinguished services, the fief of Bihār was entrusted to his charge. On Malik Alā ud Dīn Jānī's* being deposed from

This appears to have been the nick name of two persons who dealt in slaves, since I yal tīmīsh himself was sold to Kutb-ud Dīn, by Jamāl-ud Dīn i Chust Kabā.

* Referred to in the List of Shams-ud Dīn, I yal tīmīsh's Maliks as Prince of Turkistān, who gave such trouble in the reign of Sultān Rasīyyat.

the fief of Lakhanawaṭī, that country was made over to Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, Ī-bak

In that territory he displayed great vigour, and captured several elephants from the country of Bang, and despatched them to the most sublime Court, and, from the Sultān, he received the title of Yughān-tat, and his name became great. He held the government of that country for some time, and in the year 631 H¹ he died. The Almighty's mercy and pardon be upon him¹

VI MALIK NUṢRAT-UD DĪN, TĀ-YASA'Ī²

Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa'ī, was the slave of the illustrious martyr, Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām. He was a Turk of short sight, but Almighty God had adorned him with all manly virtues and humanity, and he was endowed with great resolution, gallantry, and vigour, and possessed perfect sense, and sagacity.

At the time that the writer of this TABAKĀT, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, attached himself to the sublime Shamsī court, Malik Nuṣrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa'ī, was the feudatory of Jīnd [Jhīnd], Barwālah, and Hānsī. After some time, as he had performed approved services, two years subsequent to the taking of the fortress of Gwāliyūr, the august Sultān [Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish] entrusted Bhīānah and Sultān-kot to³ his charge, together with the Superintendency⁴ of the territory of Gwāliyūr, and he received directions likewise to make Gwāliyūr [the fortress] his

¹ Stewart in his "HISTORY OF BENGAL" says [page 65] that Sief Addeen Yugan Tunt [!] died in 651 H — a mistake of only *twenty years*.

² In nearly every copy of the text this word or title is somewhat differently written, but the above—تایسی—Tā-yasa'ī—seems most correct. In one copy it is written with vowel points thus تایسی.

VAMBÉRY considers it is a Chinese word, and that it means a writer, or secretary, but that does not seem applicable here. I think it undoubtedly Turkish, and it possibly *may* refer to his shortsightedness, but more probably to the name of some place. A somewhat similar term occurs in Sharf-ud-Dīn, 'Alī's, History, but written تایشی, but it may be wholly different from the above.

³ Its being founded is mentioned in the account of Malik Bahā-ud-Ṭughrl, at page 545.

⁴ The word here used is شحنکی—*shahnagi*—which is rarely used by our author except with reference to those states and territories over which the Mughals obtained sway. The meaning of Shahnah has been already given.

residence. The contingents of Kinnauj, and Mahūr [or Mihar] and Mahā ūn were all placed under his control, in order that he might undertake an inroad into the Kālinjar and Chāndīrī territories. In the year 631 H.⁶ he accordingly led an army from Gwāliyūr towards the Kālinjar country and the Rāe of Kālinjar fled discomfited before him. He plundered the townships of that territory and in a very short period obtained vast booty in such wise, that, in the space of fifty days, the Sultān's fifth share was set down at twenty five *laks* [of *jitals* or *dirams*?]

On the return of Malik Nuṣrat ud Dīn, Tā yasa'ī, the Rānah of Ajār⁶ Chāhar by name, occupied the route of the Musalmān forces, and blocked up the road in the narrow parts of [some] deep ravines, and was drawn up [with his forces] at the head of the road prepared to oppose their passage.⁷ Malik Nuṣrat ud Dīn, Tā yasa'ī was somewhat weak in body [from sickness?] at the time, and he divided his force into three bodies, at the head of three roads—the first body consisted of the unincumbered horsemen [under his own command] the second body of the baggage, material, and the followers of the force, with an Amīr in charge, and the third consisted of the booty and the cattle with an Amīr with it also. I heard Nuṣrat ud Dīn himself state saying Through the divine favour

⁶ In the account of Ulugh Khān farther on, it is stated that this took place in 632 H. and *Jawāh* is mentioned as well as Kinnanj and the other places just mentioned but 632 H. was the year in which I yal-timigh himself advanced into Mālwah, and took Bhilsān and Ujjain. See under his reign, page 621.

⁷ This is according to the best copies of the text, which style him, respectively اچار رانہ، اچارکی رانہ and اچارلہ رانہ—all have the *kawmak* denoting the genitive case—Rānah of Ajār Ajārki, or Ajārmah [probably Ajārīah or Achārīah], and state that his name was Chāhīr. See page 691 and the account of Ulugh Khān farther on.

² In his account of Ulugh Khān farther on, our author in all the oldest copies, mentions the ravines of the river کارناہ—*Karīnah* or *Garīnah* which, in the more modern copies of the text, is سندی—*Sindī*. This latter river flows by the fortress of Nurwul, previously referred to at page 690, bounds the Gwāliyūr territory on the east, and falls into the Jūn or Yamunā. In about the direction Nuṣrat ud Dīn must have taken on his return to Gwāliyūr this river is about 200 yards broad in the rainy season, and about forty in the dry and some two feet deep; and, at this part of its course, its banks are steep, and cut into numerous ravines. Whether the *Karīnah* or *Garīnah* and the *Sindī* be one and the same river it is difficult to say but it is not improbable that the first is its proper name, as *Sindī* is, of course, derived from سند—a river and that one and the same river is referred to.

never in Hindūstān had an enemy seen my back, and, on that day, that Hindū fellow fell upon me like a wolf upon a flock of sheep. I divided my force into three bodies in order that, in the event of the Hindū confronting me and the unincumbered horsemen, the baggage and war material and cattle might pass on in safety, and, in case he should show a desire towards the baggage and war material or cattle, I, together with the auxiliaries of the true faith, would come behind him and take satisfaction on his malignity." The Hindū confronted Malik Nusrat-ud-Dīn's own division, and Almighty God gave him the victory. The Hindūs were routed, and numbers of them sent to hell, and he returned with his booty to the fortress of Gwāliyūr in safety.

An anecdote of an occurrence, showing his perfect sagacity, which happened during this expedition, which was made known [to the author], is here related, that readers may derive profit therefrom and that anecdote is as follows. A milch sheep, from among his flocks, had been lost for some time—nearly a month and a half—during this inroad. One day, Malik Nusrat-ud-Dīn was moving round the camp among the tents, after the force had been encamped at that same place a week, and every one had set up something or other to shade himself. Suddenly, during his perambulation, the bleating of a sheep reached his ear. He immediately said to his attendants, "That is the bleating of my sheep." They proceeded in the direction, and found that it was as that Amīr-i-Ghāzī had said the animal was there, and they brought back the [stray] sheep again.

Many other acts of his sagacity and intelligence occurred during this expedition, and one of them is as follows. At the time when the Rāe of Kālīnjar faced about and retired routed before him, Malik Nusrat-ud-Dīn, Tā-yasa'ī, pursued him. Having succeeded in obtaining a Hindū guide, he set out, on their track, in pursuit of the fugitive [Hindūs] and pushed on for four nights and days, and part of the fifth night until half the night had passed, when the Hindū guide stated that he had lost the road, and was unacquainted with the route in advance. Malik Nusrat-ud-Dīn commanded so that they sent the Hindū to hell, and began to

act as guide himself. So they reached some high ground¹ at which place the fugitives had watered and the cattle of their army had cast the water and heavy baggage away. In the victorious army every one said "It is night and the enemy near let it not be that we fall among them. Their camp must be near by." Malik Nuṣrat ud Dīn Tāyasa'ī dismounted from his horse, and went up round the place on foot, and examined the water cast away by the horses of the infidels. He exclaimed [after his examination] "Be of good cheer my friends the force, which is here and has watered here, is the rearmost column of the enemy's army by this proof. Had it been the van or the main body in this place would have been the tracks of the rest of their army but, on this place there are no tracks keep up your hearts for we are on the rear of the enemy!" With these prognostics of victory he remounted and at dawn the following morning came up with those infidels and sent the whole [1] of them to hell and captured the canopy of state and the standards of the Rāe of Kālinjar and returned in safety from that expedition².

When the reign of the Sultān [Rukn ud Dīn, Firūz Shāh] terminated, and Malik Ghivāṣ-ud Dīn, Muḥammad Shāh [his brother] son of Sultān Shams ud Dīn, Iyal-timish became the victim of misfortune¹ Sultān Raḡīyyat conferred [the fief of] Awadh upon Malik Nuṣrat ud Dīn Tāyasa'ī and at the period when Malik Alā ud Dīn Jānī and Malik Saif ud Dīn, Kūjī advanced to the gate of the city [of Dihlī] and began to act in a rebellious manner he set out from Awadh for the sublime Court of Sovereignty to render his services. Suddenly and unexpectedly Malik Kūjī moved against him, and took Malik Nuṣrat ud Dīn, Tāyasa'ī prisoner². He was overcome by sickness

¹ The untrustworthy Calcutta printed text makes *جبل*—a bridge of *جبل*—high ground, a height, &c.

² This important expedition took place during the reign of Iyal-timish, in the year after he gained possession of Gwāliyūr and the year before he took Dihlī and Ujjain, but not the least reference is made to it under that Sultān's reign, and no reference is made to either Rānah Chāhar nor to the Rāe of Kālinjar. See the account of Ulugh Khān farther on, and page 690, and note¹.

¹ This refers to his rebellion. See page 633.

² See page 639.

at the time, and the malady carried him off, and he died
The mercy of the Almighty be upon him !

VII MALIK 'IZZ-UD-DĪN, ṬUGHRIL³-I-ṬUGHĀN KHĀN

Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān was a Turk of good looks and good disposition, and his origin was from Kārah⁴ Khitā. He was adorned with all sorts of humanity and sagacity, and graced with many virtues and noble qualities, and in liberality, generosity, and winning men's hearts, he had no equal, in that day, among the [royal] retinue or military.

When the Sultān [I-yal-timish] first purchased Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān, he made him his Sākī-i-Khās [own personal Cup-bearer]⁵, and, having served in that capacity for sometime, he became Sar-Dawāt-dār [Chief Keeper of the Private Writing-case], when, suddenly, he lost the Sultān's own jeweled pen-case. The Sultān administered to him a sound chastisement, but, subsequently, bestowed upon him a rich dress of honour and made him Chashnī-gīr [Comptroller of the Royal Kitchen]. After a considerable time, Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān became Amīr-i-Ākhur [Lord of the Stable], and, subsequently, in 630 H, was made feudatory of Budā'ūn. When the territory of Lakhanawatī was made the fief of Malik [Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak-i]-Yughān-tat, the country of Bihār was conferred upon Malik Ṭughril, and, when Malik Yughān-tat died [in 631 H], Malik Ṭughril-i-Ṭughān Khān became feudatory of the country of Lakhanawatī, and he brought that territory under his jurisdiction.

After the decease of the august Sultān [I-yal-timish], between him and the feudatory of Lakhanawatī-Lakhan-or, I-bak, by name, whom they used to style Aor Khān, a Turk of great daring and impetuosity, enmity arose, and a

battle took place between them for [the possession of] the town of Basan kot of Lakhanawati, within the environs of the city of Lakhanawati itself. During the engagement Malik Tughril i Tughān Khān pierced Aor Khān with an arrow in a mortal place and he forthwith died⁶. Tughril's name became great [in consequence] and both sides of the country of Lakhanawati—the one part of which they style Rāl [Rārāh] which is towards Lakhan-or and the other is named Barind [Barindah] on the side of Basan kot—became one and came into Malik Tughril's possession⁷.

When the throne of the kingdom passed to Sulṭān Raḡīyyat, Malik Tughril i Tughān Khān despatched some persons of note to the sublime Court, and he was dignified by being honoured with a canopy of state and standards⁸ and was paid high honour. He made an inroad into the country of Tirhut from Lakhanawati and acquired much valuable booty.

When the throne devolved upon Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn Bahrām Shāh Malik Tughril i Tughān Khān was distinguished in the same manner and was in the continual habit of sending for the service of the sublime Court offerings of great value. After the termination of the Mu'izzi dynasty in the beginning of the Alā'ī reign [the reign of Sulṭān Alā' ud Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh] his confidential adviser Bahā ud Dīn Hilāl, the Sūriānī [Syrian] instigated him to take possession of the territory of Awadh and Karah and Mānik pūr and An-desah i Balā tar [Upper most An-des—or Urnā-desah]⁹. In the year 640 H., when this author with his dependents, and children set out from the capital,

⁶ All this is omitted from the reign in which it took place.

⁷ This indicates then that at this time there were two great fiefs in this part—Lakhanawati and Lakhan-or—one on each side of the Ganges, but that, by way of distinction, as stated above, the Rārāh wing was called Lakhanawati Lakhan-or. See also page 585, and note⁶.

⁸ This is equivalent to acknowledging him as a sovereign, but tributary of course. Some few copies have *red* standards. He duly publishes this in his Bihār inscription given in Blochmann's *Contributions* page 37.

⁹ That part of Tibet through which the Sutlej flows on issuing from the lake Rāwan Hida, and bounded by the Kailāś and Hīmālaya ridges. In the time here referred to this name may have been applied to a larger extent of country farther to the south-east, now included in Nepal.

In the Calcutta printed text An-desah is turned into *الاندشاه*—*andeshah*—“consideration, meditation, thought,” &c.

Musalmāns, they made martyrs of, and, after that, appeared before the gate of Lakhanawatī⁸ The second day after that, swift messengers arrived from above [the Do-ābah and Awadh, &c] and gave information respecting the army of Islām that it was near at hand Panic now took possession of the infidels, and they decamped

When the army from above reached the gate of Lakhanawatī, distrust arose between Malik Tugh̃rīl-i-Tugh̃hān Kh̃ān and Malik Tamur Kh̃ān-i-K̃ī-rān, and led to strife, and a conflict took place between the two armies of Musalmāns before the gate of the city of Lakhanawatī, and continued from day-dawn to the early forenoon, when certain people appealed to them, and the two forces disengaged from each other, and each returned to its own camp. A month later Malik Tugh̃rīl-i-Tugh̃hān Kh̃ān's own quarters. Kh̃ān made his city gate, by the time he had almost commenced The holy-whole of his troops hasten over two ditches, and the Hindū in the city, and flight So far as they continued in the author's account, except the fodder which was before their elephants, nothing fell into the hands of the foot-men of the army of Islām, and, moreover, Malik Tugh̃rīl-i-Tugh̃hān Kh̃ān's commands were that no one should molest the elephants, and, for this reason, the fierce fire of battle subsided

When the engagement had been kept up until mid-day the foot-men of the Musalmān army—every one of them—returned [to the camp¹] to eat their food, and the Hindūs, in another direction, stole through the cane *jāngal*, and took five elephants, and about two hundred foot and fifty horsemen came upon the rear of a portion of the Musalmān army³ The Muhammadans sustained an overthrow, and a great number of those holy warriors attained martyrdom, and Malik Tugh̃rīl-i-Tugh̃hān Kh̃ān retired from that place without having effected his object, and returned to Lakhanawatī He despatched the Sharf-ul-Mulk⁴, the Ash'arī,

¹ See pages 662 and 663

² See note ⁴, para 8, page 587

³ In every copy of the text collated this sentence, like the preceding, is very defective—no two copies being alike—and, altogether, our author's account of this affair seems imperfect It appears improbable that 250 Hindūs only should throw a whole army into confusion, in broad daylight

⁴ The title of the Malik's minister probably, not his name At page 664 it is stated that Kāzī Jalāl ud-Dīn, who was K̃īzī of Awadh, was directed to

Musalmāns, they made martyrs of, and, after that, appeared before the gate of Lakhanawatī.⁸ The second day after that, swift messengers arrived from above [the Do-ābah and Awadh, &c] and gave information respecting the army of Islām that it was near at hand. Panic now took possession of the infidels, and they decamped.

When the army from above reached the gate of Lakh-anawatī, distrust arose between Malik Tugh̃rīl-i-Tugh̃hān Khān and Malik Tamur Khān-i-Kī-rān, and led to strife, and a conflict took place between the two armies of Musalmāns before the gate of the city of Lakhanawatī, and continued from day-dawn to the early forenoon, when certain people appealed to them, and the two forces disengaged from each other, and each returned to its own camp. As Malik Tugh̃rīl-i-Tugh̃hān Khān's own quarters were before his city gate, by the time he had alighted at his own tent, holy-wale of his troops had returned to their own dwellings. Hindū in the city, and he remained alone. Malik Tamur the author shān however, on returning to his camp, con-elephants, ng' armed as before, when, finding opportunity, army of coming aware that Malik Tugh̃rīl-i-Tugh̃hān Khān Khān all alone in his tent within his camp, he mounted with his whole force, and made a dash upon Malik Tugh̃rīl-i-Tugh̃hān Khān's camp. The latter was under the necessity of mounting and flying within the city, and this event took place on Tuesday, the 5th of the month of Zī-Hijjah, 642 H.

On Malik Tugh̃rīl-i-Tugh̃hān Khān's reaching the city, he employed the author, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, and despatched him out of the city to seek an accommodation and his safety, and a truce and compact were entered into between the two Maliks, under the engagement that Lakhanawatī should be delivered up to Malik Tamur Khān-i-Kī-rān, and that Malik Tugh̃rīl-i-Tugh̃hān Khān should proceed to the Sublime Court, taking along with him his treasures

⁸ The Jāj-nagar forces must have crossed the Ganges before they could invest the city of Lakhanawatī, if the course of that river was then as it is at present. For further details of this—for our author appears to have been totally unable to give the details of *one* affair in one place—see the account of Malik Tamur Khān-i-Kī-rān at page 763, where the name of the leader of the infidels is also mentioned. These are the Mughals of Chingiz Khān referred to at page 665, and note ⁸

his dependents and followers^{*} Under this
 hanawati was delivered up to Malik Tamur
 and Malik Tughril i Tughān Khān in
 Karā Kash Khān Malik Taj ud Dīn,
 [of the moon like brow] and the
 of the Court¹ returned to the sublime
 the author, with his family and dependents
 returned to Dīhlī along with Malik Tughril i Tughān
 Khān, and the Sublime Court was reached on Monday, the
 14th of the month of Ṣafar 643 H.²

On Malik Tughril i Tughān Khān's arrival at Court, he
 was distinguished by great honour and reverence, and in
 the [following] month of Rabi ul Awwal of that same
 year the territory of Awadh was consigned to him, and he
 received much comfort and encouragement.

When the throne of sovereignty acquired additional
 glory from [the accession of] the Sultān i Muazzam
 Nāṣir ud Dunyā wa ud Dīn, Maḥmūd Shāh, in the year
 644 H. Malik Tughril i Tughān Khān proceeded into
 Awadh and, a short time afterwards, on the night of
 Friday, the end of the month of Shawwāl of that year he
 passed to the Almighty's mercy Of destiny's wonderful
 decrees one was this, that, enmity and contest having
 arisen between Malik Tughril i Tughān Khān and Malik
 Tamur Khān i Kī rān and each having seized³ the other's
 territory Tamur Khān should have died in Lakhanawati
 and Tughān Khān in Awadh [the same night] in such
 wise that neither of the two in this world, was aware of
 the other's death.

On this subject, that prince of mortals of the great

^{*} The sending of a robe of honour and standards to Tughril i Tughān Khān must have been merely for the purpose of putting him off his guard and it must have been previously determined to deprive him of his government. See pages 665—667

¹ Who had accompanied the troops sent to the relief of Lakhanawati, or rather under pretence of relieving it.

² See Blochmann's *Contributions* previously referred to, page 38. Izz ud Dīn, Tughril i Tughān Khān, did not withdraw from Lakhanawati direct into Awadh, but proceeded to Dīhlī first, and then, in Nāṣir-ud Dīn's reign, proceeded to take charge of the latter sief as shown immediately under and at page 744.

³ Not so, by the writer's own account: Tughril i Tughān Khān's territory was seized by treachery but he had not seized his rival's.

and of the less, Sharf-ud-Dīn, the Balkhī, composed a verse⁴ —

“On Friday, the end of the month entitled Shawwāl,
In the year, according to the 'Arab era, khā, mīm, dāl,
Was Tamur Khān's and Tughān Khān's march from the world
This [one] at the beginning of the night went, that at its close⁵ ”

Doubtless, their meeting will have taken place in the Court of the King of Glory in the everlasting mansion in the other world The Almighty's mercy be upon them !

VIII MALIK KAMAR-UD-DĪN, KĪ RĀN-I-TAMUR KHĀN-US-SULTĀNĪ

Malik Tamur⁶ Khān-i-Kī-rān was a Turk of good qualities and excellent disposition, and very hasty and impetuous, prudent and intrepid His origin was from Khifchāk, and he was good looking, and had a long beard and mustachios The Sultān [I-yal-timish], at the outset [of his career], purchased him of Asad-ud-Dīn, Mankalī, the brother's son of Malik Fīrūz⁷, for the sum of fifty thousand Sultānī *dirams*⁸

During the expedition to Chand-wāl⁹ [i e Chand-wār],

⁴ This paragraph, and these lines may be looked upon as an interpolation, for they are only contained in some of the more modern copies of the text

⁵ The printed text has *sīn*—س—but that letter stands for *sixty*, which is not correct Khā—خ—stands for 600, *mīm*—م—for 40, and *dāl*—د—for 4=644 H The last day of the month is the 29th

⁶ Tamur, in Turkish, signifies iron

⁷ In some copies, “brother” of Malik Fīrūz This is the person who stands first in the list of the Maliks of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-timish, and bore likewise the latter Turkish name See page 625

⁸ All the old copies have *dirams*, but the modern ones *jitals*

⁹ Chand-wāl and Chand-wār are synonymous It is, no doubt, the place referred to at page 470, near which Jai-Chand, Rājah of Āl-nauy and Bānīras, was overthrown by Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, Ghūrī Its name even has nearly perished, and Fīrūzābād has arisen almost upon its ruins It is situated about twenty-five miles east of Āgrah on the banks of the Jūn or Yamunā There are other places bearing similar names which led me to suppose, as stated in note ¹, page 470, and, also from the loose manner in which native writers refer to it, as noticed in para 5 to note at page 518, that it was a different place, several authors stating that the battle above referred to took place “in the neighbourhood of Chand-wār and Itāwah,” while, at the same time, these two places are some forty or more miles apart The ruins of the ancient city of Chand-wār cover the surrounding country for miles round Fīrūzābād—masjids, mausoleums, gateways, and other extensive buildings—indicating the size and importance of the place

unexpectedly the son of the Rāc of Chand wāl, Laddah by name, fell into his hands and, when he brought him to the Sultān's presence, Tamur Khān : Kī rān received suitable commendation. Subsequently he became Nā'ib Amīr : Ākhur [Deputy Lord of the Stable] and at that time, the Amīr : Ākhur was Tughril : Tughān Khān [No. vi] Having obtained this office, he performed approved service therein and, when Tughril : Tughān Khān was assigned the fief of Budāūn Tamur Khān : Kī rān became Amīr : Ākhur

During the reign of Sultān Raḡīyyat—on whom be the Almighty's mercy!—he became feudatory of Ḳinnauj, and during that reign by the sublime command he was despatched towards Gwāliyūr and Mālwah in command of the Islāmī forces and, during that expedition he did good service¹ Subsequently after he returned to the Court, the fief of Karah was entrusted to him and in that part he undertook many expeditions against the infidels, and discharged in a complete manner all the duties of good general ship

When Malik Nuṣrat ud Dīn Ta yasa I who was feudatory of Awadh died, the territory of Awadh with its dependencies was entrusted to Malik Tamur Khān : Kī rān's charge. In that part as far as the frontier of the Tīrhut territory he performed great deeds and obtained possession of vast booty, and compelled the Rācs and Rānūs, and independent [Hindū] tribes² of that country to pay him tribute. On several occasions he plundered the territory of Bhaṭṭi-ghor³ and extorted tribute.

In the year 642 H., when he proceeded to Lakhanawati his behaviour towards Malik Tughril : Tughān Khān, and to what point it reached has been previously recorded in this Section⁴, and whilst Malik Tughril : Tughān Khān

¹ No mention of this expedition occurs in the account of her reign.

² Here the word موبات referred to in note⁷ page 705, is used evidently as the plural of موب. The meaning is apparent.

³ Bhaṭṭi Ghorā, or Bhaith-Ghorah—the tract lying on the left bank of the Sop, east of Bandras, in the centre of which Kālnjar is situated.

⁴ See pages 664—667 His death occurred on the 29th of Shawwāl, 644 H. There is an inscription respecting him in the Bihār Museum, dated in the first month of this year which has been published in the *Bengal Asiatic Journal* for 1871. That inscription tends to show that he considered himself inde-

was at the capital, he came, unattended, to Mansi⁶ and removed his family and the whole of his effects, from Awadh to Lakhanawati. For a period of two years he continued, in rebellion⁶, at Lakhanawati, and afterwards died, on the same night in which Tughri¹-i-Tughān Khān took his departure from the world, and, as the daughter⁷ of Malī Saif-ud-Din, I-bak-i-Yughān-tat, was his wife, she duly performed her obligation [to him], and took his corpse to Awadh from Lakhanawati, and there he was buried. The Almighty's mercy be upon him!

took confidence. Throughout the whole reign of Sultān I yal timiṣh—from the beginning to the close—and the reign of Sultān Raḡīyyat likewise, he was honoured and esteemed had held the office of Treasurer and had done good services. All Sultān I yal timiṣh's slaves who attained offices in the state and positions of greatness, were objects of his regard and affection, and they all looked upon him as a kind and loving father.

When Hindū Khān first came into the Sultān's service, he became Yūz ban [keeper of the hunting leopards] and subsequently he was made Torch bearer, and whilst holding that office within the limits of the territory of Baran at the time when the Sultān [I yal timiṣh] was feudatory of Baran [before he succeeded to the throne] in the reign of the beneficent Sultān, Kuṣb-ud Dīn I bak during a raid against one of the independent tribes of Hindū infidels Hindū Khān Mihtar i Mubarak with the spike of his torch unhorsed a Hindū and sent the man to Hell. The Sultān [afterwards] made him his Tasht-dār [Ewer bearer] and in that capacity, he served for a considerable time.

When the affairs of the kingdom came under the administration of the Shamsī dynasty the Mihtar i Mubarak became Treasurer to Sultān I yal timiṣh but he did not ever give up the office of Tasht-dar up to the end of the Sultān's lifetime, and used as heretofore, to perform the duties of personal Ewer bearer. When the august Sultān encamped before the preserved fortress of Gwalīyūr and took that place this servant of the victorious dynasty Minhāj i Sarāj during that expedition for a period of seven months, in accordance with commands, was in the habit of delivering a discourse twice in each week at the entrance of the royal pavilion and, throughout the month of Ramaḡān and on the 10th of Zī Hījāh, and 10th of Muḡarram the author used to perform the service daily¹. After the fortress was taken possession of as the just claims of his priestly duties had been established the administration of all matters of law and religion of that fortress was entrusted to the author and this installation took place in the year 630 H². This is mentioned because,

¹ See page 619. There our author makes a different statement.

² This appears to have been our author's first appointment under the government of Dillī, at least the first one he mentions.

took Lohor from Malik Kabir Khān : Ayāz, and made over to him in lieu thereof, the fief of Multān, as has been previously narrated⁷ What befell Malik Karā Kash at Lohor and his evacuation of that city during the inroad of the infidel Mughals and their appearance before Lohor, will be recorded in the account of the Lohor disaster⁸ He [then] had the territory of Bhlānah conferred upon him and he continued in that part some time. When the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, came, and the Malik revolted Malik Karā Kash Khān with Malik Yūz Bak [Ibhtiyār ud Dīn Tughril Khān] came to the capital and attached themselves to Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn Bahrām Shāh. As Mihtar : Mubārak [Faḥr ud Dīn Mubarak Shāh the Farrāsh] Farruḥī conspired against the Turk Malik and Amīrs, he influenced Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn Bahrām Shāh against Malik Kara Kash and Malik Yūz Bak and the Sulṭān imprisoned both of them⁹

After the city of Dihlī was taken and the throne passed to Sulṭān Alā ud Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh Malik Karā Kash Khān, became Amīr : Hājib and shortly afterwards on Friday the 25th of the month of Jamādī ul Awwal 640 H Bhlānah became his fief¹ After some time Karah was assigned to him and from thence in company with Malik Tamur Khān : Kīran with troops, he marched towards Lakhanawāṭī and returned from thence along with Malik Tughril : Tughān Khān²

When the throne of sovereignty acquired beauty and adornment from the auspicious dignity of the Sulṭān of the Universe, Nāṣir ud Dunyā wa ud Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh in the year 644 H Malik Karā Kash Khān was killed within the limits of Karah³ The Almighty's mercy be upon him!

⁷ At pages 644 and 727

⁸ In the account of the Mughal irruption in the next Section. See also page 655

⁹ See pages 659 and 761

¹ This must mean that he was restored to that fief again, because, just before, it is stated that he was made feudatory of Bhlānah after the evacuation of Lohor and that, from Bhlānah he marched to support Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn, Bahrām Shāh.

² See page 741.

³ No particulars of this affair occur anywhere throughout this work.

XI MALIK IKḤTIYĀR-UD-DĪN, ALTŪNĪAH, OF TABARHINDAH

Malik Ikḥtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūnīah of Tabarhindah, was a great Malīk, of vast boldness and gallantry, manliness and energy, lion-heartedness and magnanimity, and the whole of the Malīks of that time were unanimous as to his manliness and valour. At the time of the imprisonment of Sultān Rāziyyat—on whom be peace!—he had fought encounters with the forces of the disaffected Malīks, in conjunction with Sultān Rāziyyat, and had displayed great heroism⁴.

When the august Sultān [I-yal-tīmīsh] first purchased him, he gave him the Sharāb-dārī [office—the care of the 'liquors']⁵. After some time, as the Sultān had remarked proofs of manliness depicted upon his brow, he gave him the office of Sar Chatar-dār [Head of the state canopy-bearers], and, when the Shamsī rule came to its termination, during the reign of Sultān Rāziyyat, the fief of Baran was conferred upon Ikḥtiyār-ud-Dīn. Subsequently, Tabarhindah⁶ was given to him, and, at the time when the hearts of the Turk Malīks and Amīrs, who were the slaves of the Shamsī dynasty, became changed towards Sultān Rāziyyat, on account of the favour Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Yā-kūt, the Abyssinian, had found with her, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, Malīk Ikḥtiyār-ud-Dīn-i-Aet-kīn, and Malīk Ikḥtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūnīah, of Tabarhindah, were connected by a firm compact of unanimity and friendship, and bonds of intimacy, and, by virtue of this fabric of union, Malīk Aet-kīn, secretly, gave intimation of this change to the latter. Malīk Ikḥtiyār-ud-Dīn, Altūnīah, in the fortress of Tabarhindah, began openly to rebel, and withdrew his head from the yoke of obedience to that Sultān.

Sultān Rāziyyat, in the month of Ahār⁷, moved from the

⁴ The ambitious and rebellious conduct of himself and his colleague in sedition was the cause of her downfall, as is stated under

⁵ Not necessarily intoxicating

⁶ This was a KJ ālisah district, as mentioned at page 746

⁷ Ahār, from the Sanskrit—अथार—the third solar month of the Hindūs—June—July. The Muhammadans, as early as this, it seems, had begun to use the names of the Hindū months. Under her reign it is said to have been the

capital towards Tabarhindah with the [contingents] comprising the centre¹ [division] of her forces as has been related [under her reign] and when Sulṭān Raṣīyyat was seized and imprisoned and the Maliks and Amīrs returned to the capital agrin² and the throne of sovereignty came to Mu'izz ud Dīn Bahrām Shāh Malīk Ikhtiyār ud Dīn Altūnlah contracted marriage with Sulṭān Raṣīyyat, who was in duress [under his charge in the fort of Tabarhindah] and, by reason of that union began to evince contumacy³. When Malīk Ikhtiyār ud Dīn, Aet kīn [Altūnlah's confederate] was assassinated and Malīk Badr ud Dīn Sunkar the Rūmī became Amīr, Hājib Malīk Ikhtiyār ud Dīn Altūnlah brought forth Sulṭān Raṣīyyat from the fortress of Tabarhindah assembled forces and marched towards the capital. In the month of Rabī ul Awwāl however they retired unsuccessful Sulṭān Raṣīyyat was taken prisoner within the limits of Kaithal, and Malīk Ikhtiyār ud Dīn, Altūnlah was taken in the Maṣūr pūr⁴ district, and was martyred by Hindūs on Tuesday the 25th of Rabī ul Ākhir 638 H². The Almighty's mercy be upon him!

XII. MALIK IKHTIYAR UD-DIN AET KIN

Malīk Ikhtiyār ud Dīn Aet kīn was a Karah Khitā'ī a well favoured Turk, a man of good disposition and of handsome countenance dignity wisdom and sagacity.

The august Sulṭān [I yal tımış] purchased him from Amīr I bak Sannā'ī⁴ and he had served the Sulṭān long in

9th of Ramaṣān 637 H.—May 1239, A.D. It was a great object with the rebels to make Sulṭān Raṣīyyat move in the hot season.

¹ See note² page 634.

² They lost no time, for on the 18th of the same month they set up Mu'izz ud Dīn, Bahrām Shāh.

³ Contumacy towards the usurper of her throne. See under Raṣīyyat's reign, page 645, and 647. His confederates in sedition against Raṣīyyat had now been removed from the scene and their ambitious designs frustrated, and therefore Altūnlah thought it to his advantage to espouse her cause.

⁴ West of Dihlī and north west of Kaithal, Lat. 30° 21' Long 76° 5'

⁵ These events are related differently under Raṣīyyat's reign, which see.

⁶ In some copies Nisāwī—native of Nisā, and, in the list of Malīks at the beginning of the Nisāwī reign, page 673, there is a Malīk Salf-ud-Dīn, I bak I Balk Khān, styled, *Ṣāḥib* but not the person here referred to. He may have been the son of the above.

every office and degree, and become deserving of royal kindness and dignities of greatness. In the beginning of the Sultān's reign, he was made Sar-ı-Jān-dār [Head of the Jān-dārs]⁵, and, after some time, as proofs of merit were conspicuous upon his brow, Mansūr-pūr was given to him in fief. Some time after, Kūjāh⁶ and Nandanah were entrusted to his charge, and, on that frontier, he performed distinguished services. When the period of sovereignty devolved upon Sultān Raziyyat, she summoned him to the Court, and assigned him the fief of Budā'un. After some farther period, he attained the dignity of Amīr-i-Ḥājib, and performed approved services before the throne, but, on account of the favour which Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Yā-kūt, the Abyssinian, had acquired, the whole of the Maliks and Amīrs, Turks, Ghūrīs, and Tājiks⁷, were withdrawing from their attendance on the Court of Sultān Raziyyat, and were afflicted in heart, particularly Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn⁸, the Amīr-i-Ḥājib, as has been recorded in the account of Sultān Raziyyat. For this reason, Jamāl-ud-Dīn, Yā-kūt, was martyred, and the throne passed to Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh⁹.

On the day of rendering fealty at the Kūshk [the

⁵ In some copies, Sar-ı Jamadār [Sar-ı-Jāmah-dār?] or Head of the Wardrobe, and, in one good copy, Sharf-badār.

⁶ This place is generally mentioned in connexion with Baniān and the Kārūgh Turks. The word might be spelt with *g*—Gūjāh. The majority of copies and the oldest have دوحاء but one has كوحان and a second كوحاء. The *ح* likewise *may be* intended for چ. See list of victories, page 627.

⁷ At pages 304 and 333, our author says the Ghūrīs are Tājiks, or Tāziks — i.e. descendants of Arabs born in 'Ajam—but here he evidently applies the term as it originally means, and Ghūrīs to natives of Ghūr only. The compilers of "*Pathān*" dynasties may see that such a term as theirs never occurs in *any* Muhammadan History. Tājiks are not Scythians, I beg leave to say.

⁸ The "affliction" that appears to have troubled him was ambition and sedition, as may be gathered from the statement in the account of Malik Altūnīah, just related, and a little farther on.

⁹ The modern copies of the text have an additional sentence and a verse here, but it is evidently an interpolation: they are as follows—"As sovereignty turned its face from Sultān Raziyyat, on this account, a wag gives these lines—

'Sovereignty from her robe's skirt turned away,
When it perceived black dust on the hem thereof.'"

Our author, who was resident at her Court, does not attempt to make us believe that Sultān Raziyyat was guilty of any criminal familiarity with the Abyssinian, although more modern writers do insinuate it, but, I believe, without reason.

Castle] the royal residence, when they seated the [new] Sulṭān on the throne of the kingdom, and the Malik's Amīrs Ulama, Ṣadrs and the Chiefs of the troops and Grandees of the capital were assembled together in the sublime audience hall for the purpose of the public rendering of fealty¹ all pledged their allegiance to the sovereignty of Mu'izz ud Dīn Bahrām Shāh and the Deputyship [Lieutenancy] of Malik Ikhtiyār ud Dīn Aet-kīn and he stipulated with Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn Bahrām Shāh, that, as he the Sulṭān was young in years he should for the period of one year leave the administration of the affairs of the realm to his slave [Ikhtiyār ud Dīn, Aet-kīn] and that the Sulṭān should issue an order in accordance with all this²

His petition having been complied with Malik Ikhtiyār ud Dīn Aet-kīn, in union with the Ḥhwājah Muhazzab ud Dīn the Wazīr proceeded to administer the affairs of the kingdom. He requested [permission] from the Sulṭān to assume the *naubat* and to have an elephant. He took a sister of the Sulṭān to wife, and the whole of the affairs of the country appertained to him³. From these circumstances jealousy entered into the heart of the Sulṭān and secretly, several times he plotted against him to get rid of him, but did not succeed until on Monday the 8th of the month of Muharram 638 H. They related on this wise, that the Sālār [chief leader] Aḥmad i Sa'd—the Almighty's mercy be upon him!—came secretly to the Sulṭān's presence and made a representation in consequence of which intoxicating drink was given to several Turks, and he [the Sulṭān] gave directions to those inebriated Turks who descended from the upper part [upper apartments] of the Kaṣr i Safed [White Castle] and came down in front of the dais in the Audience Hall⁴ and with a wound from a knife martyred Malik Ikhtiyār ud Dīn Aet-kīn⁵. They

¹ On Sunday the 11th of Shawwāl, 637 H.

² The period for which he was to act is not mentioned under the Sulṭān's reign.

³ See under Mu'izz-ud Dīn, Bahrām Shāh's reign. There it is stated that he assumed the triple *naubat*, and stationed an elephant at his gate. The Sulṭān's sister had previously been married to a Kāfī's son. See page 650.

⁴ Where Ikhtiyār-ud Dīn Aet-kīn as Deputy would be transacting state affairs.

⁵ This is related in a very different manner under the reign, which see at page 651.

inflicted several wounds on the Khwājah, Muhazzab-ud-Dīn, the Wazīr, but he got away from them, wounded as he was, and made his escape

XIII MALIK BADR-UD DĪN, SUNĀR * I-RŪMĪ

Malik Badr-ud-Dīn, Sunkar, was a Rūmī [of Rūm—Rūmīlāh] by origin, and some of the trustworthy have related after this manner, that he was the son of a Musalmān and had fallen into slavery, but he was a man of exceedingly good disposition, with comeliness and dignity, of admirable morality, humble, and endowed with kindness and laudable qualities for winning men

When the Sultān [I-yal-timīsh] first purchased him, he became Tasht-dār [Ewer-bearer], and, after he had performed that office for some time, he became Bahlah-dār [Bearer of the Privy Purse] Subsequently, he became Shahnah⁷ [Superintendent] of the Zarrād Khānah of Budā'ūn⁸, and, after some farther time, he rose to be Nā-ib Amīr-i-Ākhur [Deputy Lord of the Stable], and served the Sultān in every capacity, and did approved services After he became Amīr-i-Ākhur, he used never to be absent from the gate of the royal stable for a moment save through unavoidable necessity, and, whether on the move or stationary, he used to be always present in attendance at the threshold of sovereignty Whilst the fortress of Gwāliyūr was being invested, he was pleased to show such goodness and countenance towards the writer of these words, and to treat him with such honour and respect, that the impression of such benevolence will never be effaced from his heart May the Almighty have mercy on him!

When the sovereignty passed to Sultān Raziyyat, the fief of Budā'ūn was given him, and, in the year 638 H⁹, at the time that Malik Ikhtiyār-ud-Dīn, Aet-kīn, was

* Sunkar, in the Rūmī [Turkish] dialect, is said to signify a black-eyed falcon, which lives to a great age, and to have the same meaning as Shunghār or Shunkār

⁷ See note 4, page 732

⁸ Whilst I-yal-timīsh held that fief before he came to the throne The office was the same as that of Sar-i Jān-dār. See note 7, page 603

⁹ On the 8th of Muharram, 638 H

assassinated in the reign of Sulṭān Mu'izz ud Dīn Bahrām Shāh, the latter summoned Malik Badr ud Dīn Sunḡar from Budā'ūn, and conferred upon him the office of Amīr ḡ Hajib. When Malik Ikhtiyār ud Dīn Altūnshah of Tabar hindah, along with Sulṭān Raḡiyyat resolved to march upon the capital and they arrived in the vicinity of Dihlī in the quelling of that sedition Malik Badr ud Dīn Sunḡar, performed excellent services but after a short time, disagreement arose between him and the Khwajah Muhazzab-ud Dīn the Wazīr through a trifling cause which it behooveth not to mention. This irritation continued to increase, and on this account the Khwajah Muhazzab-ud Dīn¹ incited the Sulṭān against him and the Sulṭān's confidence in Malik Badr ud Dīn Sunḡar departed and his faith in the Sulṭān likewise ceased. He [Badr ud Dīn Sunḡar] convoked the great men of the capital, for the purpose [of discussing] a change in the government, at the mansion of Sayyid Tāj ud Dīn Mūsāwī on Monday the 14th² of the month of Ṣafar 639 H. The Khwajah Muhazzab-ud Dīn gave intimation to the Sulṭān of this circumstance, and the Sulṭān mounted and called upon Malik Badr ud Dīn Sunḡar to give up his intentions³. He joined the Sulṭān and on that same day he was sent off [on his way] to Budā'ūn.

After some time, the decree of destiny having gone forth it brought him back to the capital again without having received orders to return and he came to the city of Dihlī and alighted at the dwelling of Malik Kuṡb ud Dīn [Husain son of Alī the Ghūrī]—on whom be the Almighty's mercy!—thinking that perhaps under his protection he might obtain mercy. A mandate was issued from the sovereign's Court so that they seized him and he was cast into prison. He continued in imprisonment and confinement for some time, and in the end on the night of

¹ This is the upright officer in ELLIOT referred to in note * page 641

² Some copies here, as well as under the reign, disagree about this date. Some have the 10th, and some, the 17th, but two of the best copies have here, as well as previously the 14th of Ṣafar

³ The particulars of this affair have been already given under the reign, pages 652 and 653. Here likewise is additional proof, were any required, to show who the parties were, and who betrayed Malik Badr ud Dīn, Sunḡar

Wednesday, the 14th of the month of Jamādī-ul-Awwal⁴, 639 H, he attained martyrdom⁵. The Almighty's mercy be upon him!

XIV MALIK TĀJ-UD-DĪN, SANJAR-I-KĪK-LUK

Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Kīk-luk, was a thorough man, and his native country was Khifchāk. He was a person of vast energy, manliness, sagacity, stateliness, gallantry, and valour, and in all endowments he had reached the acme. He was of great rectitude and continence, and no intoxicating drink was ever allowed to come near him.

The august Sultān [I-yal-tīmish] had purchased him from the Khwājah, Jamāl-ud-Dīn-i-Nadīmān, and, in the beginning of the Sultān's reign, he became Jāma-dār [Keeper of the Wardrobe], and, after some time, he became Shahnah⁶ [Superintendent] of the Stable, and in every department he performed distinguished services for the Sultān.

When the Shamsī reign came to a termination, and the throne devolved on Sultān Raziyyat, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Kīk-luk, became feudatory of Baran, and was appointed to proceed at the head of a body of troops towards the fortress of Gwāliyyūr, and in Sha'bān, 635 H, the writer of these words, the servant of the victorious dynasty, Minhāj-i-Sarāj, in company with Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar-i-Kīk-luk, came out of the fortress of Gwāliyyūr⁷ and proceeded, and presented himself at the Court of Sultān Raziyyat. On the road Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar, showed

⁴ See note 8, page 654.

⁵ There must have been some reason why he returned to the capital—probably to sue for pardon in person—and our author could, evidently, have said more, had he chosen to do so. Malik Kutb-ud-Dīn, Husain, son of 'Alī, the Ghūrī, is the same venerable chief as mentioned, at pages 658 and 661. He was one of the greatest of I-yal-tīmish's Maliks, and his name is entered in the list of them at the end of his reign. He too was made away with, in some mysterious manner, during the reign of that paragon of perfection, according to our author, Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, in 653 H. The events, which induced him to seek an asylum in Hind, will be found in the account of the Mughal irruption in the next Section.

⁶ See note 4, page 732.

⁷ See page 613, and note 1.

such goodness towards the author as cannot be expressed. At the time of removing from Gwālyūr he carried two chests of books, the private property of this servant, upon one of his own camels and brought them to Mahā ūn and upon other occasions had treated the author with manifold kindness—May the Almighty make him be acceptable, and have mercy upon him!

On his reaching the capital again Malik Tāj ud Dīn Sanjar became feudatory of the district of Sursutī and when the throne of sovereignty came to Mu'izz ud Dīn, Bahrām Shāh he performed abundant services. On the termination of the Mu'izzī reign and the throne passing to Alā ud Dīn Mas'ūd Shāh he became feudatory of Budā ūn* and in the year 640 H. he overthrew the independent [Hindū] tribes† of Kaṭhelr of Budā ūn and performed many exploits against the infidels and founded Jāmi Masjids in several places, and established pulpits for the Khawāṣṣ‡ He assembled a numerous body of forces—8000 horse and foot besides *pāyiks* with horses§—and his determination was to lead a force towards Kālinjar and Mahobah and reduce that tract of country to subjection. A certain party [however] began to be envious of the number of his following, the quantity and efficiency of his war material the greatness of his power the awe in which he was held and his intrepidity in leading troops. The deceitful promptings of the spirit of devilry moved them so that they prepared some poison placed in a betel leaf and administered it to him and disease of the bowels supervened and from that disorder in a few days he joined the Almighty's mercy. May the Most High God accept in behalf of that amiable Malik in repayment of the many debts of gratitude he owed him the prayers of this frail one!

One among those debts of gratitude due to him is this. In the year 640 H. when the author resolved upon leaving

* In the oldest copy of the text the name of this city and district is always written بدایون—Budāyūn—the middle *n* is *nasa*! and this is the correct mode of writing the word.

† There seem to have been numbers of the Mew tribe in that part in those days.

‡ The preacher who pronounces the Khawṣṣ already explained.

§ All the copies of the text are alike here—mounted *pāyiks* is a novel term I think—considering that the word means foot man.

the capital city of Dihlī, on a journey to Lakhanawatī³, and sent off his family and dependents, in advance, towards Budā'ūn, that Malik of excellent disposition assigned a stipend for his family and children, and treated them with all sorts of honour and reverence. Five months afterwards, when the author, following after his family, reached Budā'ūn, Malik Tāj-ud-Dīn, Sanjar, bestowed upon him so many gifts, and treated him with such honour as cannot be contained within the area of writing. He was pleased to assign the author a fief with a residence at Budā'ūn, together with ample benefits and favours, but, as destiny, and the means of livelihood, was attracting him to the country of Lakhanawatī, and the decree of fate was carrying him, the writer proceeded thither. May Almighty God accept in his favour the kindness [towards the author] of that Malik of good disposition¹.

XV MALIK TĀJ-UD-DĪN, SANJAR-I-KURET KHĀN⁴

Malik Kuret Khān was a Turk of Khūschāk, of great manhood and courage, energy and wisdom, and among warriors, for warlike accomplishments, he was the peerless in all the ranks of the army of Islām, and, in horsemanship and skill in arms, he had no equal. For example, he would have two horses under saddle, one of which he would ride, and the other he would lead after him, and thus used to dash on, and, whilst the horses were galloping, he would leap from this horse to that with agility, would return to this first one again, so that, during a gallop, he used several times to mount two horses. In archery he was so skilful that no enemy in battle, and no animal in the chase used to escape his arrow. He never used to take along with him into any Shikār-gāh [chase] either leopard, hawk, or sporting dog. He brought down all with his own arrow, and in every fastness in which he imagined there would be game he would be in advance of the whole of his retinue.

He was the Shahnah [Superintendent] of rivers⁶ and vessels, and this author had a great regard and affection for him. May Almighty God immerse him in forgiveness! When the Turks of the [late] Sultān [I yal timish] first rose against the Khawajah, Muhazzab-ud Dīn the Wazīr on Wednesday the 2nd of the month of Jamādī ul Awwal 640 H., the ring leader of the party in that outbreak was Malik Tāj ud Dīn Sanjar i Kuret Khān and a slave of the Khawajah Muhazzab-ud Dīn Mihtar Jattā [by name] a Farrāsh [carpet spreader &c.] wounded the Malik on the face with a sword in such manner that the mark of it ever after remained⁷

After the Khawajah Muhazzab ud Dīn was put to death Malik Sanjar i Kuret Khān became Shahnah [Superintendent] of the elephants and, after that was made Sar i Jān-dār [Head of the Jān-dārs] Subsequently he was made feudatory of Budā ūn and some time after that again, obtained the fief of Awadh. In that part he undertook many holy expeditions against infidels, achieved numerous gallant exploits and reduced several powerful independent [Hindū] tribes. From Awadh he proceeded into Bihār and plundered that territory Suddenly when before the preserved city of Bihar an arrow struck him in a mortal place, and he attained martyrdom⁷ The mercy of the Almighty be upon him!

XVI. MALIK SAIF UD DĪN BAT KHĀN I I BAK, THE KHITĀ I

Malik Saif ud Dīn Bat Khān i I bak, the Khitā i was a

⁶ The word used is بحر—ocean, sea, great river which last meaning must be intended here, as the Dillī kings had no more to do with the sea and sea going vessels than Sher Shāh the Afghān had, who is said, by a modern translator to have built great ships to convey Pilgrims to Makkah, by land, possibly

⁷ It was when the upright officer—the Khawajah, met with his deserts in the plain of the Rānī's *Awar*, or reservoir

⁷ From this it is apparent that, after the fall of the Khalj dynasty and the death of I yal timish, Bihār could not have remained in Musalmān hands. We hear of the fief of Kārah, Mālik pūr Awadh, and Lakhnāwātī, but never of Bihār which must have been recovered by the Hindūs in the same way as Kālinjar Mahobah, and other places which, previously our author says, were conquered, and as mentioned in the lists of victories of some of the Sultāns. The particulars respecting this chief's death before Bihār which would have been so interesting to us, our author either considered not worth mentioning, or has purposely suppressed.

person of very excellent qualities, gentle, humble, and of exemplary piety, and, in skill and warlike accomplishments, had become a master, and for manliness and sagacity was famed

The august Sultān [I-yal-tīmish] purchased him in the beginning of his reign, and he became Saī Jāma-dār [Head Keeper of the Wardrobe] Subsequently, in the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Mas'ūd Shāh, he became Sar-i-Jān-dār [Head of the Jān-dārs]⁸, and Kuhrām and Sāmānah became his fief Afterwards he obtained the fief of Baran, and was appointed to proceed at the head of [a body of] forces for the purpose of taking possession of the territory of Ūchchah and Multān⁹ During that expedition, one of his sons, who, at the very outset of his youth, had become a proficient in manliness and skill, together with his horse, was drowned in the river Sind

Some time after his return from thence, during the reign of the Sultān of Sultāns, Nāṣir-ud-Dunyā wa ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh, Malīk Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak, the Khṭā-i, became Wakīl-i-Dar [Representative in Dar-bār], and, in the service of the Sublime Court, performed distinguished services¹

He served for a considerable time during the Sultān's reign, and during the expedition to Santūr he suddenly sustained a fall from his horse and was killed² The mercy and pardon of the Almighty be upon him !

⁸ See the printed text the editors are sorely puzzled here.

⁹ This expedition is not referred to under the reign, but probably has reference, in some way, to the advance of the Dihlī forces to the Bīrh, the Mughals having appeared before Ūchchah mentioned at page 667 Malīk Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak, was probably sent to Ūchchah to take charge of it after the death of Malīk Tāj-ud Dīn, Abū Bīkr, son of Malīk 'Izz ud Dīn, Kabīr Khān-i Ayāz, mentioned at page 727

There are two other persons named Saif-ud-Dīn, I-bak, an account of one of whom has been given at page 729, and the other is Ulugh Khān's brother, an account of whom will be found farther on

¹ See page 699 He appears to have become Wakīl-i-Dar, when 'Imād-ud-Dīn-i-Rayhān was disgraced, from what is stated in the account of Ulugh Khān farther on, in which the events of this period are much more detailed than under the different reigns

² On Sunday, the 6th of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 655 H., the 12th year of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Mahmūd Shāh's reign.

XVII MALIK TĀJ UD DĪN SANJAR I TEZ KHĀN

Malik Taj ud Dīn Sanjar i Tez Khān is a Karakhī [of Karakh]² and is exceedingly impetuous manly sagacious, and intelligent and is endowed with many excellent qualities and numberless worthy habits. He is famed for his valour and military talents and distinguished for his amiable disposition.

The august Sultān [I yal timīsh] purchased him, and in the reign of Sultān Mu'izz ud Dīn Bahrām Shāh, he became Amīr i Ākhur. Subsequently in the reign of Sultān Nāṣir ud Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, he was made Nā'ib Amīr i Hājib³ [Deputy Lord Chamberlain] and Jhānjhānah was made his fief, and when the Khān i Mu'azzam Ulugh Khān i Aḡam in felicity proceeded towards Nāḡawr Malik Tāj ud Dīn, Sanjar i Tez Khān who was particularly devoted to his interest and friendship received charge of the fief of Kasmandī⁴ and Mandlānah of the country of Hindūstān and there he continued some time. When the Khān i Mu'azzam Ulugh Khān i Aḡam again joined the Court, Malik Tez Khān again returned to the capital and Baran was made his fief, and there he remained a considerable time.

In the year 654 H., he became Wakīl i Dār [Representative in Dar bār] to the sovereign of Islām and obtained the fief of Budā'ūn. Since Malik Kutlugh Khān⁵ remained in Awadh [as feudatory] contrary to the commands of the Sublime Court, and with the forces of Hindūstān advanced

² Karakh is the name of a village near Baghdad but the name of this place is pronounced Karakh, with the difference of a vowel point. It is the name of a place [township] in Mīwar un Nahr.

³ In Rajah, 647 H. shortly after the marriage of Ulugh Khān's daughter to the Sultān.

⁴ A district in Awadh, a few miles N W of Lucknow, also written Kasmandhī in some copies of the text.

⁵ Who married Sultān Nāṣir ud Dīn's mother and who appears to have held the fief in conjunction with her husband. These matters are related in quite a different way under the reign of Nāṣir ud Dīn, page 703. There our author says that Malik Bak Tamur the Ruknī [i. e. of Sultān Rukn ud Dīn, Firūz Shāh's, reign] was sent from the capital to expel Kutlugh Khān from Awadh, and that Bak Tamur was defeated and slain and that, upon this, the Sultān had to take the field with Ulugh Khān. See also in the account of Ulugh Khān farther on, where these events are again differently related.

towards Budā'ūn, Malīk Tez Khān, at the head of a body of troops, was nominated, along with Malīk Bak-tam-i-Aor Khān, to march from the capital for the purpose of repelling the troops of Hindūstān. When the two armies met within the limits of Sīhrā-mū⁷, Malīk Tez Khān was under the necessity of retiring, and he returned to the capital again. The fief of Awadh was now given to him, and he proceeded into that part, and brought that territory under his control, and gave the independent communities of infidels of Hindūstān a thorough chastisement, and extorted tribute from them.

Malīk Tez Khān returned to the sublime presence in conformity with orders, and, at all times, kept the neck of service within the yoke of obedience, and, in the year in which this history was written, namely the year 658 H, he returned to the capital in conformity with the sublime command, and by the counsel of the Khān-i-Mu'azzam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, at the head of the [contingents forming the] centre [division] of the forces, and those at the capital⁸, marched towards the Koh-pāyah of Mewāt, and performed distinguished services, and returned again to the presence of the Court, the asylum of the universe.

On a second occasion⁹, in attendance at the illustrious stirrup of the Khān-i-Mu'azzam, Ulugh Khān-i-A'zam, he again proceeded to the Koh-pāyah of Mewāt on an expedition and holy war against the Hindūs, and displayed great gallantry and activity. On his return to the capital, he was distinguished by being presented with ample honours, and he returned again towards [his fief of] Awadh. May the Almighty God preserve and continue the servants of the Nāsirī dynasty in power and dominion. Amīn!

⁷ A place west of the Ghograh river, in Lat 28° 19', Long 80° 24', the Sera-Mow of the Indian Atlas.

⁸ The available troops at the capital probably. The *kalb*—or centre contingents forming it—has been explained in a previous note. See also the latter part of the year 657 H, under Nāsir-ud-Dīn's reign, page 714.

⁹ Our author ends his history, under Nāsir-ud-Dīn's reign, with the force leaving upon this expedition, on the 13th of Safar, 658 H, and the events of the following day. These operations, on this occasion, were against the Mew or Mewrā. See page 715, and in the account of Ulugh Khān farther on, where these events are related in a totally different manner.

'Alā-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh [the son of Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah], and, in the month of Rabī'-ul-Awwal of the same year⁹, 624 H, the august Sultān, Shams-ud-

⁹ There are numerous discrepancies among authors with respect to these events, and our author himself, who was present at Ūchchah, makes a different statement here from that given by him under the reign of I-yal-timish, page 611, and there says these events happened in 625 H

The Tāj ul-Ma'āṣir, after stating that the fortress of "Ūchchah-i Multān" was "taken,"—i.e. Ūchchah of Multān, or belonging to Multān, not "Ūch Multān,"—and without mentioning that I-yal-timish was at Ūchchah in person, says that I-yal-timish, hearing of Ḳabā-jah's pride and arrogance, and that he had strongly fortified himself within the fort of Bhakar, despatched his Wazīr against him with a large army. See also Elliot, INDIA, vol. II, page 242

Other writers again state that, on the flight of Ḳabā-jah from Ūchchah, I-yal-timish "left his Wazīr to carry on the investment of Ūchchah, and returned himself to Dihlī," and that "the Wazīr took that place after two months, and then marched against Bhakar"

Another work has that "I-yal-timish's Wazīr marched an army against Ḳabā-jah, and invested him *within the walls* of Ūchchah in 624 H" that "it was taken after two months, on the 22nd of Jamādī ul-Ākhir," and that, "after it was taken, Ḳabā-jah got on board a boat—not what we call boats in this country, but vessels of considerable size, with flat bottoms—in order to get to Bhakar, and was drowned"

The favourite author of Indian History writers [because translated probably], Firishtah [not his translators], places this event "*between* 618 H and 623 H," but, as he gives no authority for so doing, and no dates between, there is no knowing what year he means. He places it *before* the expedition against Rantābhūr, whereas it took place *after*, and in the lithographed text "revised" by BRIGGS, and also in the Calcutta text of our author, Bhakar is turned into Thānkār, which is Bhīānah. The Tabakāt-i-Akbarī also places these events in 614 H—some ten years too soon—that was Ḳabā-jah's *first* defeat by I-yal-timish. See page 294

The real events appear to be as follow. Soon after the Khaj and Khwārazmī fugitives threw themselves on the protection of I-yal-timish, he, jealous of the power of Ḳabā-jah, and his overthrow of that remnant of the Khwārazmī forces, moved with an army from Dihlī, by way of Tabarhindah towards Ūchchah, whilst the governor of the Lāhor province, with another force, to create a diversion, marched against Multān. I-yal-timish reached Ūchchah on the 1st of Rabī'-ul-Awwal, 625 H [February, 1227 A.D.], having sent on the principal part of his army, under the Wazīr, the Nizām-ul-Mulk, the Khajīh, Muḥammad, son of Abū Sa'īd, Junaidī, a few days in advance. He, I-yal-timish, sat down before the place and invested it, and detached his Wazīr, with a large force, against the fortress of Bhakar, whither Ḳabā-jah, on becoming aware of I-yal-timish's coming against him, had withdrawn with most of his forces and his treasures. These events happened during the hot season of 625 H, and part of the Wazīr's force dropped down to Bhakar by water, and part went by land, and had to march through dense *jungle*.

It is remarkable that neither Lūhī (now often pronounced Pōhī) nor Sakar are mentioned here. Here we might naturally have expected to have heard something about them, especially of Lūhī, for on the plain immediately north of the troops of I-yal-timish probably encamped. I say probably,

of Ūchchah Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, discomfited, embarked on boats [with his troops and followers²] and retired towards Bhakar, and [a body of³] the Sultān's forces, along with the Wazīr of the State, the Nizām-ul-Mulk, set out in pursuit of him, and invested him within the fortress of Bhakar¹

Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, I-yal-tīmīsh, remained encamped before the gate of the fortress of Ūchchah for a period of two months and twenty-seven days. On Saturday, the 27th of the month, Jamādī ul-Awwal², the citadel of Ūchchah was given up. When the news of the capture of the place reached Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, he sent his son 'Alā-ud-Dīn, Bahrām Shāh, to the presence of the Sultān. Subsequent to his reaching the camp of the Sultān, on the 22nd of the month, Jamādī-ul-Ākhir, information arrived of the taking of Bhakar, and that Malik [Sultān] Nāṣir-ud-Dīn, Ḳabā-jah, had drowned himself in the river Sind, and the term of his existence was severed³.

The period of his rule in the land of Sind, and Ūchchah, and Multān, was twenty-two years

IV MALIK BANĀ-UD-DĪN, TUGHRIL⁴, UL-MU'IZZĪ-US-SULTĀNĪ

Malik Bahā-ud-Dīn, Tughril, was a Malik of excellent disposition, scrupulously impartial, just, kind to the poor and strangers, and adorned with humility. He was one of the slaves of the early part of the reign of the Sultān-i-Ghāzī, Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, Muhammad-i-Sām, and the latter had raised him likewise to a high degree of rank, and,

¹ The printed text [and Firāshah in his work] turns this name into Thankīr, which is Bhīānrah, although Bhakar is mentioned correctly immediately after¹

² Impossible, considering that Zī-Hijrah is the *last* month of the year, and Rabī' ul-Awwal the *third*. He must either mean that he reached Ūchchah in 623 H, or that it was surrendered in 625 H. See page 296, where he contradicts both the date of his own arrival at Ūchchah and also the year in which it was taken

³ Compare ELLIOT here, vol. II page 304

⁴ Tughril, with short *u* before the final *l*, is the name of a bird, but the name of this chief, like that of several of the Saljūk rulers, is spelt Tughril. All writers agree that Bahā ud Dīn, Tughril, was one of the greatest, most able, and most accomplished of Sultān Mu'izz-ud Dīn's mamlūks

* when the fortress of Thanglr^a [or Thanklr] which is [in ?] the territory of Bhlānah with the Rāc of which warfare was being carried on was taken it was made over to Bahā ud Dīn Tughrl's charge and that part became flourishing and prosperous through his means. From different parts of Hindustan and Khurāsān merchants and men of repute had joined him and to the whole of them he was in the habit of presenting houses and goods which used to become their property so that on this account they would dwell near him.

As the fortress of Thanglr was not suitable as a place of residence for him and his following Malik Bahā ud Dīn, Tughrl founded in the territory of Bhlānah the city of Suljān kot and therein took up his abode and used continually to despatch [bodies of] cavalry towards Gwāliyr. When the Suljān-i-Ghazl [Mu'izz ud Dīn] retired from the foot [of the walls] of the fort of Gwāliyr he said to Bahā

^a The discrepancies of authors with regard to the taking of this fortress, and the operations against Gwālyr are great.

Our author himself, under the reign of Suljān Mu'izz ud Dīn, states that Kust ud Dīn is dead, alauddīn, Thanglr Gwālyr and Lodā'ūr, and here contradicts himself.

The Tāj ul Ma'āzīr says Thanglr was taken in 592 H. and that Kust ud Dīn, having joined the Suljān's forces, the royal army moved again to Gwālyr and in 593 H. it was taken. Rāc Salāh al-Dīn sued for peace, became tributary and was allowed to retain his possessions.

The Tāj ul Ma'āzīr says Kust ud Dīn made an expedition to Kinnauj and Bandras in 589 H. and leaving Kust ud Dīn as his representative in Hind, returned to Ghazna. Immediately after that work states,

Kust ud Dīn took Thanglr Gwālyr and Lodā'ūr, and then invaded Nahrwālah," but gives no dates; and then adds, without mentioning any other event between, that, "when between Tūs and Sarakhs, Suljān Mu'izz ud Dīn heard of the death of his brother which happened in 599 H. according to our author.

The Mirāt-i-Jahān Nāmā also says that Suljān Mu'izz ud Dīn, after the conquest of Kinnauj and Bandras, left Kust ud Dīn as his deputy in India, and that the latter took Gwālyr, Lodā'ūr, and other places but Thanglr is not mentioned, and in this statement Haft Isfīn and Lodā'ūr agree.

All which is the most correct apparently has, Suljān Mu'izz ud Dīn, Muhammad I Sām, again entered Hind in 590 H. and took Thanglr [or Tānkīr], which was an exceedingly strong place and then marched against Gwālyr about which more will be mentioned in the following note.

It is amusing to compare Firghīah here—the text I mean—his account of these events, first, under the reign of Suljān Mu'izz ud Dīn and, subsequently in his account of Kust ud Dīn, Iltūt and Bahā ud Dīn, Tughrl. They are related in three different ways, and neither in detail nor in dates do they agree.